THE INSTITUTION OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION: IN FOUR BOOKS

TREATING,

I. Of the Knowlege of GOD the CREATOR.
II. Of the Knowlege of GOD the REDEEMER.
III. Of the Manner how to receive the Grace of CHRIST.
IV. Of the Outward Means of Salvation.

By Mr. *JOHN CALVIN.*

GLASGOW:

Printed by JOHN BRYCE and ARCHIBALD M'LEAN, Junior,
For *ALEXANDER IRVINE*, Printer.
M DCC LXII.

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THE TRANSLATOR TO THE READER.

GOOD READER, here is now offered unto you the fifth time, printed in Engliſh, Mr. Calvin's book of the Inſtitution of the Chriſtian Religion; a book of great labour to the author, and of great profit to the church of God. Mr. Calvin firſt wrote it when he was a young man, a book of a ſmall volume, and ſince that ſeaſon he hath at ſundry times publiſhed it with new additions, ſtill proteſting at every edition, himſelf to be one of thoſe "qui ſcribendo proficiunt, et proficiendo ſcribunt," who with their writing do grow in profiting, and with their profiting do proceed in writing. At length, having in many of his other works laboured in the expoſition of ſundry books of the ſcriptures, and in the ſame finding occaſion to diſcourſe of ſundry common places and matters of doctrine, which being handled according to the occaſion of the texts that were offered him, and not in any other method, were not ſo ready for the reader's uſe, he therefore entered into this purpoſe to enlarge this book of Inſtitutions, and therein to treat of all thoſe articles and common places largely, with this intent, that whenſoever any occaſion occured in his other books to treat of any ſuch cauſe, he would not newly amplify his books of commentaries and expoſitions therewith, but refer his reader wholly to this ſtore-houſe and treaſury of that ſort of divine learning. As age and weakneſs grew upon him, ſo he haſtened his labour; and according to his petition to God, he in a manner ended his life with his work; for he lived not long after. So great a jewel was meet to be made moſt beneficial, that is to ſay, applied to moſt common uſe. Therefore in the very beginning of the late Queen's moſt bleſſed reign I tranſlated it out of Latin to Engliſh, for the benefit of the church of Chriſt, at the ſpecial requeſt of my dear friends of worthy memory Reginald Wolfe and Edward Whitchurch; the one her Majeſty's printer for the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues, the other her Highneſs's printer of the book of Common Prayer. I performed my work in the houſe of my ſaid friend Edward Whitchurch, a man well known to be of upright heart and dealing, an ancient zealous goſpeller, as plain and true a friend as ever I knew living, and as deſirous to do any thing for the common good, eſpecially by the advancement of true religion. At my ſaid firſt edition of this book I conſidered how the author thereof had of a long time purpoſely laboured to write the ſame moſt exactly, and to crowd a great quantity of matter in ſmall room of words, yea, and thoſe ſo circumſpectly and preciſely ordered, as to avoid the cavils of ſuch, as out of enmity to the truth therein contained, would gladly ſeek and uſe all advantages which might be found in any overſight in penning of it, that the ſentences were thereby become ſo full as that nothing might well be added without idle ſuperfluity, and again ſo nicely compendized, that nothing could be left out without taking away ſome neceſſary ſubſtance of matter therein expreſſed. This manner of writing, beſides the peculiar

terms of arts and figures, and the difficulties of the matters themſelves, being throughout interſperſed with the ſchoolmens controverſies, made a great hardneſs in the author's own book, in that tongue wherein otherwiſe he is both plentiful and eaſy, inſomuch that it ſufficeth not to read him once, unleſs you can be content to read in vain. This conſideration encumbered with great doubtfulneſs for the whole order and frame of my tranſlation. If I ſhould follow the words, I ſaw that of neceſſity the harſhneſs in the tranſlation muſt needs be greater than was in the tongue wherein it was originally written. If I ſhould leave the order of words, and grant myſelf liberty after the natural conſtruction of mine own tongue, to ſay that in Engliſh which I conceived to be his meaning in Latin, I plainly perceived how hardly I might eſcape error, and on the other ſide, in this matter of faith and religion, how perillous it was to err. For I durſt not preſume to truſt myſelf that I would retain his meaning without his words. And they who underſtand what it is to tranſlate well and faithfully, eſpecially in matters of religion, do know that not only the grammatical conſtruction of words ſufficeth, but the very fabric and order, to obſerve all advantages of vehemence or grace, by the placing or accent of words, maketh much to the true ſetting forth of a writer's mind. In the end I reſted upon this determination, to follow the words as near as the phraſe of the Engliſh tongue would permit me. Which purpoſe I ſo performed, that if the Engliſh book were printed on ſuch paper and letter as the Latin is, it ſhould not exceed the Latin in quantity. Whereby, beſide all other advantages that a faithful tranſlation of ſo good a work may bring, this one benefit is moreover provided for ſuch as are deſireous to attain ſome knowlege of the Latin tongue (which is at this time to be wiſhed in many of thoſe men for whoſe profeſſion this book moſt fitly ſerveth) that they ſhall not find any more Engliſh than ſhall ſuffice to conſtrue the Latin withal, except in ſuch few places, where the great difference of the phraſes of the languages conſtrained me: ſo that comparing the one with the other, they ſhall both profit in good matter, and furniſh themſelves with underſtanding of that ſpeech, wherein the greateſt treaſures of knowlege are diſcloſed. In the doing hereof, I did not truſt to my own judgment or ability only, but examined my whole performance from ſentence to ſentence throughout the whole book with the conferrence and reviſing of ſuch learned men, as my tranſlation being allowed by their judgment, I did both ſatisfy mine own conſcience that I had done truly, and their approving of it might be a good warrant to the reader, that nothing ſhould herein be delivered him but ſound, unmingled, and uncorrupted doctrine, even in ſuch ſort as the author himſelf had firſt framed it. All that I wrote, the grave learned, and virtuous man Mr. David Whitehead (whom I name with honourable remembrance) did, among others, compare with the Latin every ſentence throughout the whole book. Beſide all this, I privately required many, and generally all men with whom I ever had any talk of this matter, that if they found any thing either not truly tranſlated, or not plainly Engliſhed, they would inform me thereof, promiſing either to ſatisfy them or to amend it. Since which time I have not been advertiſed by any man of any thing which they require to be altered. Neither had I myſelf, by reaſon of my profeſſion, being otherwiſe occupied, any leiſure to peruſe it. And this is the cauſe, why not only at the ſecond and third time, but alſo at this impreſſion, you have no change at all in the work, but altogether as it was before. Indeed I perceived many men well minded and ſtudious of this book, to require a table for their eaſe and furtherance. Their honeſt deſire I have fulfilled in the ſecond edition, and have added thereto a plentiful table, which is alſo here inſerted, which I have tranſlated out of the Latin, wherein the principal matters diſcourſed of in this book are named by their proper titles in an alphabetical order, and under every title is ſet forth

forth a brief ſum of the whole doctrine taught in this book concerning the matter belonging to that title or common place: and therewith is added the book, chapter, and ſection or diviſion of the chapter, where the ſame doctrine is more largely expreſſed and proved. And for the readier finding thereof, I have cauſed the number of the chapters to be ſet on every leaf in the book, and quoted the ſections alſo by their due number with the uſual figures of algoriſm. And now at this laſt publiſhing, my friends at whoſe charge it is now newly printed in a Roman letter and ſmaller volume, with divers other tables, which ſince my ſecond edition were gathered by M. Marlorate, to be tranſlated and here added for your benefit. Moreover, whereas in the firſt edition the ill manner of my ſcribling hand, the interlining of my copy, and ſome other cauſes well known among workmen of that faculty, made very many faults to paſs the printer, I have in the ſecond impreſſion cauſed the book to be compoſed by the printed copy, and corrected by the written: whereby it muſt needs be that it was much more truly done than the other was, as I myſelf do know above three hundred faults amended. And now at this laſt printing, the compoſing after a printed copy bringeth ſome eaſe, and the diligence uſed about the correction, having been right faithfully looked unto, it cannot be but much more truly ſet forth. This alſo is performed, that the volume being ſmaller with a letter fair and legible, it is of more eaſy price, that it may be of more common uſe, and ſo a more extenſive communicating of ſo great a treaſure to thoſe that deſire chriſtian knowlege for inſtruction of their faith, and direction of their duties.

Thus on the printer's behalf and mine, your eaſe and advantage (good readers) is provided for. Now reſteth your own diligence for your own profit in ſtudying it.

To ſpend many words in commending the work itſelf: yet thus much I think I may both not untruly and not vainly ſay, that though many great learned men have written books of common places of our religion, as Melancton, Sarcerius, and others, whoſe works are very profitable to the church of God: yet by the conſenting judgment of thoſe that underſtand the ſame, there is none to be compared to this work of Calvin, both for his ſubſtantial ſufficiency of doctrine, the ſound declaration of truth in articles of our religion, the large and learned confirmation of the ſame, and the moſt deep and ſtrong confutation of all old and new hereſies: ſo that (the holy ſcriptures excepted) this is one of the moſt profitable books for all ſtudents of Chriſtian divinity. Wherein (good readers) as I am glad for the glory of God, and for your benefit, that you may have this profit of my labour; ſo I beſeech you let me have this uſe of your gentleneſs, that my doings may be conſtrued to ſuch good end as I have meant them: and if any thing diſguſt you by reaſon of hardneſs, or any other cauſe that may ſeem to be my default, you will not forthwith condemn the work, but read it oftener: in which doing you will find (as many have confeſſed to me that they have found by experience) that thoſe things which at the firſt reading ſhall diſpleaſe you for hardneſs, ſhall be found ſo eaſy as ſo hard matter would ſuffer, and for the moſt part more eaſy than ſome other phraſe which ſhould with greater looſeneſs and ſmoother ſliding away deceive your underſtanding. I confeſs indeed it is not finely and pleaſantly written, nor carrieth with it ſuch delightful grace of ſpeech as ſome great wiſe men have beſtowed upon ſome fooliſher things; yet it containeth ſound truth ſet forth with faithful plainneſs without wrong done to the author's meaning: and ſo if you accept and uſe it, you ſhall not fail to have great profit thereby, and I ſhall think my labour very well employed.

THOMAS NORTON.

To the Moſt Mighty and Noble PRINCE, FRANCIS, the Moſt Chriſtian KING the French KING, his Sovereign Lord,
JOHN CALVIN wiſheth Peace and Salvation in CHRIST.

WHEN I did firſt ſet my hand to this work, I thought nothing leſs (moſt noble king) than to write any thing that afterward ſhould be preſented to your majeſty. Only my mind was to teach certain introductions, whereby they that are touched with ſome zeal of religion might be inſtructed to true godlineſs. This I undertook principally for my countrymen the French, of whom I underſtood many to hunger and thirſt for Chriſt, but I ſaw very few that had rightly received any little knowlege of him. But when I perceived that the furious rage of ſome wicked men hath ſo far prevailed in your realm, that in it there is no room for ſound doctrine; I thought it worth my labour, all in one work both to give an inſtruction for them, and to declare a confeſſion to you; whereby ye may learn what manner of doctrine that is, againſt which theſe furious men burn in ſo great rage, who at this day trouble your realm with ſword and fire. I know indeed with what hainous informations they have filled your mind and ears, to make our cauſe moſt hateful unto you: yo u yourſelf can bear witneſs (moſt noble king) with what ſlanders it is daily accuſed unto you; as, that it tendeth to writh from kings their ſcepters, to throw down all judges ſeats and judgments, to ſubvert all order and civil government, to trouble the peace and quiet of the people, to undo all properties and poſſeſſions, finally, to turn all things upſide down; in all which they have your ear. They call our doctrine new, and lately forged; they cavil that it is doubtful and uncertain; they demand by what miracles it is confirmed; and whether it be meet it ſhould prevail againſt the conſent of ſo many holy fathers, and ancient cuſtom: they urge us to confeſs it to be ſchiſmatical which moveth war againſt the church, or that the church hath lien dead in many ages in which no ſuch thing hath been heard of. Laſt of all, they ſay, that inſtead of all arguments its fruits declare of what ſort it is, namely, its having bred ſo many ſeditions, and ſo great licentiouſneſs. Wherefore I do not unjuſtly require (moſt victorious king) that it may pleaſe you to take into your hands the whole hearing of the cauſe, and not turn away your ears nor your mind from our juſt defence; eſpecially when ſo important a thing is in queſtion, namely, how the glory of God may be maintained ſafe in the earth, how the truth of God may keep her honour, how Chriſt may have his kingdom preſerved whole among us. This is matter worthy for your ears, worthy for your judgment, worthy for your royal throne

If our doctrine be examined by the analogy of faith, the victory is already in our hands: for what is more agreeable to this apoſtolic rule, than to acknowlege ourſelves naked of all virtue, that of God we may be clothed? empty of all good, that of him we may be filled? to take from ourſelves all matter of glorying, that he alone may be glorious, and that in him only we may glory? By ſuch doctrine, they cry out, we overthrow I wot not what blind light of nature, feigned preparations, free-will, works meritorious of eternal ſalvation, together with ſupererogations: becauſe they cannot abide that the whole praiſe and glory of all goodneſs, virtue, righteouſneſs, and wiſdom ſhould be aſcribed to God.

Firſt, whereas they charge our doctrine with novelty, they greatly wrong God, whoſe holy word deſerves not ſuch treatment. To them indeed I nothing doubt that it is new, to whom Chriſt and his goſpel is new: But they who know that preaching of Paul to be old, that Jeſus Chriſt died for our ſins, and roſe again for our juſtification, Rom. iv. 25. ſhall find nothing new among us; however long it hath lien hidden and buried by the ungodlineſs of men.

From

From the ſame fountain of ignorance ſpringeth this, that they take it for doubtful and uncertain. This verily is what the Lord by his prophet complaineth, Iſa. i. 13. But however they mock at the uncertainty of it, if they were driven to ſeal their own doctrine with their blood, men might ſee how much they ſet by it. But far otherwiſe is our affiance, which dreadeth neither the terrors of death, nor yet the very judgment ſeat of God.

Whereas they require miracles of us, they deal unreaſonably: for we coin no new goſpel, but hold faſt the ancient goſpel, for confirming of the truth whereof all the miracles do ſerve that ever Chriſt and his apoſtles have wrought. In this they have the advantage of us, that they can to this very day confirm their doctrine with pretended miracles. But we ſhould remember that ſatan hath his miracles, which though they be but juggling deceits, yet are ſuch as may deceive the ignorant and unſkilful. And Paul hath given us warning, that the kingdom of Antichriſt ſhall be with all power, and ſigns and lying wonders, 2 Theſſ. ii. 11. That their miracles are ſuch, is evident, foraſmuch as they lead away the people from the true worſhipping of their God to vanity.

Moreover they ſet the ancient fathers againſt us. But whereas many excellent things have been well and wiſely written by thoſe fathers, and in ſome things, that hath happened to them which is wont to happen to men; theſe good natural children forſooth, do worſhip only their errors. and thoſe things which are well ſpoken, they either notice not, or pretend ignorance, or vitiate; ſo that their care was altogether to gather dung in the gold of the fathers. If it were the matter of my preſent purpoſe, I could eaſily prove by the conſenting voices of the fathers, the moſt of what we maintain at this day. But we ſo read them, that we always remember, that all things are ours to ſerve us, and that none have dominion over us but Chriſt.

But now whereas they call us to cuſtom, they nothing prevail. We ſhould be moſt unjuſtly dealt with, if we ſhould be driven to yield to cuſtom. That which is ſeen to be done of many, by and by obtaineth the right of a cuſtom: but the ſtate of men hath ſcarcely at any time been in ſo good caſe, that the better things pleaſed the greater number. Therefore for the moſt part of the private vices of many ſome error hath been invented, or rather a common conſent of vices, which theſe good men would have to ſtand for a law.

As for their *dilemma*, That either the church hath lien dead a certain time, or that we have controverſy againſt the church. We affirm, both that the church may have no viſible form, and that the form itſelf conſiſts not in that outward pomp which they fooliſhly admire, but in the pure preaching of the word of God, and the right adminiſtration of ſacraments. They are in a rage unleſs the church may be always pointed out with the finger. But how often was it otherwiſe among the Jews? What form think we appeared when Elias bewailed that he alone was left? 1 Kings xix. 12. How long ſince the coming of Chriſt hath it lien hidden without form, by wars, ſeditions and hereſies? If they had lived at that time, would they have believed there was any church? but God ſaid to Elias, that he had reſerved ſeven thouſand men, who had not bowed their knee before *Baal*. So likewiſe hath Chriſt always had his people on earth ſince his aſcenſion, though not always viſible in church form. But if they will ſtick faſt to the outward appearance, they will make Chriſt and all the prophets of God ſchiſmatics; and the miniſters of ſatan, the inſtruments of the Holy Ghoſt.

Finally, the troubles, uproars and contentions, occaſioned by the preaching of our doctrine, and the fruits it now beareth in many, ought to be imputed to ſatan and not to it. For this is a natural effect of the word of God, that wherever it riſeth up ſatan is never idle. This is the moſt ſure and truſty mark, whereby it is diſcerned from falſe doctrines, which diſcover themſelves by their obtaining popular approbation, and being heard of the world rejoicing at them,

1 John iv. 5. So in certain ages paſt, when all things were drowned in deep darkneſs, the god of this world lay idle and took his pleaſure, being in peaceable poſſeſſion of his kingdom: but when light from above diſpelled his darkneſs, he then beſtirred himſelf, with all his inſtruments, in all the ways complained of. But how great maliciouſneſs is it to charge upon the word of God, the hatred either of the ſeditions, which naughty and rebellious men do ſtir up, or of the ſects which deceivers do raiſe againſt it? Yet it is no new charge, Elias was aſked, if it was he that troubled Iſrael. Chriſt was eſteemed of the Jews a ſeditious man. The apoſtles were accuſed of making a commotion among the people. What other thing do they who at this day father upon us all the troubles, uproars and contentions that boil up againſt us? And as for the licentious uſe made of our doctrine by ſome, the apoſtles experienced the ſame in their time. There were unlearned and unſtedfaſt men who wreſted the things that Paul had written by the inſpiration of God, Pet. iii. 16. Some when they heard that ſin abounded, to the end that grace might more abound, by and by objected, We will then abide in ſin, that grace may abound. When they heard that believers are not under the law, they by and by anſwered, We will then ſin, becauſe we are not under the law but under grace. Rom. vi. 1. and 15. Some accuſed him as an exhorter to evil. There entered privily many falſe apoſtles to deſtroy the churches which he had builded. Some of envy and contention preached the goſpel, to add affliction to his bonds. Some went backward, as dogs to their vomit, and ſwine to their wallowing in the mire. Others drew the liberty of the ſpirit to the licentiouſneſs of the fleſh. Many crept in by whom there came afterwards great danger to the godly. And even among the brethren themſelves were many ſtrifes raiſed up. But did the apoſtles forſake the goſpel which proved the ſeed-plot of ſo many contentions, and the occaſion of ſo many dangers and offences? No. They were ſupported by this recurring to their mind, that Chriſt is the ſtone of ſtumbling and rock of offence, ſet for the fall and riſing again of many, and for a ſign that ſhall be ſpoken againſt, Luke ii. 34. Being armed with this, they went forward boldly thro' all dangers, uproars and offences. With the ſame thought we alſo ought to be upholden, ſince Paul affirmeth, that this is the inſeparable property of the goſpel to be the ſavour of death unto death to them that periſh, although it be ordained to be the ſavour of life unto life, and the power of God unto the ſalvation of the faithful. 2 Cor. ii. 16.

Thus have you (O king) the venomous injuſtice of the ſlanders large enough declared, that you may not too credulouſly liſten to their reports. By this preface I intended not to make a defence indeed, but only to molify your mind beforehand to give audience to the diſcloſing of our cauſe; which your mind, though it be now turned away and eſtranged from us, yea and inflamed againſt us, yet we truſt that we ſhall be able to recover the favour thereof, if you ſhall once have without diſpleaſure and troublous affection read over this our confeſſion, which we will to be inſtead of a defence for us to your majeſty. But if the whiſperings of the malicious do ſo poſſeſs your ears, that there is no place for accuſed men to ſpeak for themſelves: and if thoſe outragious furies do ſtill with your winking at them, exerciſe cruelty with priſoning, tormenting, cutting and burning: we ſhall indeed, as ſheep appointed to the ſlaughter, be brought to all extremities, yet ſo that in our patience we ſhall poſſeſs our ſouls, and wait for the ſtrong hand of the Lord, which ſhall without doubt be preſent in time, and ſtretch forth itſelf armed, both to deliver the poor out of affliction, and take vengeance on the deſpiſers, who now triumph with ſo great aſſuredneſs.

The Lord the King of kings ſtabliſh your throne with righteouſneſs, and your ſeat with equity, moſt noble king.

At Baſil, *Auguſt* 1*ſt* 1536.

THE LIFE OF Mr. JOHN CALVIN.

MR. JOHN CALVIN was born at Noviodune, a famous city of France, June 6th, *anno* 1509. His father's name was Gerard Calvin, his mother's Joan Franca; both of good repute, of a competent eſtate. Gerard was a very prudent man, and therefore well eſteemed of both by the nobility, and others of the country: he gave his ſon John very liberal education from his childhood. From the grammer-ſchool, he ſent him to Paris, and placed him with Maturinus Corderius, a man well eſteemed both for his probity and learning; of chiefeſt account amongſt all the ſchool-maſters in France for his training up of youth. From thence John Calvin was tranſlated to the ſchool at Montacute, where he had Hiſpanus for his maſter, under whom, by reaſon of his ſharp wit, he profited ſo much, that, from the grammar, he proceeded to the ſtudy of logic, and other arts. His father from the beginning deſigned him to the ſtudy of divinity, which he judged him to be very much inclined to; being religiouſly addicted from his childhood, and a ſevere reprover of his ſchool-fellows faults. And being thus reſolved, he procured a benefice of the biſhop for him, in the cathederal church of Noviodune, as alſo a cure in a neighbour village, called Biſhop's-Bridge, where himſelf was born, though afterwards he removed to the city of Noviodune, in which place our John, before his ordination, preached divers ſermons to the people. But this purpoſe of his (both their minds changing) was afterwards altered: for his father ſeeing that the ſtudy of the law was a certainer ſtep to riches and honour, altered his mind upon that account; and his ſon growing into acquaintance with a certain kinſman of his, called Peter Robert Olevitane, was by him inſtructed in the true reformed religion; whereupon he addicted himſelf to the ſtudy of the ſacred ſcriptures, and began to abominate and withdraw himſelf from the ſuperſtitious ſervices in the popiſh church.

Upon this occaſion he went to Orleans, where Peter Stella, the moſt famous lawyer in France, read his lectures, whoſe auditor John Calvin was, and in a ſhort ſpace wonderfully profited in that ſtudy: ſo that many times, occaſionally ſupplying his maſter's room, he ra-

ther ſeemed a doctor, than a learner of the law: and when he was about to depart, all the profeſſors of that univerſity, proffered freely to beſtow the degree of a doctor upon him, as having ſo well deſerved of the univerſity. But all this while he neglected not the ſtudy of the ſacred ſcriptures, and divinity; inſomuch as few in that city, that were addicted to the reformed religion, but they came to him to be ſatisfied in their doubts, and went away admiring his learning and zeal. And ſome that were intimately acquainted with him at that time, teſtified that his manner was conſtantly to continue his ſtudies till midnight, and in the morning, ſo ſoon as he wakened, to ruminate what he had read over night, whereby he fixed it in his memory; neither would he ſuffer himſelf to be diſturbed during the time of his meditation: and the better to fit him for his ſtudies, he always ſupped very ſparingly. By which practice he attained to excellent learning, and a very good memory: yet withal, hereby he contracted ſuch weakneſs of ſtomach, as brought upon him many diſeaſes, and at laſt an immature death.

About this time the univerſity of Biturg grew famous, for that they had procured out of Italy the eminenteſt lawyer of his time, Andrew Alciat, whom our John would needs alſo be a hearer of: thither therefore he went, and during his abode there, he grew into familiar acquaintance with Melchior Wolmarus, a German, the public profeſſor of Greek in that univerſity, a man famous for religion and learning. Under him he ſtudied the Greek tongue, for which benefit he ſo much prized him, that afterwards he dedicated to him his Comment upon the ſecond epiſtle to the Corinthians.

Whilſt he was employed in theſe ſtudies, he neglected not that of divinity; ſo that he preached divers ſermons in a neighbour town called Liveria. But whilſt he was thus buſied, news came to him of his father's death, which called him back into his own country: and have ſettled his affairs there, he went back to Paris, being now about four and twenty years old; at which time he wrote that excellent Commentary upon *Seneca de Clementia*, being much affected with that author, whom he uſed to ſay, agreed very well with his genius. After a few months ſtay at Paris, he grew acquainted with all that profeſſed the reformed religion; and among the reſt, with Stephen Forgeus, a famous merchant, who afterwards ſealed the truth with his blood.

From hence forward, at the earneſt requeſt of the godly that held their private meetings at Paris, he laid aſide all other ſtudies, and wholly applied himſelf to that of divinity, wherein alſo he found the ſpecial aſſiſtance of God. At this time Nicholas Cope was rector of the univerſity at Paris, who being to make an oration upon the Kalends of November, at which time the pontificians uſed to celebrate their All-Saints day, at the inſtigation of John Calvin, he ſpake of religion more purely and clearly than they uſed to do. This the Sorboniſts could not bear, and the parliament of Paris was angry at it, inſomuch as they cited him to appear before them, which accordingly he was about to ſubmit to; but as he went, ſome of his friends adviſed him to take heed of his adverſaries; whereupon he returned home, and immediately after left France, and went to Baſil, where his father was a profeſſor of phyſic.

The officers ſent by the parliament, ſearching for Cope, went into Mr. Calvin's houſe, who by chance not being at home, they ranſacked his ſtudy, and amongſt his papers found many of his friends letters, which had like to have endangered the lives of many. So bitterly were the enemies of the church at that time enraged againſt the people of God, eſpecially one John Morinus, whoſe abominable cruelty is infamous till this day. But it pleaſed God to divert that ſtorm by the prudent, and pious diligence of the queen of Navar, the only ſiſter of king Francis, a woman of an admirable wit, and exceeding tender of the welfare of the profeſſors of the reformed religion. She alſo ſent for Mr. Calvin into her court, uſed

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him very honourably, and heard him gladly. But Mr. Calvin finding Paris too hot for his abode, went to Xantone, where ſojourning with a friend, at his requeſt he drew up ſhort chriſtian admonitions, which were diſperſed amongſt certain Prieſts to be taught to their people, that ſo their people might by little and little be drawn to ſearching out of the truth. Shortly after he went to Nerac, a city of Aquitane, where he viſited that good old man James Faber Stapulenſis, who being formerly a profeſſor of the mathematics, and philoſophy in Paris, was perſecuted for the truth by the Sorboniſts; but by the friendly help of the queen of Navar was delivered and ſent to this town of her juriſdiction: this good old man received young Mr. Calvin with very fatherly affections, propheſying that in time to come he would prove a famous inſtrument for the building of the French church.

From thence Mr. Calvin went again to Paris, being called thereto by the ſpecial providence of God: for at this time that wicked Servetus was come thither, diſperſing his poiſon againſt the ſacred Trinity; who hearing of Calvin, pretended that he was deſirous to confer with him; and a time and place was appointed for their meeting, whither Calvin went, not without peril of his life, who was fain to hide himſelf from the rage of his enemies; but when he had waited long for him, Servetus came not, being indeed afraid of the very ſight of Mr. Calvin: this was *Anno Chriſti* 1534. Infamous for the abominable cruelty exerciſed againſt the poor ſaints of God, eſpecially againſt Gerard Ruffus, a maſter of art of Sorbon, and Caroldus an Auguſtinian monk, who under the protection of the queen of Navar, had for a year or two very much propagated the truth, which the devil envying, now ſtirred up his inſtruments to pull them out of the pulpit, and to caſt them into priſon: yea, king Francis himſelf was ſo irritated, by reaſon of certain papers againſt the maſs, ſcattered about the city, and fixed to his chamber door, that he preſently commanded a public proceſſion, wherein himſelf and his three children aſſiſted with a bare head, carrying a torch in his hand to expiate that wickedneſs, and commanded eight of the ſaints of God to be burned alive, in four principal parts of the city; ſwearing publicly, that he would not ſpare his own children if he knew them to be infected with thoſe damnable hereſies. Calvin beholding theſe ſad ſpectacles, went preſently after to Orleans, where he publiſhed his famous book which he caled Pſychopannychia, againſt that error long before broached, and now again revived, of them which held The ſouls ſleeping after they were ſevered from the bodies: and ſo purpoſing to bid adieu to France, he aſſociated to him his old friend with whom he had ſojourn'd at Xantone, and travelling through Lorrain, went towards Baſil: but being not far from the city of Meton, they fell into great ſtraits, for one of their ſervants who had gotten all their money, being mounted upon a luſty horſe, ran away from them, and could by no means be overtaken; ſo they were fain to ſend their other ſervant to borrow ten crowns, which with much adoe carried him to Strasborough, and from thence to Baſil. There Mr. Calvin quickly became an intimate friend to thoſe famous men Simon Gryneus, and Wolfgang Capito: he ſtudied alſo the Hebrew tongue, and though he endeavoured by all means to conceal himſelf, yet was he forced to publiſh his Inſtitutions, which he called but the foundation of a far greater work.

The proteſtant princes in Germany hearing of this bloody act of king Francis, were much provoked by it, yet did the king at this ſame time ſeek their friendſhip, and to excuſe his cruelty, by the advice of William Bellaius Langæus, he ſent them word that he had only puniſhed certain Anabaptiſts, who ſet up their fanatic ſpirits inſtead of ſcripture, and ſhewed themſelves contemners of all magiſtrates. Which diſgrace put upon the true religion, Mr. Calvin not enduring, took occaſion from thence to publiſh that his incomparable book, prefixing a preface to king Francis, which ſurely he never read, or elſe it would have provoked

him to have given a great wound to the Babyloniſh whore: for that king (therein not like his ſucceſſors) was a great weigher of matters, had a good judgment to diſcern the truth, was a favourer of learned men, and not altogether eſtranged from the profeſſors of the goſpel. But neither he, nor the people of France either ſaw, or heard thoſe things, the ſins of the king and people haſtning God's wrath againſt them.

Mr. Calvin having publiſhed this book and performed that office of duty to his country, had a great deſire to viſit the dutcheſs of Ferrara, the daughter of Lewis the twelfth of France, a woman famous for her piety, and thereby alſo to have a ſight of Italy. To her therefore he went, and endeavoured to confirm her in the truth, ſo that ſhe loved him dearly all his life after, yea, even after his death honoured his memory.

Returning out of Italy (into whoſe borders he uſed to ſay, that he went that he might return again) he came into France, where ſettling his affairs, and taking along with him his only brother Anthony Calvin, he intended to return to Baſil or Strasborough; but all other ways being ſtopped by reaſon of wars, he went to Geneva, without any purpoſe of ſtaying there. Yet preſently after it appeared, that it was ſo ordered by divine providence: for a little before, the goſpel of Chriſt was almoſt miraculouſly brought into that city by the labour and induſtry of two excellent men, William Farell of the Delphinate, ſometimes a ſcholar of Faber Stapulenſis, and Peter Viret, a Bernate, whoſe labours God afterwards wonderfully bleſſed and proſpered. Calvin hearing of theſe worthy men (as the manner is amongſt the godly) went to viſit them, to whom Mr. Farell (being a man endued with an heroical ſpirit) ſpake much to perſuade him rather to ſtay with them at Geneva, then to go any further. But when he ſaw that perſuaſions would not prevail, he ſaid thus unto him; "I proteſt unto thee "in the name of the Omnipotent God, that if thou thus proceedeſt to frame excuſes, and "wilt not join with us in this work of the Lord, that the Lord will curſe thee, as ſeeking thy "own, rather then the things of Jeſus Chriſt." Calvin being terrified with this terrible threatning, ſubmitted to the judgment of the presbytery, and of the magiſtrates, by whoſe ſuffrages, together with the conſent of the people, he was choſen not only their preacher, but alſo profeſſor of divinity: the firſt he refuſed, the ſecond he accepted of, *anno Chriſti* 1536, in the month of Auguſt. This year became famous by a ſtricter league between the Bernates, and the city of Geneva, as alſo by the entertainment of the goſpel at Lauſanna, where a free diſputation was held between the pontificians and the proteſtants, at which Mr. Calvin was preſent.

Then did Mr. Calvin publiſh a certain form of chriſtian doctrine, fitted for the church of Geneva, as yet ſcarce crept out of the pollutions of popery. He added alſo a catechiſm, not that which we have by way of queſtion and anſwer, but one much ſhorter, containing the chief heads of religion. Then did he, together with Mr. Farell and Caroldus (moſt of their colleagues through fear forſaking them) attempt to form a church amongſt the citizens: for which end he propoſed, that all the people being gathered together, ſhould publicly forſwear Popery, and withal ſhould ſwear to obſerve the chriſtian religion, and diſcipline contained in a few heads; which thing (through God's mercy) was affected *anno Chriſti* 1537, though many of the citizens refuſed, the city being yet ſcarce free from the ſnares of the duke of Savoy, and the dregs of popery, and many being much inclined to factions: Yet a public ſcribe reading them, the ſenate and people of Geneva ſwore together to thoſe heads of chriſtian religion and diſcipline. The devil being much enraged at this excellent work, having tried a thouſand ways by open enemies to overthrow it, and not prevailing by thoſe ways, he ſought under the pretence of piety to deſtroy it: ſtirring up firſt the Anabaptiſts, and then Peter Caroli,

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not only to disgrace it, but as much as in them lay, utterly to have subverted it. But the Lord was wiser, and stronger then Satan, as the event shewed: for Calvin with his colleagues, in a public and free disputation did, with that gravity out of the word of God, confute the Anabaptists, March the 18, 1537, that (which is seldom seen) from that time forwards there never appeared any of them in that church. But the other disturber of their church's peace, Peter Caroli, caused greater, and longer troubles, whereof this is a brief account. This impudent sophister was bred in the college of Sorbon, from whence at last he was cast out for an heretic, whereupon he went first to Geneva, then to Lausanna, and from thence to Neocom, but so infected, and inflamed by the devil, that whersoever he came, he left an impression of his foul spirit: and when he saw himself opposed by the protestants, he went to the papists, and from them to the protestants again: and at last broke forth into open railing against Mr. Farell, Viret, and Calvin, as if they held some corrupt opinions about the sacred Trinity. Hereupon there was a full synod assembled at Berne, in which Peter Caroli was condemned for his calumny, and thereupon removed. But shortly after he went to Mediomatrice, that he might hinder the work of the Lord happily there begun by Mr. Farell: from thence writing an epistle, he railed upon the godly, giving hope to the papists that he would return to them again: yet was he sent to Rome, that he might give satisfaction to the pope himself. There he was received with scorn, and being oppressed with poverty, and infected with the French-pox, at last with much adoe he gat into an hospital, where shortly after he died miserably; and this truly was his unhappy end.

About the same time Mr. Calvin observing that there were many in France that knew, and were convinced of the truth, and yet indulged themselves, as if it were enough that they reserved their hearts for Christ, though they were present at the popish services, published two elegant epistles: one to exhort the flying of idolatry, directed to Gerard Ruffus, whom we mentioned before: the other of the popish priesthood, directed to the same man, who was now made a bishop, and was fallen from his former zeal. But whilst Mr. Calvin was thus employed, he met with grievous seditions at home. The gospel indeed was entertained, and popery abjured in Geneva; but many were not reformed of the prophane and scandalous courses in which they had been indulged, and which they had learned of the impure popish clergy: and those ancient feuds which had sprung up by reason of the Savoyan wars amongst the chiefest families, were not yet laid aside. These at first were gently admonished, and when that prevailed not, more sharply reprehended; and when yet they continued to be stubborn, and refractory, and that the city by the factions of certain private persons was devided into parties, so that by no means they would endure to be brought into that order to which they had been sworn Mr. Farell, Calvin, and Caroldus, inspired with an heroical spirit, did openly profess that they could by no means administer the holy sacrament of the Lord's supper to persons who were at such bitter enmity amongst themselves, and so utterly averse to all ecclesiastical discipline.

Another evil that fell out was this; a difference there was in some ecclesiastical rites between the Bernates and the Genevians; the Genevians using common bread at the sacrament, and a different sort of fonts; they also abolished all holy days but the Lord's day; whereupon the Bernates assembling a synod at Lausanna, decreed, that wafers should be used in the sacrament, and required that in Geneva the same practice should be observed: but the college of ministers at Geneva, desired that first they might be heard; and for this end appointed a synod at Zurick. Upon this occasion the Syndics which were chosen for that year at Geneva (who for the time are the chiefest magistrates) assembling the captains of the seditious persons, so far prevailed

vailed (though Mr. Calvin and his colleagues enterpoſed, and deſired firſt to be heard) the greater part overcoming the better, that theſe three worthy ſervants of Chriſt were commanded within two days to depart the city, becauſe (as was alledged) they refuſed to adminiſter the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper. When this decree was brought to Mr. Calvin, he ſaid, "Truly "if I had ſerved men, I ſhould have had but an ill reward; but its well that I have ſerved "him who doth always perform to his ſervants what he hath once promiſed."

Who would not now have thought, that this buſineſs muſt needs have brought deſtruction upon the church of Geneva? but the event ſhewed the wonderful wiſdom of God in turning it to good; partly by employing the labours of theſe his ſervants elſewhere, by variety of experiences to fit them for greater employments: partly that the ſeditious perſons in Geneva overthrowing themſelves by their own violence, that church might be purged from many pollutions. So wonderful doth God ſhew himſelf in all his ways, eſpecially in the admirable government of his church.

At the time appointed, theſe three worthy fathers (to the great grief of all good men) left Geneva, and went to Zurick, where gathering a ſynod of the Helvetian churches, the ſynod decreed, and by the interceſſion of the Bernates, tried the minds of the Genevians for their re-admiſſion; but when that prevailed not, Calvin went to Baſil, and from thence to Strasborough; where by the deſire of the ſenate, and the importunity of thoſe bright ſtars which at that time ſhined in that church, Bucer, Hedio, Capito, Niger, and their colleagues, he was diſigned to be the profeſſor of divinity, with a competent ſalary allowed; which place he diſcharged with the great applauſe of learned men; and by the conſent of the ſenate he planted the French church there, and ſettled diſcipline in it. Thus was the expectation of ſatan fruſtrated, Calvin ſettled in another place, and a new church erected for the former ſubverted. Yet in the mean time did not the devil ceaſe to endeavour wholly to eradicate the church of Geneva; for which end he ſtirred up ſome wicked men, yet under the pretence of piety, to bring in that decree of changing common bread into wafers; indeed only to ſtir up new controverſies: wherein alſo ſatan failed not of his purpoſe, many godly men upon this occaſion abſtaining from the ſacrament, till Mr. Calvin by his holy letters had perſuaded them not to contend for a thing ſo indifferent in itſelf. By this means unleavened bread was again brought into uſe in the Genevian church; concerning which, Calvin being afterwards reſtored, would never contend, and yet withal did not diſſemble his judgment about the ſame.

But behold! preſently after fell out a far greater evil, *anno Chriſti* 1539, which yet by the prudent diligence of Mr. Calvin was quickly extinguiſhed, which was this; There was the biſhop of Carpentoratum, called James Sodolet, a man of great eloquence, which yet he abuſed to the ſubverſion of the truth, for which cauſe he was made a cardinal. This man ſeeing the flock deprived of ſuch able and vilgilant ſhepherds; thought it a fit time to enſnare them; for which end he wrote letters under the pretence of his neighbourhood, directed to his dear friends (as he called them) the ſenate, council, and people of Geneva, in which he omitted no arguments whereby he might perſuade them to return into the boſom of the Romiſh church. And at this time there was no man in Geneva that would undertake to anſwer the ſame; ſo that probably they would have done much miſchief, but that they were written in a foreign language. But when Mr. Calvin at Strasborough had read them, forgetting all the wrongs which had been done him, he returned an anſwer ſo ſpeedily, truly, and eloquently, that the cardinal diſpairing of accompliſhing his end, wholly gave over his deſign. Neither indeed did Mr. Calvin defer till this time the manifeſting of his paſtoral bowels, which he yet retained to the Genevians, eſpecially to thoſe that ſuffered with him in the ſame cauſe, as may appear by

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thoſe excellent epiſtles which he wrote to them the ſame year wherein he was baniſhed. Wherein his principal ſcope was to exhort them to repentance, to bear with the wicked, to maintain peace with their paſtors, and to be frequent in calling upon God; as alſo to ſtir them up to expect light after thoſe deadly miſts of darkneſs, which he told them would follow, as alſo the event ere long made to appear. About the ſame time alſo he publiſhed his Inſtitutions much enlarged, and his Commentary upon the Romans, dedicated to Simon Grynæus his dear friend, and that golden book of his concerning the Lord's ſupper, which he made for the uſe of his French church, which Galaſius afterwards turned in Latin. In which he handled the doctrine of the ſacrament ſo dextrouſly, and learnedly, that it ſerved to determine the unhappy controverſy about it, to the ſatisfaction of all good and learned men. Neither was his happineſs leſs in reclaiming many Anabaptiſts from their errors, amongſt whom were theſe two principal men, Paul Volſius, who afterwards was a paſtor in the church of Strasborough: the other was John Storder, who afterwards dying of a plague, Mr. Calvin by the advice of Bucer married his widow, called Idellita, a very grave and honeſt matron.

In theſe ſtudies and labours did Mr. Calvin continue at Strasborough to the year 1541. In the which year the emperor, Charles the fifth, aſſembled two diets, the one at Worms, the other at Ratisbone, for compounding the differences about religion: at both which, by the deſire of the divines at Strasborough, Mr. Calvin was preſent, to the great advantage of the churches, eſpecially of his own French congregation, and where he was moſt lovingly entertained, and highly prized by Philip Melancthon, and Gaſper Cruciger, ſo that Philip called him *His Divine*. He alſo had much private conference with them about the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, and they could not but very well approve of his opinion therein.

But now the time was come wherein the Lord purpoſed to ſhew mercy to his poor church at Geneva: for one of the Syndics, who had promoted the decree for their baniſhment, did ſo miſdemean himſelf in his office, that being found guilty of ſedition, whilſt he thought to eſcape out at a window, being a fat man, he fell down, ſo bruiſed himſelf, that within a few days after he died. Another of them had his head cut off for a murder; the other two having done the common wealth much diſſervice in an embaſſy wherein they were employed, were fain to fly their country, and were condemned in their abſence.

Theſe evil inſtruments being thus removed, the city of Geneva began to call for their Farell and Calvin; but when by no means they could recover Farell from Neocom, where he was now ſettled, they uſed all their endeavours to procure Calvin; and for that end they ſent ambaſſadors to Strasborough, uſing alſo the interceſſion of thoſe of Zurick, to requeſt that Mr. Calvin might be ſent back to them. The ſenate of Strasborough were exceeding unwilling to hearken to it. Calvin himſelf, although he had not changed his mind towards the Genevians for the miſcarriages of ſome wicked men, yet abhoring to enter into new troubles, but eſpecially becauſe he found the Lord bleſſing his miniſtry at Strasborough, did abſolutely refuſe to return. Beſides Bucer, and the other paſtors, did profeſs their great unwillingneſs to part with him. But the Genevians ſtill preſſing hard for him, Bucer at laſt thought that their requeſts ſhould be condeſcended to, at leaſt for a time; which yet was not granted by Mr. Calvin himſelf, till they had urged him with the judgment of God in caſe he refuſed, and with the example of Jonah. But this falling out juſt at the time when Calvin, with Bucer was going to viſit the diet at Ratisbone, his return was delayed for a time; and in the mean time the Genevians obtained of the Bernates that Peter Viret ſhould go from Lauſanna to Geneva; and indeed this made

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Mr. Calvin far more willing to return to Geneva, when he ſaw that he was to have ſuch a colleague, by whoſe labours and counſels he might be much furthered in reforming that church. So after ſome months Mr. Calvin went to Geneva, Sept. 13, *anno Chriſti* 1541, being ſingularly welcomed by the people, and eſpecially by the ſenate, who acknowledged the wonderful mercy and goodneſs of God towards them, in reſtoring him to them again. And whereas the ſenate of Strasborough had decreed that after a time he ſhould return to them again, they of Geneva would never give over till they had reverſed that decree, which at laſt was yielded to by them of Strasborough, yet with this proviſo, that that penſion which they had ſettled upon him ſhould ſtill be continued to him; but Mr. Calvin could never be perſuaded to receive it, caring for nothing leſs than for riches. Mr. Calvin being thus reſtored to his church, and perceiving that the city needed ſuch bridles, he profeſſed that he could not comfortably exerciſe his miniſtry amongſt them, except together with the doctrine of the goſpel, they would embrace the presbyterian government, for the well regulating of the church. Hereupon elders were choſen, and a model of the presbyterial government was drawn up conſonant to the word of God, and grateful to the citizens, which the devil afterwards ſought by all his artifices to deſtroy, but all in vain. He wrote alſo a catechiſm in French and Latin, not much different from the former, but much larger, divided into queſtions and anſwers, which indeed was an admirable piece, and found ſuch approbation and entertainment abroad, that it was turned into High-Dutch, Engliſh, Scottiſh, Low-Dutch, Spaniſh, yea, and Immanuel Tremelius turned it into Hebrew, and Henry Stevens turned it into Greek alſo. His ordinary labours were theſe. Every other Sabbath he preached twice, Munday, Tueſday, and Wedneſday, he read his divinity lectures. Every Thurſday he aſſiſted in the conſiſtory for the exerciſe of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline. On Fridays he read a lecture for the clearing of ſome hard places of ſcripture. Beſides which he wrote many commentaries upon the ſcriptures: anſwered many adverſaries to the truth; wrote many letters to ſundry places, of advice, and direction, in weighty buſineſſes. So that we have cauſe to wonder how it was poſſible for one man to undergo ſo many buſineſſes. He made very much uſe of Farell and Viret, and yet himſelf contributed much more to them. And truly their familiarity as it was much envied by the wicked, ſo it was very grateful to all good men. And it was a very pleaſant ſight to behold theſe three men, ſo famous in the church, and all agreeing in the work of the Lord, and yet ſo excelling in ſeveral gifts of the Spirit. Farell exceeded in a certain greatneſs of mind whoſe thundering ſermons could not be heard without trembling, and whoſe ardent prayers would lift a man up into heaven. Viret did ſo excel in ſweet eloquence, that he chained his hearers to his lips. Calvin, look how many words he ſpake, with ſo many grave and pithy ſentences, he filled the minds of his hearers: ſo that (ſaith Mr. Beza) "I often thought that the gifts of theſe three men meeting in one, would make a "complte paſtor."

Beſides the forementioned labours of Mr. Calvin, he had alſo the charge and buſineſs of a family to look after; beſides many foreign buſineſſes; for God ſo bleſſed his miniſtry, that from all parts of the chriſtian world he was ſought to, partly for advice in matters of religion and partly for to hear him preach: ſo that at the ſame time there was an Italian church,' an Engliſh church, and a Spaniſh church, beſides the church of Geneva, that that city ſeemed too little to entertain all that came to it for his ſake, Thus, though he was loved of the good, and feared of the wicked; and things were excellently ſettled; yet he did meet with many oppoſitions for the excerciſe of his graces: for as ſoon as he returned

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to Geneva, being mindful of that saying of our Saviour, "Seek first the kingdom of God, "and his righteousness, and all other things shall be added unto you:" his first, and chiefest care was, by the consent of the senate, to settle such an ecclesiastical polity as was most consonant to the word of God: from which afterwards it should not be lawful, either for the ministers or people, to recede. But before proof was made of it, not only some of the common people, but even of the chief men that had cast off popery, and given their names only to Christ, shewed their hatred against it. Yea, some of those ministers which continued there when these three good men were cast out (though the chiefest of them afterwards left their stations, being found guilty of sundry wickednesses) although (being convinced in their consciences, they durst not oppose it, yet) underhand they manifested their dislike of it, and would by no means be brought into order: and that pretending the example of other churches, wherein no excommunication was used. Yea, some of them cryed out, that it would introduce the popish tyranny again. But Mr. Calvin overcame these difficulties by his constancy, joined with singular moderation; shewing that not only the true doctrine, but ecclesiastical discipline was also to be fetched out of the word of God, and that his had the approbation of the most learned men of that age, as Oecolampadius, Zuinglius, Zuichius, Melancthon, Bucer, Capito, and Myconius, which he proved out of their writings: withal telling them, that other christian churches were not to be condemned which had not proceeded, so far, nor those pastors which found that their people needed not such a bridle: and lastly, shewing what a vast difference there was between the popish tyranny, and the easy yoke of the Lord: so that he at last obtained that his discipline was written, read, and confirmed by the suffrages of the people, and generally received, November the twentieth, 1541.

But though these things were so happily carried on, yet Mr. Calvin, considering that he was like to meet with some difficulties in the exercise of it, did his utmost endeavour that Viret, who was only lent them by the Bernates for at time, and Farell, who was now settled at Neocome, might be joined with him as his perpetual fellow-pastors; but he could not possible effect it: Viret presently after returning, he went to Lausanna, and Farell remaining, at Neocome, so that the whole praise of settling the Genevian church is due to Mr. Calvin alone.

The year following, *viz.* 1542, Mr. Calvin met with many afflictions, some at home, but especially by the enflamed fury of the adversaries of the truth abroad, in France and Italy, whence they drave away many professors of the gospel; for the comforting of whom, he layed out himself exceedingly, writing many encouraging letters every way, both to those that were escaped, and to those also that yet remained within the reach of the lions jaws.

The same year also there fell out two other great evils, famine and pestilence its usual companion; and at this time the custom of Geneva was, that such as were infected with the pestilence, should be removed into an hospital out of the city, where, being in need of a constant and sedulous pastor, when, by reason of the danger most men refused it, there were three that offered themselves, *viz.* Calvin, Sebastian Castalio, and Blanchet; and lots being cast between these three, it fell upon Castalio, who, notwithstanding his former forwardness, now shamefully drew back, and refused it; and when Calvin would have cast lots again, the senate and Blanchet (who now took this work upon him) would not suffer it. About this time also other mischiefs fell out; for Peter Tossanus, the pastor of Montbelgard, was much troubled about the controversy of the Lord's supper, and at Basil, were the foundation of church government was scarce laid (do Myconius what he could to the contrary) it was

by ſome evil affected perſons ſubverted; and both theſe men had recourſe to Mr. Calvin for his counſel. And at Neocome, though Mr. Farell laboured with good ſucceſs, yet the work of the Lord was moſt obſtructed, partly by open force, and partly by that apoſtate Peter Caroli, of whom we ſpake before; about which buſineſs we may diſcern Mr. Calvin's labours, partly by his printed letters, and partly by the teſtimony of ſuch as were eye-witneſſes of it. But there was a far more audacious act of the Sorboniſts at this time, who neither having authority from God nor man, yet dared to impoſe ſundry articles of chriſtian religion, as they called them, but ſuch indeed as were ſtuffed with ſo many errors, and fooleries, wherein that ſociety of men did abound, as that it is a wonder how any man that had the uſe of reaſon ſhould aſſent thereunto; yet many, partly through fear, and partly through ignorance, ſubſcribed them. Wherefore Mr. Calvin anſwered them, learnedly confuting their errors by ſolid arguments, and ſo ſet forth their fooleries, that every man which was not wilfully blind might eaſily diſcern the ſame.

Thus ended this year, to which the next ſucceeded, no whit milder, either in regard of the famine or peſtilence, which infeſted all Savoy; and Mr. Calvin proceeding according to his accuſtomed manner, confirmed his own at home, and ſtrongly oppoſed the adverſaries abroad; publiſhing his four books about free-will, which he dedicated to Phil. Melanchthon, againſt Albert Phighius, the greateſt ſophiſter of his age, and who had ſingled out Calvin for his antagoniſt, being promiſed a cardinal's hat if he could carry away the victory from him: But being fruſtrated of his labour, he gat that which the enemies of the truth only deſerve, *viz.* That he ſtank amongſt learned and good men, himſelf being deceived by the devil. How much Melanchthon eſteemed of thoſe books of Mr. Calvin, himſelf teſtifies in his epiſtles which are in print. Mr. Calvin alſo the ſame year wrote to the church at Montbelgard, whereby the mouths of caluminators may be ſtopped, who accuſe him of too much rigidneſs in the exerciſe of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline.

The year following, which was *anno Chriſti*, 1544. Mr. Calvin declared his opinion about the purpoſe of the church of Neocome in eccleſiaſtical cenſures; and at home Sebaſtian Caſtalio, whom we mentioned before, being a light man, and very ambitious, having tranſlated the New Teſtament into French, was exceedingly diſpleaſed that Mr. Calvin did not approve of it; yea, he grew ſo angry, that he vented divers errors, and not content therewith, he publicly preached that the Canticles of Solomon was an impure and obſcene ſong, and therefore would needs have it expunged out of the ſacred canon; and becauſe the miniſters oppoſed him, he railed exceedingly againſt them; which they judging unfit for them to bear, called him before the ſenate, where being heard with much patience, he was at laſt condemned of ſlanders, and commanded to depart out of the city. From thence he went to Baſil, where being at laſt admitted. What his carriage was there, is beſides my purpoſe. The year before the emperor Charles the fifth being to war againſt the king of France, had promiſed the Germans that they ſhould not be moleſted for their religion, till a general council ſhould be called, which, as he told them, he would take care to be effected. This the pope, Paul the third, was much incenſed at, and publiſhed an harſh expoſtulation againſt the emperor, becauſe he had equalized the heritics with the catholics, and had thruſt his ſicle into another man's harveſt: the emperor anſwered, that which he thought to be reaſon: but Mr. Calvin, becauſe he ſaw in the pope's letters, that the truth of the goſpel did ſuffer together with the innocency of good men, took him up very roundly, and repreſſed his impudence. At this time a diet was aſſembled at Spires, upon which occaſion Calvin publiſhed the book Of the neceſſity of reforming the Church, than which that age produced not a book of that ſubject, that was more

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weighty and nervous. The ſame year alſo Mr. Calvin in two books did ſo confute the Anabaptiſts and Libertines (who had revived the monſtrous hereſies of former ages) that whoſoever read them, except he was willing to it, could not be deceived by them, and they which had been formerly deceived could not but be reclaimed to the truth. Yet the queen of Navar was offended with his book againſt the Libertnes, being ſo bewitched with two of the chief patrons of that hereſy; *Quintinus* and *Pocquetus*, whom Calvin had noted by name, that though ſhe was not otherwiſe tainted with their errors, yet ſhe had a great opinion that they were good men, and therefore took her ſelf to be wounded through their ſides: which when Mr. Calvin underſtood, he wrote to her with admirable moderation, as not unmindful of her dignity, nor of all the good ſhe had done for the church of God, and yet withal, as became a faithful ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt, he reprehended her imprudence for admitting ſuch men, and aſſerted the authority of his miniſtry, and he ſo far prevailed, that the men of that abominable ſect of Libertines, which began apace to flock into France, afterwards kept themſelves in Holland and the countries adjacent.

The labours of this year being finiſhed, the ſucceeding year being 1545, brought new and greater labours with it: for the plague increaſing in the city, and neighbour villages, ſeemed as if it would devour all before it, and covetouſneſs ſo prevailed with the poor people, who were imployed to attend the rich in their ſickneſs, and to cleanſe their houſes, that by an horrible conſpiracy amongſt themſelves, with a peſtilentious ointment, they anointed the poſts, threſholds and doors of many houſes, whereby a more grievous peſtilence enfued; and theſe wicked inſtruments of the devil had bound themſelves to ſatan by an oath, that by no torments they ſhould confeſs their wickedneſs: yet many of them being taken in the city and villages, were puniſhed according to their deſerts.

'Tis almoſt incredible what envy and reproach this act brought upon Geneva, and eſpecially upon Mr. Calvin, as if the devil ſhould rule there altogether, where he was moſt oppoſed. This year was alſo infamous by that abominable and cruel edict which the parliament of Aquitane ſet forth againſt the poor Waldenſes of Merindol, Cabriers, and thoſe parts, whereby moſt unheard-of cruelties were exerciſed, not againſt ſome few, but againſt all of them, without any diſtinction of ages or ſex, yea to the very burning of their towns. Some of theſe that eſcaped flying to Geneva, Mr. Calvin was the more afflicted for them, and careful of them, becauſe a little before he had written conſolatory letters to them and ſent them faithful paſtors for the inſtructing of them purely out of the goſpel, and had alſo (where they were in danger before preſerved them by his interceſſion to the German princes, and Helvetians. The unhappy controverſy, alſo of the Lord's ſupper ſprang up again; Oſiander, a man of a proud and monſterous wit, revivingi t out of the aſhes: for the quenching of which flame, Mr. Calvin did what poſſibly he could, as may appear by his letters which he wrote to Melanchthon about the ſame. But the intemperancy of Oſiander was ſuch, that he would by no means hearken to the wholſome counſel that was given him by thoſe two men. In the mean while the plague ſtill raging in the city, took away many good men: whereupon Mr. Calvin out of the pulpit thundered againſt many wickedneſſes, eſpecially againſt whoredom, which was not laid aſide, notwithſtanding that judgment of God amongſt them. Good men aſſented to this which Mr. Calvin ſpake, but ſome there were of the great men of the city, which hindered the reformation hereof, till at laſt they ruined themſelves thereby: and to all theſe evils this was added to compleat them, that now (though very unſeaſonable) the controverſy about the privileges of the city ſprang up, neither could the faithful paſtors be ſuffered to diſpoſe of the eccleſiaſtical goods taken from the pontificians, as they ought to be. About

this buſineſs were many clamours, many complaints, and much pains taken by writting, and conference, but they proved all in vain; whereupon Mr. Calvin did publicly profeſs, that he could not endure ſo many ſacrileges, which he knew would at the length be ſeverely puniſhed by God, yet withal, he acknowledged the juſtice of God, in that the goods which were formerly ſo unjuſtly gotten by the maſs-prieſts, God would not ſuffer them to be brought into the church's treaſury.

Mr. Calvin yet met with two more things which did afflict him this year. A wicked fellow was returned to Geneva, his own country, who for a time had lived as an hermit in France. This man pretending to the reformed religion, Mr. Calvin (who was very acute in prying into mens minds, and manners) taking notice of him, admoniſhed him firſt gently, and afterwards more freely, and at laſt reproved him for carrying himſelf more proudly in the congregation than beſeemed him. The man not bearing this, eaſily found out ſuch as had been reproved for their wickedneſs by Mr. Calvin, by whoſe favour and help he might be aſſiſted; ſo that a paſtor being to be choſen in the room of one that was dead, this man, by the help of his companions, ſought the place, and ſo far prevailed, that the ſenate commanded that in the election regard ſhould be had of him. Mr. Calvin with his colleagues oppoſed it, ſhewing how far this ſeeking to intrude himſelf was diſſonant from the word of God, and at length obtained of the ſenate that they ſhould proceed in their election according to the eccleſiaſtical conſtitutions formerly agreed on.

At this ſame time alſo there were many in France, who being fallen at firſt through fear of perſecution, began at laſt to pleaſe themſelves with this conceit, that it was no ſin to be preſent with their bodies at the popiſh ſervices, ſo they kept the true religion in their hearts. This pernicious error was long ſince condemned by the fathers: againſt theſe Mr. Calvin wrote, and confuted that error; and becauſe theſe perſons thought him too rigid, he adjoined to his own, the opinions of theſe learned and godly divines, Philip Melanchthon, Bucer, Peter Martyr, and the church of Zurick, ſo that the name of theſe Nicodemites ſtank amongſt all good men; for ſo were they called who cloaked their errors with his example.

The next year being 1546. proved nothing milder than the former. For frequent intelligence came of the preparations of the emperor, and the pope's frauds againſt the proteſtants: wherefore Mr. Calvin judged it neceſſary to confirm the minds of the citizens againſt the terror of theſe reports, eſpecially conſidering the impudency of many wicked men, who were ſo far from being curbed by all the bridles of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, that on the contrary they raged the more, and ſought to break them all in ſunder. Theſe men having gotten one Amedius Perrinus, a vain, bold, and ambitious man, for their captain; (for indeed he had long before procured to be choſen the captain general by the ſufferages of the people,) this man ſuppoſing (as the truth was) that neither he, nor ſuch like himſelf could ſtand whilſt the Eccleſiaſtical laws were in force, and eſpecially whilſt Mr. Calvin did ſo thunder againſt their laſciviouſneſs, began now to diſcover what he, and his aſſociates had been long contriving; which being taken notice of, and ſpeedily prevented by the authority of the ſenate, he indeed held his peace, but the contrived wickedneſs preſently brake out more openly.

For ſhortly after, one of the ſenators in a public aſſembly of the people blamed Mr. Calvin as one that taught falſe doctrine; ſuborned (as was ſuppoſed) hereunto privately by two of the college of paſtors, both of them being drunkards, and therefore no whit leſs fearing the ſeverity of the laws than the others forementioned. But Mr. Calvin made little account of this barking. Yet this man that thus accuſed him, was called before the ſenate, and his cauſe

cauſe being heard, was condemned for ſlander, and thoſe two drunken miniſters which had ſet him on, were removed out of their places, being forbidden going into taverns: whereby we ſee, "that the wickedneſs of the wicked returns upon his own pate."

The troubles of this year being thus ended, the next year, which was 1547, proved far worſe, indeed that age ſaw not a more calamitous time than that was; the churches of Germany ſeeming to be utterly ſubverted, the proteſtant princes taken, and cities yielding up themſelves, after ſo great labour uſed, and ſo great difficulties paſſed through in planting the goſpel among them, with what great grief the godly ſoul of Mr. Calvin was afflicted for the deſolations of the churches, is not eaſy to expreſs, eſpecially if we conſider that great affection which he bore to them, though far remote from him, which indeed was no other than if he had bore them all upon his ſhoulders. And indeed he was wonderfully grieved when he heard of thoſe holy men, his worthy friends, Philip Melancthon, Bucer, Peter Martyr, *&c.* in ſo great danger, that they ſeemed nearer death than life,

But yet, that Mr. Calvin bore up with a valiant mind in this tempeſt, appears both by his writings and by his carriage; for being much vexed at home by ſundry wicked men, yet would he not ſtart at all from his fixed courſe. To ſpeak ſomewhat of his domeſtic troubles, Mr. Calvin wholly imploying himſelf to ſhew, that the life of chriſtianity did not ſo much conſiſt in vain ſpeculation as in practice, he neceſſarily met with thoſe enemies which did not only oppoſe all piety, and honeſty, but threatened war to their own country: The chief of theſe was that Perrinus, before mentioned, who with his companions had brought themſelves into this condition, that they muſt needs uſe extremity; for which end they appealed from the presbytery to the ſenate. The presbytery, on the contrary, pleaded their eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions, agreeable to the word of God, and ſettled by authority; and therefore they deſired the ſenate that their privileges might not be infringed. The ſenate conluded that the eccleſiaſtical laws being eſtabliſhed, ought not to be violated. But when this audacious fellow would not otherwiſe be ruled, the ſenate decreed that he ſhould be depoſed from his captainſhip, and live a private life.

Though all theſe things were tranſacted before the ſenate, yet was Mr. Calvin wonderfully afflicted by them; for once upon a public hearing, there was ſuch a tumult raiſed, that they were very near imbruing their hands each in others blood; which ſedition Calvin with his colleagues hearing of, interpoſed themſelves, though it was with the peril of his life (the faction of the wicked being moſt againſt him) and ſtopped it. Yet theſe men proceeding in their wickedneſs, hated him the more for it. So that Mr. Calvin ſharply reproved them for it in his ſermons; and God's judgments threatened by him proved not in vain: for one of them writing an infamous libel, and affixing it to his pulpit, wherein were contained many railings againſt the ſacred miniſtry, and particularly againſt Mr. Calvin, that he deſerved to be thrown into the river of Rhodanus: this man being apprehended and convicted of theſe, and many other horrid blaſphemies, had his head cut off. And after his death there was another libel found written by his own hand, containing blaſphemies againſt Moſes, and Chriſt himſelf, with which impiety there was no doubt but that he had infected others.

At this very time, and in the midſt of theſe troubles, Mr. Calvin wrote his *Antidote* againſt the ſeven ſeſſions of the council of Trent. He alſo, ſending letters to the church of Chriſt in Roan, confirmed them againſt the fraud of a certain Franciſcan fryar, who had ſpread the poiſonous doctrines of the Libertines and Carpocratians amongſt them.

The year following, which was 1548, the evil of the aforenamed faction in Geneva brake forth again: the devil (which is almoſt incredible) abuſing thoſe perſons to be inſtruments

thereof, who indeed were the greateſt enemies to it, *viz.* Farell, and Viret. Theſe men coming to Geneva made a grave oration in the ſenate about compoſing their differences, Mr. Calvin required nothing but that thoſe men ſhould mend their manners, and Perrinus with his aſſociates promiſing any thing, ſo he might be reſtored to his former place. But Perrinus being reſtored to his place, he, and his wicked companions grew ſo impudent, that they cut their cloaths croſs on their breaſts that they might know each other; others of them called their dogs by the name of Calvin; others inſtead of Calvin called him Cain: others out of an hatred to Mr. Calvin, profeſſed that they would not come to the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper.

All which Mr. Calvin and his colleagues did boldly, and faithfully reprove, and when they were called before the ſenate, the innocency of the good men eaſily carried away the victory. So that the *Amneſtie* (or forgetfulneſs of wrongs) was ſolemnly ſworn to, Decemb. 18. But it afterwards appeared that all this was done through diſſimulation, and that Perrin ſought nothing thereby, but to be choſen a Syndic, that he, and his might by that means have the more liberty to act all their wickedneſs, as the event declared.

Mr. Calvin in the midſt of theſe broils, was ſo far from giving over his accuſtomed labours, that (as if nothing had moleſted him) he wrote learned commentaries upon ſix of Paul's epiſtles: as alſo by weighty arguments confuted the Interim, which was publiſhed for the deſtruction of the German churches, ſhewing withal the right courſe for the reſtoring of thoſe churches. He diſcovered alſo in a book, the vanity and falſhood of Judicial Aſtrology, which many began now to give too much heed to; and being ſaluted by a letter from Brentius, now in exile, he wrote conſolatory letters to him, in which friendſhip it had been happy if Brentius had continued Bucer alſo being a baniſhed man in England at this time, Calvin wrote to him to declare and open his mind more fully about the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, and comforted him in a moſt friendly manner. He alſo wrote letters of advice to the duke of Sommerſet, now protector of England (who afterwards ſuffered an unworthy death) about ſuch matters, as if his counſel had been hearkened to, it had been happy for England, and perhaps the church there had happily avoided many of thoſe ſtorms which afterwards befel it.

In the midſt of theſe contentions the church of Geneva did wonderfully increaſe, which did exceedingly torment the devil and his inſtruments, and Mr. Calvin was very ſolicitous to entertain, and provide for ſuch as were baniſhed for the name of Chriſt: which care of his, it pleaſed God ſo to bleſs the year following, that the fury of thoſe wicked men though it was not quite extinct, yet for the preſent it was laid aſleep: and truly he had need of ſuch a truce, being grievouſly afflicted with a domeſtic accident: for at this time he loſt his dear wife, a very choice woman; yet did he bear this accident with ſuch conſtancy, that therein he gave an excellent example of fortitude to the whole church.

The ſame year there aroſe a great contention in the Saxon church about things indifferent: whereupon ſending to Mr. Calvin for his judgment, he freely declared his opinion to them. He alſo admoniſhed Melanchon of his duty, whom ſome accuſed for too much ſoftneſs in this point; but Mr. Calvin afterwards found it to be a falſe charge. For at this time, it was unknown with what mind and ſpirit the whole troop of Flaccians were carried, which afterwards raiſed ſuch great troubles to the church, and were acted with ſuch fury and impudence, as if they had been hired by the pope of Rome, to carry on his cauſe. But it pleaſed God to compenſate this wound inflicted upon the churches of Germany, by a great bleſſing upon the Helvetians: for Farell and Calvin going to Zurick, when many thought

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that Mr. Calvin did too much favour the doctrine of conſubſtantiation, in a ſynod of all the Helvetian and Rhetian churches, he ſhewed his agreement with them; and indeed there was no great difficulty to bring good men and lovers of the truth into an harmonious concord.

This agreement of the Helvetian and Rhetians churches was written, which did more and more unite Bullinger and Calvin, and the church of Zurick with that of Geneva. Mr. Calvin alſo about this time wrote two learned epiſtles to Laelius Socinus, the poiſon of whoſe opinions did not appear till after his death; for in his life time, going through the churches, he had deceived Melanchthon, Calvin, and Camerarius; but afterwards it appeared, that he had much favoured Servetus, Caſtalio, and Ochin, and their mad opinions: for his commentary upon the firſt chapter of John coming forth, ſhewed that he went beyond the impiety of all thoſe heretics, which had corrupted the moſt divine portion of ſcripture.

Anno Chriſti 1550, ſucceeding, the church of Chriſt enjoyed peace, and then it was decreed in Geneva, that the miniſters, not only in their ſermons, which many neglected, and others heard with ſmall profit; but from houſe to houſe, at many ſeaſons of the year ſhould divide the city amongſt them, and require of every family an account of their faith; by which means it is ſcarce credible what profit came to the people thereby. Another decree for the aboliſhing of Chriſtmas-day, and that no holy-day ſhould be obſerved but the Sabbath only; which did ſo offend ſome looſe perſons, that they reported abroad, that Mr. Calvin had aboliſhed the Sabbaths, to bring the greater odium upon him. This offence taken by ſome, occaſioned Calvin to write his book of *Scandals*, dedicated to Laurence Normendius, his intimate friend.

Anno Chriſti 1551, great contentions brake out in the church, and this year was begun with the death of Bucer, to the great grief of the whole church, and of Mr. Calvin eſpecially, who always highly prized him. About the ſame time dyed Joachim Vadian, a ſenator of Geneva, a man endued with ſingular learning and piety; whereupon the wickedneſs of the factious perſons brake forth again, which had ſlept a great while. Theſe men would by no means ſuffer the exiles which fled thither for religion, to enjoy the privileges of the city; and not content therewith, Mr. Calvin having been forth to preach beyond the Rhodanus, as he came home, they entertained him with ſcorns, and one Raymund his colleague, having occaſion one evening to paſs the bridge over the Rhodanus, they had almoſt caſt him into the river, and laſtly, they raiſed a great tumult in the church of St. Gervaſe, becauſe a child being brought to be baptized, the miniſter refuſed to give him the name of Balthazar (which name had been for ſome reaſon, forbidden by their law.) Neither could Mr. Calvin tell how to cure theſe evils, but by his invincible patience.

About the ſame time another miſchief invaded the church of Geneva, which was occaſioned by one Jerom Bolſec, a fryar Carmelite of Paris, who had indeed laid aſide his coul, but not his monkiſh mind. This man firſt fled to the dutcheſs of Ferrara, whom he deceived, till being found out, he was driven from thence. Then pretending to be a phyſician, he came to Geneva, but the learned phyſicians there, rejecting him; that he might manifeſt himſelf a divine, he vented ſome falſe and abſurd opinions about predeſtination, firſt in private, and then in the public congregation.

Him therefore did Mr. Calvin confute, firſt with a moderate reproof only, then ſending for him to him, he laboured to inſtruct him better; but he, either puffed up with his monkiſh pride, or provoked by the ſeditious perſons, ſeeking by him to provoke Mr. Calvin, took the boldneſs, upon the ſixteenth of October, to preach upon this text, "He that is of God, "heareth the words of God, and they which hear them not, are not of God;" whence

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he took occaſion to preach up free-will, and that predeſtination was out of works foreſeen; withal reproaching the true doctrine, and ſhewing himſelf ſeditiouſly proud; and he became the more bold, becauſe, ſeeing Mr. Calvin's ſeat empty, he judged him to be abſent: but indeed Mr. Calvin coming late, ſate behind ſome others; and when the fryar had done, Mr. Calvin ſuddenly ſtanding up, though he had thought of no ſuch thing before, then truly, if at any time, he ſhewed what a man he was; confuting the fryar with ſo many teſtimonies of ſcripture, with ſo many places out of St. Auguſtine, and laſtly, with ſo many weighty arguments, that all were aſhamed of what he had taught, but only the impudent fellow himſelf: inſomuch that one of the magiſtrates of the city apprehended him, and committed him to priſon for a ſeditious perſon, and after hearing and examining his cauſe, the judgment of the ſenate of the Helvetian churches being alſo requeſted, upon the twenty third day of December, he was publicly condemned for ſedition, and Pelagianiſm, and baniſhed the city, being threatened with ſevere puniſhment, if he were afterwards found either in the city, or territories belonging to it.

After this going into a neighbour town, he was the cauſe of many and great ſtirs there, till he was twice expelled the country of the Bernates. From thence going into France, he ſought to get into the miniſtry in the reformed churches, which he found in a peaceable condition; firſt in Paris, then in Orleans, pretending great penitency for his former miſcarriages, and of his own accord, ſeeking reconciliation with the church of Geneva: But preſently after, when he ſaw the churches under affliction, he fell back to his popery, loading the reformed churches with many reproaches.

At the ſame time, the college of miniſters at Geneva, in a public meeting aſſerted the true doctrine of predeſtination, which Calvin put into writing: ſo that all the devil gat by theſe contentions was, that that head of chriſtian religion which before was very obſcure, was now very clearly opened to the underſtanding of all that were not contentious.

The year following which was 1551, it further appeared what a flame this wicked varlet had kindled, though condemned by the common judgment of ſo many churches. For the difficulty of the queſtion having not been ſufficiently explicated by the ancients, did ſtir up, eſpecially ſome curious wits, to make inquiry into the ſame. By which means the factious perſons (ſuppoſing that they had gotten an excellent advantage againſt Mr. Calvin) thought that by removing him they might ſubvert all things: ſo that it cannot be imagined what ſtirs aroſe, not only in the city, but alſo in other places, as if the devil had ſet all his engines on work to raiſe contentions. For though there was a ſweet agreement amongſt the chief Paſtors of the churches, yet there were not ſome wanting in the country of the Bernates which accuſed Calvin, as if he had made God the author of ſin: being forgetful how far he had profeſſedly oppoſed that curſed tenet, when he had confuted the Libertines.

At Baſil, Caſtalio, a good and ſimple man, though he did all things eloſely, yet it was diſcerned that he defended Pelagianiſm, and Melanchon had ſo begun to write of theſe things, that though he had formerly ſubſcribed Calvin's book againſt Pighius, yet he ſeemed to brand the Genevians, as if they held the *Fate* of the Stoicks. The pontificians alſo, though they had been a thouſand times confuted, yet renewed their old ſlanders. Theſe things did much trouble Mr. Calvin's mind, and ſo much the rather, becauſe the efficacy of error was ſo great at this time, that the mouth of truth in ſome places ſeemed to be ſtopt by public authority. Neither was this a controverſy of a few years.

This ſame year that good hermit, whom we mentioned before, appeared publicly to to diſpute with Calvin, who had ſuffered a repulſe when ſome years before he had ſought

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to creep into the miniſtry; whereupon he turned lawyer, and the patron of the factious perſons. Their cauſe came to be heard before the ſenate, with a great contention on both ſides; the firſt fighting with impudency, and the favour of the wicked; but Mr. Calvin defending his doctrine only with the authority of truth. And the truth prevailed, Mr. Calvin's writings being judged pious and orthodox by his very adverſaries. But the repentance of this his adverſary is not to be paſſed over in ſilence; for a few years after, when he lay upon his death-bed, he profeſſed that he could have no peace of conſcience till Mr. Calvin had forgiven him, which he not only did ſpeedily, but comforted and confirmed him to his laſt hour.

Anno Chriſti 1553. The malice of the factious brake out ſo impetuouſly, that not only the church, but even the common-wealth, was brought into extreme hazard thereby; for they proceeded ſo far by their clamours and threats, and by their number oppreſſing the liberty of good men, that the antient edicts about conſtituting of ſenators was by them diſſolved; and pretending that they were afraid of the foreign exiles, they took from them all their weapons and ſwords (except when they travelled abroad) ſo that nothing ſeemed remaining, but when they had got all the power into their own hands, that they ſhould then effect what they had often aimed at. The devil alſo then miniſtered another occaſion of troubles, for the ancient enemy of the ſacred Trinity, and of the true God, Michael Servetus, a very monſter, compoſed of many ancient and prodigious hereſies, having gone about a long time as a phyſician, and ſpread his blaſphemies under the name of Michael Villanovanus, at laſt publiſhed a great book at Vienna, belonging to Geneva, the printer whereof was Arnolet of Lyons, the corrector to the preſs William Guerotius, long ago addicted to the factious Geneviſtes, but a few months before being like to be puniſhed for his whoredoms, and other wickedneſſes, was fled from Geneva to Lyons.

This Servetus having publiſhed his book ſtuffed with blaſphemies, was at Vienna caſt into priſon for the ſame, but making an eſcape, he came (by a ſecret providence) to Geneva, thinking to paſs further, but (as God would have it) being diſcovered, and Mr. Calvin acquainting the magiſtrates with it, they caſt him into priſon: much means was uſed to bring him to a ſight of his wickedneſs, and to repentance for the ſame; but when this deſparate wretch (encouraged by ſome of the chief of the factious perſons) would not be brought to a recantation of his abominable blaſphemies, by the common conſent of all the Helvetian churches, he was condemned to death, and upon the ſeven and twentieth of October, without any ſign of repentance was burned alived.

The ſame year Farell being very ſick, Mr. Calvin went to Neocome to viſit him; but his diſeaſe prevailing, he left him for dead; yet it pleaſed God wonderfully beyond expectation to raiſe him up again, to the great joy of the church.

Whilſt the buſineſſes of Servetus were in agitation, there roſe up amongſt the factious, one Bertelerius, a moſt impudent man, who for many wickedneſſes was ſuſpended from the ſacrament by the presbytery; whereupon he went to the ſenate, deſiring by them to be abſolved, which being effected, there was no doubt but the reins of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline being let looſe, all things would grow into confuſion; therefore Mr. Calvin in the name of the presbytery oppoſed it, ſhewing that the chriſtian magiſtrate ought to preſerve, not to deſtroy the eccleſiaſtical conſtitutions; yet the falſe clamours of the adverſaries prevailed, who ſaid that the presbytery encroached upon the authority of the magiſtrate, ſo that in a meeting of the common-council it was decreed, that the laſt appeal ought to be to the ſenate, who might abſolve whom they thought fit. After which, the ſenate, not much minding the buſineſs, ſuffered this Bertelerius

telerius ſurreptitiouſly to get letters of abſolution from them, confirmed by the ſeal of the common-wealth. But Perinus and his companions, hoped that one of theſe two things would follow, *viz.* that either Calvin would not obey this mandat of the ſenate, and ſo he would be oppreſſed by the people in a tumult; or elſe that he would obey it, and then it would be eaſy for them to diſſolve the decrees of the presbytery, and ſo open a door to all licentiouſneſs.

But Mr. Calvin (though he had notice of this but two days before the ſacrament was to be adminiſtered, in the month of September) in the time of his ſermon, lifting up his voice, and ſtretching forth his hand, ſpake much againſt the contemners and profaners of thoſe ſacred myſteries: "but I (ſaith he) following Chryſoſtome, will rather ſuffer my ſelf to be ſlain, "than this hand of mine ſhall reach the holy elements to thoſe that have been judged contem-"ners of God." This ſpeech (which is wonderful to obſerve) did ſo far prevail with them (who otherwiſe were head ſtrong enough) that Perinus ſent privately to Bertelerius, commanding him not to obtrude himſelf upon the ſacrament, and ſo (through God's mercy) the ſacrament was peaceably adminiſtered, and received with a certain trembling, as if God himſelf had been preſent in their ſight.

In the afternoon Mr. Calvin preached upon that text in the Acts, wherein Paul took his leave of the church of Epheſus, wherein he profeſſed that he was not the man that would himſelf oppoſe or teach others to oppoſe the decree of the magiſtrate, exhorting the congregation to preſevere in that doctrine wherein they had been taught, as if he had taken his farewel of Geneva. "And ſeeing (ſaith he) things are come to this paſs, give me leave (brethren) to "uſe the words of the apoſtle to you, 'I commend you to God, and the words of his grace;" which words as they wonderfully daunted the wicked, ſo they prevailed much more with the godly party, to put them in mind of their duty.

The day after Mr. Calvin with his colleagues, and the whole presbytery intreated the ſenate, and the common-council that they might be heard before the people, whilſt they ſhould give in reaſons for the abrogating of that fore-named law. This was eaſily aſſented to, their minds being wonderfully changed; and it was decreed, that that law ſhould be ſuſpended, and that the judgment of the four Helvetian cities ſhould be deſired therein; and that nothing in the mean time ſhould be acted that was prejudical to the laws formerly eſtabliſhed.

Thus this tempeſt was rather diſperſed then wholly quieted, which beyond hope, being diverted from Mr. Calvin, the factious ſought to bring it upon the head of Mr. Farell: for Mr. Farell, as ſoon as he was recovered of his great ſickneſs, came to Geneva, and there in a ſermon ſharply reproved the factious, partly relying upon the juſtneſs of the cauſe, and partly upon his age, and that ancient authority which he had amongſt them. But they, complaining that he had done them much wrong, when he was returned to Neocome, appointed him a day to anſwer it before the ſenate, and withal ſent to the ſenate at Neocome that he might appear at the day appointed. He came therefore again to Geneva, yet not without danger, whilſt the factious cryed out, that he deſerved to be thrown into the river of Rhodanus: but an honeſt young man of the citizens adviſed Perinus, that Mr. Farell, the common father of the city, might be no way wronged; joining alſo with himſelf another honeſt young man, they gave notice to the well affected citizens, that they ſhould ſtand by Mr. Farell at the day of hearing, which alſo they did; ſo that his adverſaries being aſtoniſhed and deterred hereat, of their own accord craved pardon, and Mr. Farell was diſmiſſed.

About this time a grievous calamity befel the church of England by the immature death of that godly prince, king Edward the VI, which was a grievous wound to all the reformed churches. Yet at this ſame time Mr. Calvin wrote his learned commentaries upon the goſpel of St. John.

Geneva

Geneva (as we heard before) having inflicted deserved punishment upon Servetus, not as upon a sectary, but as a monster for his horrible impieties and blasphemies, by which for thirty years space he had infected the christian world both by his teaching and writings: it cannot be imagined how this stirred up the rage of satan, such a flame arising from hence as set Poland first, then Transylvania and Hungary all on fire, which himself seemed to foretel by the spirit of satan, when in the beginning of this book he set this sentence out of the Revelation, "There was a great battle in heaven, Michael, and his angels fighting with the Dragon:" for his ashes being yet scarce cold, a great controversy sprung up about the punishing of heritics: some holding that they ought to be restrained, but not to be punished with death. Others thinking that it could not be clearly stated out of God's word, what was herisy; thereupon said, that it was lawful to hold either part in all the heads of religion, and that all men (though holding a wrong opinion) were to be left to the judgment of God. This latter opinion some good men inclined to, fearing that the contrary tenet might kindle the cruelty of tyrants against the godly. The principal of these were Sebastian Castalio, and Lælius Socinus, therein pleading their own cause: the former indeed more closely, and the latter more openly, as one that studied to vindicate the clear authority of the scripture, in a certain preface, to the perverting of the holy Bible; and in his annotations upon the first epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, had endeavoured to draw men from the written word of God, as an imperfect rule, as if Paul had taught to some of his disciples that were more perfect then the rest, a certain more hidden divinity than that which he had committed to writing. Hereupon Mr. Calvin *anno Christi* 1554, set forth a copious confutation of all the doctrine of Servetus, which was subscribed by all his colleagues: adding many reasons why, and how far a magistrate might proceed in punishing such an one as was lawfully convicted of heresy. The adversaries on the contrary published a rapsody, collected partly out of the writings of the ancient fathers, which they perverted to their own ends, and partly out of the writings of certain fanatics, and under the name of Martin Bellius, which indeed was Castalio tho' afterwards unknown he foreswore it, and falsifying also the name of the city, in which they falsly pretended that it was published. To this book, swarming with many other errors and blasphemies, Mr. Beza answered, to free Mr. Calvin from that labour, who was now busy in writing his learned commentaries upon Genesis, and in diverting other dangers from the church: for the factious went on to innovate things in the city, and though the Amnestie was again renewed before the senate upon the second of February, yet they daily grew worse and worse, so that Mr. Calvin was much busied both in blaming and reproving them for their wickedness, and endeavouring to strengthen the godly against the poison of their impiety; for they had proceeded to such a height of wickedness, that they turned part of the sacred scriptures into obscene songs, and used to beat strangers whom they met in the night, and sometimes also to rob them. They also privately used the books of Bolsecus, Castalio, and other corrupt men, that they might renew the controversy about predestination; yea, they proceeded to scatter abroad a false and scandalous libel, wherein they grievously aspersed that worthy servant of Christ, Mr. Calvin. Castalio also sent another Latin book to be privately printed at Paris, to which Mr. Beza answered, and Mr. Calvin also confuted some of the fooleries of the same kind. About this time the care of the English exiles lay heavy upon him, some of which were come to Vesalia others to Embden, and others to Franckford, all sending to Mr. Calvin for advice and counsel: neither was he a little troubled for the audaciousness of some of the pastors (encouraged by the secret favour of others) of the French church, long since planted by him at Strasborough: and in short how great pains he took this year for several churches may appear

by the multitude of epiſtles wrote by him, by which he ſtirred up many noble men to imbrace the goſpel, and ſtrengthened many of the brethren, ſome of which were in extreme danger, and others already caſt into bonds.

We ſpake before of the ſweet harmony that was between the Helvetian and Rhetian churches about the doctrine of the ſacrament. This concord did exceedingly diſpleaſe the ſpirit of error; therefore he eaſily found out one that might eaſily reinkindle the fire which before was extinguiſhed, *viz.* Joachim Weſtphalus, who was ſeconded by Heshuſius, then a miniſter of the word, but afterwards a biſhop, of whom we ſhall ſpeak more afterwards: hereupon Mr. Calvin publiſhed an explication of that agreement, which, by how much it imbittered their ſpirits, by ſo much the more it ſatisfied all good men that were lovers of the truth.

The year following, *viz.* 1555, by the ſpecial mercy of God, brought peace along with it to the church of Geneva, which was now quiet from its domeſtic ſtirs; for the factious ruined themſelves: God diſcovering their horrible treaſon to the ſtate, by the means of one of the conſpirators, who in his drunken fit diſcovered it whereupon ſome of them were beheaded, others of them were baniſhed, who though a while after they vexed the city, yet periſhed ſhamefully in the end, leaving an example of the juſt judgment of God upon ſuch perſons, though it may be deferred for a time. Thus the common-wealth was freed from theſe peſts. To which another mercy was added by the anſwer of the four Helvetian cities, to whom the queſtion about the diſcipline (which we ſpake of before) had been propoſed, who unanimouſly confirmed the eccleſiaſtical polity as it had been before ſettled, contrary to the expectation of the factious. Yet ſomething was not wanting whereby Mr. Calvin might be further exerciſed: for he took great pains in conſtituting the church in Polonia by the will of the king: in comforting the afflicted in England, who were much troubled by reaſon of the cruel burning of thoſe three biſhops and martyrs, incomparable for piety, *viz.* Nicholas Ridley John Hooper, and Hugh Latimer, who ſuffered amongſt many other worthy men, and ſhortly after that great Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury: as alſo in comforting the impriſoned brethren in France, eſpecially thoſe five valiant martyrs who this year were burned at Camerac.

But at home the errors of Servetus began to ſpring up again, whoſe blaſphemies Mattheus Gribaldus was obſerved to favour, a lawyer of ſome note, and the lord of a town, not far from Geneva: this man coming to Geneva, was brought to Mr. Calvin by ſome Italians, who had been his ſcholars when he taught at Padoa, but Mr. Calvin refuſed to give him his hand, till they could agree about ſome of the chief heads of divinity, *viz.* about the ſacred Trinity, and divinity of Chriſt, till when he would by no means be perſuaded to do it; and becauſe he refuſed, Mr. Calvin told him that an heavy judgment of God hung over his head for his pertinacious impiety, which ſhortly after came to paſs: being firſt forced to fly to Tubing, where he was entertained by the favour of Vergerius, and being afterwards taken at Berne, upon a feigned ſubmiſſion was diſmiſſed: but returning to his old courſe, and entertaining and favouring Gentilis (of whom we ſhall ſpeak anon) God found him out, and prevented his puniſhment by man, by ſtriking him with the plague whereof he died. About this time alſo Mr. Calvin met with another tryal: for certain neighbour miniſters, who were underhand encouraged by Bolſecus, thinking to get themſelves a name by oppoſing ſo great a man, and indeed they lay under many other ſcandals, railed exceedingly againſt Mr. Calvin as if he made God the author of ſin, becauſe he would exclude nothing from the eternal foreſight and ordination of God. Mr. Calvin being little moved with theſe calumnies, was yet at laſt provoked by their importunities, ſo that he obtained of the ſenate leave to go with their ambaſſadours to Berne, there to defend himſelf and the truth before the Bernates, which accord-

accordingly he did, and ſo prevailed, that one Sebaſtian was branded with infamy, and baniſhed: Bolſecus alſo was commanded to depart out of their coaſts: ſo all theſe calumnies ended in ſmoak: and one Andreas Zebedæus, who had been his moſt bitter accuſer, after Mr. Calvin's death, himſelf alſo lying upon his death-bed at Nevidune, a town four miles diſtant from Geneva, ſending for ſome of the chief citizens, did of his own accord confeſs the truth, which before he had oppoſed, and deteſting his former actions, cauſed all his papers to be burnt before his and their faces.

The next year, *viz.* 1556, a tertian ague ſeized upon Mr. Calvin as he was preaching, which handled him ſo roughly, that it made him come down from the pulpit: hereupon many falſe rumours were ſpread abroad, which were ſo grateful, eſpecially to the papiſts, that at Noviodune, his own country, the prieſt had returned public and ſolemn thanks for the death of Calvin: but the prayers of good men prevailed for his health, and he was ſo far from dying of that diſeaſe, that rather being increaſed in his ſtrength, he undertook a longer journey than he was uſed to do, *viz.* To Franckford, being invited thither to pacify ſome controverſies which were ſprung up in the French church there. At length returning home, though ſomething impaired in his health, yet remitted he nothing of his daily labours, publiſhing the next year his very learned Commentaries upon the Pſalms, to which he prefixed a very precious preface. The reſt of the year being very full of tumults by reaſon of ſome factious miniſters, and God ſending a famine alſo, yet Mr. Calvin ſpent it in defending the truth againſt Joachim Weſtphalus; and when notwithſtanding Weſtphalus continued his prattle, Mr. Beza anſwered him, and ſtopped his mouth. Then alſo Mr. Calvin and Beza both confuted the calumnies of Caſtalio againſt the eternal predeſtination of God, which he had ſpread abroad, yet concealing his name. At this time a grievous perſecution riſing at Paris againſt the godly, it was a great affliction to Mr. Calvin; many being taken when they were aſſembled in St. James's ſtreet for the celebration of the Lord's ſupper, being about eighty in number (the reſt eſcaping by the benefit of the dark night) who the next morning were led to priſon, loaden with ſcorns and reproaches, though ſome of them were noble-women of good account. Againſt theſe ſheep of Chriſt the king's anger was enflamed, not only by thoſe about him, but by the very occaſion of the times: for this fell out at the ſame time when the king's army had received ſuch a notable defeat at St. Quintan: beſides, theſe godly perſons were forced to meet in the night, becauſe they could not do it in the day, which further irritated him: hereupon alſo theſe old lying ſcandals were raiſed againſt them, eſpecially by one Democarus, a doctor of Sorbon, who charged the chriſtians as the cauſe of all the evils which befel the kingdom.

There were alſo ſome falſe witneſſes ſuborned againſt them, which the credulous multitude was too apt to believe; there were therefore ſeven of them brought forth to be burned, amongſt whom there was a noble-woman, who with ſix others ſhewed admirable patience: and whereas they were accuſed of promiſcuous whoredoms at their meetings, eſpecially by the Sorboniſts, who thought the more to incenſe the king thereby, a godly and learned man, who had lately been their paſtor, eaſily confuted thoſe lies, and the German princes interceeding in their behalf (which Mr. Calvin procured with admirable celerity) the tempeſt was in a good meaſure blown over.

The next year being 1558, proved very happy to the common-wealth of Geneva, by reaſon of that ſtrict league made betwixt them and the Bernates. But a grievous perſecution brake out againſt the church of Chriſt in France again; and at home the hereſies of Servetus were revived by Valentine Gentilis, mentioned before. To ſtop the former, Mr. Calvin

ſent letters to the German princes, which opened to them the great calamities which the churches groaned under, requeſting them to intercede for them, and in the mean time himſelf endeavoured by his daily letters to ſupport them under their afflictions. And for Gentilis, who was a man of an unhappy, but ſagacious and ſubtil wit, preſently after the burning of Servetus, he gat his book, and Calvin's confutation of it, and not weighing the truth in the balance of the ſanctuary, but of carnal wiſdom and reaſon, he concludes, that the Father was the only one God of himſelf, who propagated eſſence to the other two perſons, ſo that he began to profeſs that there were three Gods, three eternal, omnipotent and immenſe Gods: and to prove it, he wreſted not only the ſacred ſcriptures, but the council of Nice alſo, and rejected Athanaſius's Creed, as alſo the teſtimonies of all the antients, *viz*, of Ignatius, Tertullian, Iræneus, and Lactantius, by a certain unheard of impudence; yea, he did not only reject all the orthodox writers which followed upon the Nicene council, but reproached them as wicked men. Other blaſphemies alſo followed this about the hypoſtatical union.

He firſt vented theſe things in private (as he pretended, for diſputation's ſake) to ſome of the Italian congregation; whereupon an aſſembly being called on purpoſe, Mr. Calvin, before ſome choice ſenators, and all the miniſters and elders, having patiently heard them, confuted them ſo fully out of the word of God, that all the Italians preſently ſubſcribed to the orthodox faith, except only ſix, who afterwards being called one by one, ſubſcribed with their hands, but not with their hearts, as time made to appear. Gentilis therefore returning to his old courſe, and going on to ſpread his former blaſphemies, is apprehended, diſſembles not his opinion, being heard as much, and as long as he would. At length, ſeeming to be convinced by Mr. Calvin, he feigned incredible repentance, and gave in a recantation ſigned under his own hand. Hereupon he was diſmiſſed, firſt taking an oath that he would not go forth of the gates of the city; but preſently contrary to the ſame, he flees into Savoy to Matthew Gribaldus, and preſently after two of his diſciples, Alciat and Blandatra followed him, who afterwards proved the infectors of Tranſilvania, and the countries adjacent.

But God's judgment hanging over the head of Gentilis, he ſtayed with Gribaldus (both of them caſting off the other two as illiterate fellows) and there wrote a book againſt Athanaſius and Calvin, and ſo going to Lyons, he there printed it, dedicating it to Gaienſis a præfect, who was altogether ignorant of the blaſphemies contained in it. Whilſt he was at Lyons, he was apprehended by the papiſts, but when he ſhewed them that he had written a book againſt Calvin, he was diſmiſſed, as one that had deſerved well of their church.

From thence he went to Tranſilvania to Blandatra, Alciat, and their companions; but they, having now ſucked in the hereſies of Samoſatenus, and he not well agreeing with them therein, (Chriſt indeed drawing him forth to condign puniſhment) he returned into Savoy to his friend Gribaldus; but God's plague had now ſwept away that peſt, and Mr. Calvin alſo was dead at Geneva. Hereupon Gentilis, either infatuated by God, or thinking that there was none left at Geneva that could anſwer him, went ſtrait to Gaienſis, who was juſtly offended with him; who therefore preſently apprehending him, by the juſt judgment of God, ſent him to Berne, there to be tried; where being convicted both of perjury, and many manifeſt impieties, after many ways were uſed to bring him to repentance, but in vain, he had his head cut off, thereby ſuffering a juſt reward for all his impieties.

Towards the latter end of this year, in October, Mr. Calvin was taken with a quartane ague, which phyſicians ſay, is deadly to old perſons, which though it held him but eight months, yet it ſo debilitated his lean and over-worn body with his inceſſant labours, that he never thoroughly recovered his health again: yet all this time, though his phyſicians warned him,

him, and his friends diſſuaded him from his preaching and lectures, yet did he continually buſy himſelf night and day in dictating, and writing letters every way, often ſaying, That nothing was more troubleſome to him than an idle life. At this time alſo he publiſhed the laſt edition of his Inſtitutions in French and Latin, and his learned Commentary upon Iſaiah.

The year following, viz. 1559, was famous for the league entered into between the two moſt potent kings of Spain and France, which was ſtrengthened by affinity betwixt them, which was likely to prove fatal to Geneva, but that the counſel of the pontificians who abuſed the ſimplicity of king Henry of France, hindered it. For king Henry publiſhed moſt ſevere decrees, and caſt ſome of his ſenators into priſon, who had declared their judgments freely, that he ought to proceed gently in matters of religion, till a general council could be called; having this in his eye principally, to reſtore the duke of Savoy to his country, that by his help he might utterly deſtroy Geneva.

In the mean time, Mr. Calvin (though ſickly) laboured hard at Geneva, comforting and confirming the afflicted churches and brethren; as alſo by his frequent and fervent prayers, craving help of God. And behold the wonderful work of God! whilſt all things were full of terror, the king of France in the great marriage-ſolemnity which was made for the confirmation of the peace, in his running at tilt, received his death's wound, and that by the hand of the captain of his guard, by whom, a little before, he had apprehended and impriſoned the aforeſaid ſenators. This death of the king has expiated (as he thought) by the cardinal of Lorraine, who upon the 21ſt of December, cauſed that learned lawyer, faithful counſellor, and holy martyr of Chriſt, Annas du Bourg, to be unjuſtly and cruelly burned. But by the ſingular bleſſing of God, in the midſt of theſe calamitous times, the hearts of the Genevians were ſo raiſed up, and confirmed, that in the very ſame year, and almoſt moment of time, in which two ſuch potent kings, had contrived their deſtruction, by the encouragement of Mr. Calvin, they laid the foundation of, and built a famous ſchool, adorning it with eight maſters for boys, as alſo with Hebrew, Greek, philoſophy and divinity profeſſors; which being finiſhed to the honour of God Omnipotent, Mr. Calvin in a great aſſembly, in the chiefeſt church, read and declared thoſe things which conduced to the perpetual eſtabliſhment of ſo holy and profitable a foundation, whereby he did as it were ſolemnly conſecrate it.

The year after, which was 1560, Mr. Calvin was by ſome loaden with much envy, as if he had ſtirred up an aſſembly againſt Francis the II, the heir of his father's kingdom; which aſſembly was called the tumult of Amboiſe; whereas indeed Mr. Calvin never underſtood what it was, as alſo both by word of mouth, and by his letters to friends, he diſliked it.

This year one Sancarus of Mantua (Italy being fatal to the Polonians) began to teach, that Chriſt was mediator only according to his human nature; accuſing all of Arianiſm, that ſhould ſay that he was mediator alſo according to his Deity, as if thereby they made the Son leſs than the Father. This calumny, and all his other doctrine was notably confuted, as by Philip Melancthon, and Peter Martyr, ſo alſo Mr. Calvin, at the requeſt of the Polonians, did briefly, but ſtrongly confute the ſame; and foreſeeing what ſhortly after came to paſs, that whilſt ſome more unſkilful perſons would take upon them to confute Sancarus, if they took not heed, would fall into the error of them which held three Gods: he eloquently admoniſhed them, that taking heed of Blandatra, and his followers, they ſhould ſo aſſert Chriſt to be our mediator, according to both his natures, ſo that in the mean time they ſhould not multiply Dieties: but this labour of his was vain towards them that were to periſh

About this time the Bohemian Waldenſes ſent two of their brethren to Mr. Calvin to deſire his judgment about ſome matters of religion, whom he lovingly ſatisfied. Exhorting them

them alſo that they would enter into a nearer conjunction with other reformed churches. At the ſame time alſo queen Mary being dead, and queen Elizabeth ſucceeding, many of the godly French relying upon her piety, and humanity, fled for refuge into England, with the conſent of that reverend man Edmund Grindal, biſhop of London; and they craved leave of her that one might be ſent from Geneva to plant a French church there: whereupon Galacius was ſent.

Towards the latter end of this year, king Francis of France died ſuddenly and that in ſuch a juncture of time, when all things ſeemed ſo deſperate, that they could not be cured but by God himſelf; and king Charles the IX, a child, was ſcarce entered into his kingdom, when by a herald letters ſubſcribed with his name, were brought to Geneva, wherein he complained that many were ſent out from thence, that infected his kingdom, deſiring that they might be preſently called back, threatening, that otherwiſe he would not let paſs the revenging of that injury.

Mr. Calvin being hereupon ſent for by the ſenate, anſwered in his own, and in his colleagues names, that at the requeſt of the churches of France,, they had exhorted certain men that were ſound in the faith, and of an holy life, whom they judged fit for the work, that they ſhould not be wanting to lend their help to their country in ſo holy a cauſe, eſpecially the churches craving aſſiſtance from them for their further edification: and that this they had done, not to diſturb the kingdom, but that the people might be taught the goſpel of peace; and if they were accuſed for any thing further than this, that they were ready to anſwer their accuſers before the king: ſo this buſineſs went no further.

The ſame year Mr. Calvin and Mr. Beza anſwered the impudent book of Tileman Huſhuſius. Mr. Calvin alſo confuted thoſe blaſphemies which Gentilis had publiſhed at Lyons againſt him and Athanaſius: he publiſhed alſo his lectures upon Daniel, which he dedicated to the French churches; and as he interpreted that prophet, ſo in his preface himſelf he was a prophet foretelling the tempeſt that hung over them. At which time alſo Francis Balduinus, afterwards called Ecebolius, becauſe he had changed his religion three or four times; being ſuborned by the cardinal of Lorrain, by evil means reconciled to the king of Navar, diſperſed a certain book up and down the courts, written either by himſelf, or (as ſome rather thought) by Caſſander, wherein he ſtiled himſelf a pious and moderate man, which book was worſe than the emperor's Interim, for that under the ſpecious pretence of reſtoring moderation, he ſought to bring in all the popiſh corruptions. Mr. Calvin being informed hereof, publiſhed an anſwer to this book, to which ſome other anſwers were ſhortly after added, which made a full diſcovery of, the wit and purpoſe of Balduinus; which this railer could by no means digeſt, whereupon he never gave over to brand Calvin and Beza, with his impudent reproaches; till the year after being grown odious both to God and men, of both religions whom he had ſo often deceived by his turning, whilſt he was following a ſuit of law at Paris, he wore away, and ended his wretched life.

In the year 1562, God gave peace and liberty to the French churches, by a public edict of the king's: but not long after, the king of Navar being ſuborned by popiſh ſubtilty, preſently after the duke of Guiſe had committed that abominable maſſacre at Vaſſy, began that civil war which continued many years after, to the miſerable devaſtation of France; and it cannot be ſpoken how much Mr. Calvin was affected and afflicted therewith, which ſo far increaſed his diſeaſe, that it was eaſy to divine, that it would not be long before he was tranſlated to a better life; yet did he not deſiſt from exhorting and comforting every one, no nor from preaching and reading his ordinary lectures. and the ſame year he publiſhed that excellent

lent Confeſſion of Faith, which was ſent to the ſtates of the empire, met together at Franckford, in the name of the prince of Conde, and of all the godly in France, who beſides the injuries which they ſuſtained by an unjuſt war, were unworthily traduced to the Germans, as if they held many falſe and monſterous opinions.

One thing, is not to be pretermitted that on the nineteenth of December alſo Mr. Calvin lying in bed ſick of the gout, being the Sabbath day, and the north-wind having blown two days ſtrongly, ſaid to many that were preſent, "Truly I know not what is the matter, but I thought "this night I heard warlic drums beating very loud, and I could not perſuade myſelf but it "was ſo: let us therefore go to prayers, for ſurely ſome great buſineſs is in hand." And this very day there was a great battle fought between the Guiſians and the proteſtants, not far from Paris, news whereof came unto Geneva within a few days after.

The year after, which was 1563, Mr. Calvin's diſeaſe did ſo far increaſe, that it was almoſt incredible that ſo weak a body, exhauſted with ſo many labours, and worn out with ſo many diſeaſes ſhould yet retain ſo valiant and generous a mind: ſo that even then he could not be perſuaded to favour himſelf, and if at any time he abſtained from his public labours (which yet he never did but when by neceſſity he was enforced thereto): yet he was buſy at home, either in giving counſel to thoſe that ſought it, or in dictating to his ſcribes; the witneſſes whereof are thoſe two ſerious admonitions to the Polonians, to take heed of thoſe blaſphemous perſons which denied the ſacred Trinity The anſwers which he turned to the brethrens meſſengers, who were now met in a ſynod at Lyons; his commentaries upon the four books of Moſes, which himſelf turned out of Latin into French. And laſtly, his commentary upon Joſhua, which he now began, and finiſhed a little before his death.

In the year 1564. February 6, Mr. Calvin being ſhort-winded by reaſon of a ſtopping in his lungs, preached his laſt ſermon, and from thence foreward he ſpake little, only now and then he would be carried to the congregation, the laſt time being March the laſt: his diſeaſes (being contracted by the incredible labours both of his mind and body) were very many: for (beſides that naturally he was but of a weak body, lean, and inclinable to a conſumption) he ſlept little, and ſpent a great part of the year in preaching, teaching and dictating. For at leaſt ten years together he abſtained from dinners, taking no food at all, till ſupper; ſo that it was a wonder how he could eſcape a ptiſic ſo long.

He was often troubled with the head-ach, which his abſtinence only could cure, whereupon he ſometimes faſted thirty-ſix hours together. But partly through ſtraining his voice, and partly through his too frequent uſe of aloes (which was taken notice of too late) he was firſt troubled with the hemorhoids, which yet at length proved ulcerous, and beſides for five years before his death he did many times ſpit blood; and when his quartan ague left him, the gout took him in his right leg, then the collic, and laſtly the ſtone, which yet he never diſcerned till a few months before his death.

The phyſicians applyed what remedies poſſibly they could; neither was there ever man that was more obſervant of their rules: but in reſpect of the labours of his mind, he was extreme negligent of his health, ſo that the violent pains of head-ach could never reſtrain him from preaching. And though he was tormented with ſo many and violent diſeaſes, yet did never any man hear him utter one word that did unbeſeem a valiant or chriſtian man. Only lifting up his eyes to heaven, he uſed to ſay, 'How long Lord?' for he often uſed this motto in his health, when he ſpake of the calamities of his brethren (which always more afflicted him than his own.) When as his colleagues admoniſhed andearneſtly intreated him, that in his ſickneſs he would abſtain from dictating, but eſpecially from writing himſelf:

he anſwered, "What? would you have me idle when my Lord comes?" March 10, when all the miniſters came to him, they found him clothed, and ſitting at his table, where he uſed to write and meditate; he beholding them (when he had rubbed his forehead, a while with his hand, as he uſed to do when he meditated) with a cheerful countenance, ſaid, "I give you "hearty thanks (my dear brethren) for the great care you have of me; and I hope within "theſe fifteen days (which was the time that they were to meet, about church cenſures) "I ſhall be preſent at your conſiſtory. For then I belive God will declare what he will de- "termine concerning me, and that he will receive me to himſelf:" Accordingly he was preſent that day, which was March 24, and when all their buſineſſes were quietly diſpatched, he told them that God had given him ſome further delay, and ſo taking a French Teſtament in his hand, he read ſome of the annotations upon it, and aſked the miniſters judgments about the ſame, becauſe he had a purpoſe to amend them. The day after he was ſomewhat worſe, as being tried with the former day's labour.

March 27, he cauſed himſelf to be carried in his chair to the ſenate door, and then leaning upon two, he walked into the court, and there he preſented to the ſenate a new rector for the ſchool, and with a bare head, he returned them thanks for all their former favours, and in particular for the great care they had of him in his ſickneſs: "for I perceive (ſaith he) that this "is the laſt time that I ſhall come into this place:" which words he could ſcarce utter, his voice failing him; and ſo with many tears on both ſides, he bade them farewel.

April 2d, which was Eaſter-day, tho' he was very weak, yet he cauſed himſelf to be carried to the church in his chair, where after ſermon he received the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper at Mr. Beza's hands, and with a chearful countenance, though weak voice, ſang the Pſalm with the reſt of the congregation, ſhewing, though in a dying countenance, ſigns of much inward joy.

April 25, he made his Will in this form: "In the name of God, Amen, *anno Chriſti* 1564, "April 25, I Peter Chenalat, citizen, and notary of Geneva, do witneſs, and profeſs, that "being ſent for by that reverend man John Calvin, miniſter of the word of God in the church "of Geneva, and a free denizon of the ſame city, who then truly was ſick in body, but ſound "in mind, told me, that his purpoſe was to make his Teſtament, and to declare his laſt Will, "deſiring me to write it down as he ſhould dictate unto me with his tongue, which I profeſs "I did preſently word by word, as he told me, neither did I add or diſminiſh any thing "from that which he ſpake, but have followed the very form ſuggeſted by him: which was "this; In the name of the Lord, Amen, I John Calvin, miniſter of the word of God in "the church of Geneva, oppreſſed and afflicted with divers diſeaſes, ſo that I eaſily think "that the Lord God hath appointed ſhortly to lead me out of this world, I therefore have de- "termined to make my Teſtament, and to commit to my writing, my laſt Will in this form "following,

"Firſt, I give thanks to God, that taking pity of me, whom he created and placed in this "world, hath delivered me out of the deep darkneſs of idolatry into which I was plung- "ed and that he brought me into the light of his goſpel, and made me a partaker of the "doctrine of ſalvation, whereof I was moſt unworthy: neither hath he only gently and "graciouſly born with my faults, and ſins, for which yet I deſerved to be rejected by him "and driven out; but hath uſed towards me ſo great meekneſs and mildneſs, that he hath "vouchſafed to uſe my labours in preaching and publiſhing the truth of his goſpel. And I "witneſs and profeſs, that I intend to paſs the remainder of my life in the ſame faith and "religion, which he hath delivered to me by his goſpel, and not to ſeek any other aid or

"re-

" refuge for ſalvation then his free adoption, in which alone ſalvation reſteth. And with all " my heart I embrace the mercy which he hath uſed towards me for Jeſus Chriſt his ſake, " recompenſing my faults with the merit of his death and paſſion, that ſatisfaction may be " made by this means for all my ſins and crimes, and the rememberance of them may be " blotted out. I witneſs alſo, and profeſs that I humbly beg of him, that being waſhed " and cleanſed in the blood of that higheſt Redeemer ſhed for the ſins of mankind, I may " ſtand at his judgment ſeat under the image of my Redeemer.

" Alſo I profeſs, that I have diligently done my endeavour, according to the meaſure of " grace received, and bounty which God hath uſed towards me, that I might preach his " word holily and purely, both in ſermons, writings, and commentaries, and interpret " his holy ſcripture faithfully. I alſo witneſs and profeſs that I have uſed no juglings, no " evil and ſophiſtical arts in my controverſies and diſputations, which I have held with the e- " nemies of the goſpel, but I have been converſant candidly and ſincerely in maintaining " the truth.

" But (ah alaſs!) that ſtudy, and zeal of mine (if it be worthy ſo to be called) hath been " ſo remiſs, and languiſhing, that I confeſs innumerable things have been wanting to me, to " the well performing of my duty, and unleſs the immeaſurable bounty of God had been " preſent, my ſtudies had been vain, and vaniſhing away. Moreover I acknowledge that " unleſs the ſame bounty had been preſent unto me, the goods of the mind which God hath " given me, would have made me guilty of the greater ſin, and ſlothfulneſs before his " judgment ſeat. For which cauſe I witneſs, and profeſs that I hope for no other help for " ſalvation, but this only, that ſeeing God is a father of mercy, he ſhewed himſelf a father " unto me, who acknowledge myſelf a miſerable ſinner.

" As for other things; after my departure out of this life, I would have my body com- " mitted to the earth, in that order and manner which is uſual in this church and city, " till the bleſſed day of reſurrection cometh.

" As touching that ſlender patrimony which God hath given me, concerning which I have " determined thus to diſpoſe. Let Anthony Calvin my deareſt brother be mine heir; but, " only for honour ſake, let him take before hand, and have to himſelf the ſilver charger, " which was given me by Varannius for a gift, wherewith I deſire him to be contented: " for whatſoever things remain in mine inheritance, I requeſt, and commit them to his faith, " that he return them to his children when he ſhall die.

" I bequeath ten golden ſcutes to the ſchool of boys from the ſame my brother, and heir. " Alſo ſo much to poor ſtrangers. So much to Joan the daughter of Charles Coſtan, and of " my kinſwoman. But to Samuel and John, the ſons of my ſaid brother, I deſire to have given " to them forty golden ſcutes by mine heir when he dieth. To Ann, Suſan, and Dorothy, his " daughters, thirty ſcutes of gold: But to David their brother, becauſe of his lightneſs " and miſcarriges, but five and twenty ſcutes of gold. This is the ſum of the whole patri- " mony and goods which God hath given me, ſo near as I can eſtimate it, ſetting a price " upon my library, my moveables, and all my houſhold goods, with all other my faculties. " If there be found any thing above, I would have it to be diſtributed to all thoſe children, " the ſons and daughter of my brother: neither do I exclude that David if he prove a good " husband. If there ſhall be any ſurpluſage above that ſum, I believe there will be no " great matter eſpecially when my debts are paid, the care whereof I have committed to " my ſaid brother, npon whoſe love and fidelity I rely; for which cauſe I will and appoint " him to be the executor of my teſtament, and together him the worſhipful man Laurence

" Normendy, giving them power to take an inventory of my goods without any more ac-
" curate diligence of the court. I alſo permit them to ſell my moveables, that out of the
" money made thereof, they may execute my Will above written. Dated this 25 of April,
" *anno Chriſti* 1554."

When this Will was made and confirmed, Mr. Calvin ſent to the four ſyndics, and all the aldermen, deſiring to ſpeak with them all yet once more in the court before his death, whither he hoped to be carried the next day. The ſenators anſwered, that they would rather come to him, deſiring him to have a regard to his health: and the day after when they came all to him from the court, after mutual ſalutations, and pardon craved for their coming to him, whereas he rather would have come to them, and profeſſing that he had long deſired to ſpeak with them, though he had deferred it till now, even till he found the approaching of his departure out of this world, he ſaid;

" Honoured maſters,

" I give you hearty thanks, that ye have honoured me thus far, having not deſerved it
" from you, and for that you have ſo often born with mine infirmities; which to me hath
" always been an argument of your ſingular good-will towards me: and albeit in perfor-
" mance of mine office, it could not be but that I muſt undergo many bickerings, and divers
" aſſaults, becauſe every good man, muſt be exerciſed therewith; yet I know, and acknow-
" ledge that none of theſe things have faln out through your default; and I earneſtly beſeech
" you, that if I have not always done that which behoved me, you rather would have regard
" of my will than of my ability. For I can truly teſtify, that I have been heartily ſtudious
" of the welfare of your common-wealth; and howſoever I have not fully performed mine
" office, yet ſurely I have ſtudied the public good according to mine ability, and except I
" ſhould acknowledge that the Lord hath uſed my ſervice ſometimes not unprofitably, I could
" not avoid the crime of diſſembling. But this I requeſt of you again and again, that I may
" be excuſed by you, for that the things are ſo little, that I have publicly and privately,
" performed in compariſon of theſe things which it behoved me to have done. Certainly of
" mine own accord. I acknowledge that I am much indebted to you for this cauſe alſo,
" that ye have patiently born with my too much vehemency ſometimes; which ſin alſo I truſt
" God that he hath forgiven me.

" But as touching the doctrine that you have heard from me, I take God to witneſs, that
" I have not raſhly and uncertainly, but purely and ſincerely taught the word of God intruſted
" unto me, whoſe wrath I ſhould otherwiſe have felt now hanging over me, as I am certain-
" ly aſſured that my labours in teaching it hath not been diſpleaſing to him. And I teſtify
" this the more willingly, both before God and you, becauſe I doubt not but that the devil
" (according to his cuſtom) will raiſe wicked, light, and giddy-headed people to corrupt the
" ſincere doctrine which you have heard from me.

Then conſidering the umeaſurable benefits that God had conferred on that city, he ſaid;

" I am a very good witneſs out of how many great dangers the hand of the great and beſt
" God hath delivered you. Moreover you ſee in what eſtate you now are; therefore
" whether your affairs be proſperous or adverſe, let that be always converſant before your
" eyes, that God is he alone that eſtabliſheth kingdoms, and cities and therefore will be
" worſhiped by mortal men. Remember what the great David doth teſtify, that when he
" enjoyed a deep peace he fell ſouleſt and ſhould never have riſen again, if God of his ſingular
" goodneſs had not reached out his hand to him. What then ſhall become of ſuch punies, if

" he

" he fell, being ſo ſtrong and powerful a man? Ye had need of great humility of mind, " that ye may walk circumſpectly, and with a great reverence before God, and truſt upon him " only, being ſure that it will always be, as ye have often found, that by his aid you may " ſtand ſure, although your ſafety and welfare may be hung, as it were, upon a very ſlender " thread. Wherefore if proſperity befal you, take heed, I pray you, that ye be not puffed " up with pride like prophane perſons, but rather give thanks to God with lowlineſs of mind. " But if adverſity ſhall happen unto you, and death ſhall ſtand before you on every ſide, " yet truſt in him that raiſeth up the dead; yea, then eſpecially think that you are ſtirred up " by God, that ye may more and more truſt in him alone. And if ye deſire that this your " common-wealth may be preſerved in a firm eſtate, ſee that you be not defiled with any " filthineſs. For he is only the higheſt God, King of kings, and Lord of lords, he will " honour thoſe that honour him, and caſt down thoſe that deſpiſe him. Honour him there- " fore according to his own precepts, and daily think of this, that we are far from doing that " which is required of us. I know the diſpoſitions and converſations of every one of you, " and I know that you have need of exhortation. There is none of thoſe that excel moſt, " unto whom many things are not wanting; therefore let every man look about him, and let " him aſk of the Lord thoſe things which he underſtands himſelf to ſtand in need of. We " ſee what vices reign in the greateſt councils in the world; ſome are ſtark cold, and neglect " the public, taking care only for their own private affairs: others are indulgent to their pri- " vate affections: other uſe not the excellent gifts God hath beſtowed upon them as they " ought: others proudly boaſt of their own parts, and upon a certain confidence therein, ex- " pect that every man ſhould ſubſcribe to their own opinions. I exhort old men that they " envy not the younger, whom they find adorned with excellent gifts from God: I ad- " moniſh the younger, that they carry themſelves modeſtly without arrogance; and let not " one moleſt another. Avoid contentions, and all that bitterneſs of ſpirit which diverts many " from the right way in the government of the common-wealth. And ye ſhall the better " avoid theſe things, if every man contain himſelf within his own ſphere, and all adminiſter " that part of the common-wealth faithfully which is committed to him. I pray you for " God's ſake, let there be no place for favour or hatred in the judgment of civil cauſes. Let " none pervert right by ſubtil and cunning tricks. Let no man hinder the laws from pre- " vailing. Let no man depart from that which is juſt and equal. If ſiniſter affections ſhall " begin to ariſe, let him reſiſt them conſtantly, looking upon him that hath placed him in his " throne, and beg of him his holy Spirit. To conclude, I beg of you again, that you pardon " mine infirmities, which I acknowledge and confeſs before God, angels, and your worſhip- " ful ſelves."

Having thus ſpoken, he prayed unto God to multiply his gifts and bleſſings upon them more and more, and to govern them by his holy Spirit, for the ſafety and good of the common-wealth. And giving his hand to every of them, he diſmiſſed them all, who departed full of ſorrow and heavineſs, as from their common father, with many tears.

April 28, the miniſters of Geneva being come to him, he ſpake thus unto them;

" Brethren, after my deceaſe ſtand faſt in this work of the Lord, and be not diſcouraged; " for the Lord will preſerve this church and common-wealth againſt th threatnings of the e- " nemies. I pray God keep you from diſſentions: embrace one another with mutual charity. " Think again and again what you owe to this church wherein the Lord hath placed you, " and let nothing divert you from your duty: otherwiſe it will be eaſy for ſuch as ſeek them " to finde out evaſions; but ſuch ſhall find that God cannot be deceived. As ſoon as I came

" to this city, the gospel indeed was preached, but the affairs were very troublesome, many " conceiting that christianity was nothing else but to overthrow images: and there were not a " few wicked persons from whom I suffered many most unworthy things: but the Lord our " God so confirmed and strengthened me (though by nature I was not bold) that I gave not " place to any of their endeavours. Afterward, when I turned hither from Strasborough, I " followed this vocation with an unwilling mind, because it seemed to me that it would prove " unfruitful, for I knew not what the Lord had determined, and the matter was full of " many and great difficulties: but going on, at last I found that God had much blessed my " labours. Stand fast therefore in this your vocation: retain that order that is begun, and " do your uttermost endeavours, that the people may be kept in subjection to your wholsome " doctrine; for some are wicked and stubborn. Things, as you see, are through God's mercy " well settled, and therefore ye shall be left without excuse before God, if through your " slothfulness they be unsettled again. I profess, brethren, that I have lived with you con- " joined in true love, and sincere charity, and that I now so depart from you. If you have " found me any whit pettish in this my disease, I crave pardon of you, and give you very " great thanks, that ye have sustained the burthen imposed upon me, during the time of my " sickness."

Having thus spoken, he gave his hand to each of them, who departed from him with much sorrow, and weeping

A while after Mr. Calvin, understanding by lettets from Mr. Farell to Mr. Viret, who was now an old man of eighty years old and sickly, was yet determined to visit him, and was now onward of his journey; he wrote thus to him, to stay him:

" Farewel, my best and sincerest brother, and seeing God will have you to outlive me " in this world, live mindful of our friendship, which as it hath been profitable for the " church of God here, so the fruit thereof tarrieth for us in heaven. I would not have " you weary yourself for my sake. I hardly draw my breath, and I expect daily when it " will wholly fail me. It is enough that I live and die to Christ, who is gain to his, both in " life and death. Again farewel. May 11, *anno Christi* 1564."

Yet for all this letter, the good old man came to Geneva, and having fully conferred with Mr. Calvin, returned back to Neocome.

The rest of his days, even till his departure, Mr. Calvin spent almost in perpetual prayer, with his eyes fixed upon heaven, and his voice full of sighs, by reason of his short breath.

May 27th, being the day whereon he departed, he seemed to speak more strongly, and with less difficulty; but this was but a lightning before his death. In the evening about eight o'clock, on the sudden, certain signs of present death appeared; at which time Mr. Beza being newly departed from him, some ran to acquaint him therewith; whereupon he presently returned, but found him to have yielded up his spirit into the hands of God, without the least struggling, yea, not so much as sending forth one groan, having had this understanding, memory, and voice even to the last gasp, being much more like to one that was faln asleep than dead. So that that day at sun-setting, that great bright light was taken out of this world.

That night, and the day following, there was great weeping and wailing all over the city. Many citizens and strangers desired to see him after he was dead, and amongst the rest queen Elizabeth's ambassadors, who being sent into France, were then there. The next day after, being the sabbath, his body was coffined; and in the afternoon he was carried forth, the senators, pastors, and professors of the school, and almost the whole city following the coarse,

not

not without abundance of tears: he was buried in the common church-yard, without much pomp, no tombſtone being added, as himſelf had commanded; whereupon Mr. Beza made theſe verſes,

Romæ *ruentis terror ille maximus,*
Quem mortuum lugent boni, horreſcunt mali,
Ipſa a quo potuit virtutem diſcere virtus;
Cur adeo exiguo, ignotoq; in ceſpite clauſus
Calvinus *lateat rogas?*
Calvinum *aſſidue comitata modeſtia vivum.*
Hoc tumulo manibus condidit ipſa ſuis.
Ote beatum ceſpitem tanto hoſpite!
O cui invidere poſſunt cuncta Marmora!

He was a man of an incredible and moſt ready memory, in the midſt of almoſt infinite diſtractions, and of a moſt exact judgment. He was very regardleſs of means and preferment, even when it was often offered: he eat little meat, took very little ſleep, was wholly compounded of ſweetneſs and gravity: diſcreet and mild he was in bearing with mens infirmities; yet would he ſeverely without diſſimulation reprove their vices, which freedom he always uſed from a child: ſuch a preacher he was, that like another Orpheus, he drew England, Spain and Italy to him, filling Geneva with ſtrangers.

Such a voluminous writer, that (as it was ſaid of St. Auguſtin) he wrote more than another can well read. His writings were ſo eagerly received, that as moſt rare and precious pieces, they were forthwith tranſlated into all languages. What ſhall I ſpeak of his indefatigable induſtry, even beyond the power of nature, which being paralelled with our loitring, I fear will exceed all credit? and may be a true object of admiration, how his lean, worn, ſpent, and wearyiſh body could poſſible hold out. He read every week in the year, three divinity lectures, and every other week over and above he preached every day, ſo that (as Eraſmus ſaith of Chryſoſtom) "I do not know whether more to admire the indefatigableneſs of the man, or his "hearers." Yea, ſome have reckoned up that his lectures were yearly one hundered eighty ſix, his ſermons two hundered eighty ſix, beſides every Thurſday he ſat in the presbytery. Every Friday, when the miniſters met in conference to expound hard texts, he made as good as a lecture. Yea, beſides there was ſcarce a day, wherein he ſpent not ſome part either by word or writing, in anſwering the queſtions and doubts of ſundry paſtors, and churches that ſought unto him for advice, and counſel: over and above, which there was no year paſſed wherein came not forth from him ſome great volume or other in folio, ſo that in a few years (beſides many golden tractats, and ſundry exquiſite anſwers, which upon ſhort warning he made to principal adverſaries) his huge explications upon the five books of Moſes, Joſhua, Job, Pſalms, all the prophets, and upon the whole New Teſtament, came forth into the world fuller of pithy ſententious matter than of paper. Theſe things conſidered, what breathing time could he find for idleneſs, or looſe thoughts?

In his laſt grievous ſickneſs, procured by his intolerable labours, he could ſcarce be compeled by his friends to pretermit his daily task of preaching, and reading his divinity lectures, and at home, when he could not go abroad, he rather wearied others with continual dictating to them, than himſelf. Nothing was more frequent in his mouth than this, "Of all things an "idleſome life is moſt irkſome to me;" and when his friends uſed all their endeavours to perſuade

ſuade him to favour and reſpect himſelf: "Why (ſaith he) will ye have God to find me idle at "his coming?" Yea, ſuch conſcience did he make of miſpending a minute, that he was loath to detain the miniſters that came to viſit him from their public exerciſes. What wonder then is it, that he ſcarce attained to the age of 56. Yea, rather 'tis a wonder that he lived ſo long. Indeed he lived but 54 years, ten months and ſeventeen days; the half of which time he ſpent in the holy miniſtry of the goſpel. Many ſlanders were caſt upon him; as that he was ambitious. But how could that be, whereas he preferred his abode in the common-wealth, and church of Geneva, before all other places, which he called the ſhop of poverty. Others charge him that he ſtudied to heap up riches; whereas his laſt Teſtament ſhews, that he was a very poor man; for all his goods, yea, and his library being ſold very dear (ſaith Mr. Beza) ſcarcely amounted to three hundered crowns: and Calvin himſelf, in his life time, hearing of this impudent ſlander, anſwered: "If I cannot perſuade men whilſt I am alive, that I am no great "monied man, yet my death will ſhew it." And the ſenate at Geneva can teſtify, that his ſtipend being very ſmall, he was ſo far from being not contented therewith, that when they offered to enlarge his penſions, he utterly refuſed the ſame: and by the ſmall eſtate which he left at his death, it appears alſo, that either his gifts were not great, or elſe that he ſpent as God ſent. Some reproached him for his brother Anthony Calvin, becauſe he was divorced from his wife, who was proved an adultereſs: what would theſe men have ſaid, if he had kept an adultereſs in his houſe? May they not as well reproach Jacob, David, yea, and Chriſt himſelf, for that one of his diſciples was a devil, as himſelf told them? Some ſaid that he was given to delights and luxury: his many great books eaſily confute this ſlander. Some gave out impudently that he ruled in Geneva both in church and common-wealth, ſo that he ſometimes ſat upon the tribunal. But for theſe things, neither they which knew him, nor enſuing ages, who may collect his manners out of his writing, will give any credit to them. But 'tis far more eaſy to calumniate than to imitate him.

Omni Calvini opera, quæ diverſis chartarum formis edita, ſi uno forę genere imprimerentur, juſtæ magnitudinis Tomas 20. *in Folio efficerent.* Moſt of them are mentioned particularly in his life.

THE

THE PREFACE.

AT the first setting out of this work, because I did not look for that success, which the Lord of his unmeasurable goodness hath given, I had (as men use to do in small works) for the more part lightly passed it over. But when I understood that it was received with that favour of all the godly, which I never durst have desired, much less have hoped for: as I verily felt in my heart that much more was given to me than I had deserved, so I thought it should be a great unthankfulness if I should not at the least after my slender ability endeavour to answer so favourable affections toward me, and which of themselves provoked my diligence. And this I attempted not only in the second setting forth of it: but how oft since that time the work hath been printed, so oft hath it been enriched with some increase. But although I did not then repent me of the labour that I had employed: yet I never held myself contented till it was disposed into that order which is now set before you. Now I trust I have given you that which may be allowed by all your judgments. Truly with how great endeavour I have applyed myself to the doing of this service to the church of God, I may bring forth for an evident witness, that this last winter, when I thought that the fever Quartane had summoned me to death, how much more the sickness enforced upon me, so much less I spared myself, till I might leave this book to survive me, which might make some part of thankful recompence to so gentle provoking of the godly. I had rather indeed it had been done sooner: but it is soon enough if well enough. And I shall then think that it is come abroad in good season, when I shall perceive that it hath brought yet more plentiful fruit than it hath done heretofore to the church of God. This is my only desire. And truly full ill it were with me, if I did not, holding myself contented with the allowance of God alone, despise the judgments of men, whether they be the fooliſh and froward judgments of the unskilful, or the wrongful and malicious of the wicked. For although God hath thoroughly settled my mind to the endeavour both of enlarging his kingdom and of helping the common good: and though I am clear in mine own conscience, and have himself and the angels to witness with me, that since I took upon me

the office of a teacher in the church, I have tended to no other purpose but that I might profit the church in maintaining the pure doctrine of godliness: yet I think there is no man, that hath been snatched at, bitten and torn in sunder with more slanders than I. When my epistle was now in printing, I was certainly informed that at Augsburgh where the assembly of the states of the empire was holden, there was a rumour spread abroad of my revolting to the Papacy, and the same was more greedily received in the courts of princes than was meet. This forsooth is their thankfulness who are not ignorant of many trials had of my stedfastness, which trials as they shake off so foul a slander, so they should with all indifferent and gentle judges have defended me from it. But the devil with his whole rout is deceived if in oppressing me with filthy lies, he think that by his unjust dealing I shall be either the more discouraged or made the less diligent: because I trust that the Lord of his unmeasurable goodness will grant me that I may with even sufferance continue in the course of his holy calling. Whereof I give to the godly readers a new proof in this setting forth of this book. Now in this work this was my purpose, so to prepare and furnish those who are studious of holy divinity to the reading of the word of God, that they may both have an easy entry into it, and go forward in it without stumbling: for I think that I have in all points so knit up together the sum of religion, and disposed the same in such order, that whosoever shall well have it in mind, it shall not be hard for him to determine both what he ought chiefly to seek in scripture: and to what mark to apply whatsoever is contained in it. Therefore, this as it were a way being once made plain, if I shall hereafter set forth any expositions of scripture, because I shall not need to enter into long disputations of articles of doctrine, and to wander out into common places; I will always knit them up shortly. By this means the godly reader shall be eased of great pain and tediousness, so that he come furnished afore-hand with the knowlege of this present work as with a necessary instrument. But because the intent of this purpose, doth clearly as in a mirror appear in so many commentaries of mine, I had rather to declare indeed what it is, than to set it out in words. Farewel friendly reader, and if thou receive any fruit of my labours, help me with thy prayers to God our Father.

At Geneva the first day of
August in the year 1559.

JOHN CALVIN.

"I profess my self to be one of the number of those who write in profiting, "and profit in writing."

Augustine Epist. vii.

THE GENERAL

CONTENTS.

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THE INSTITUTION OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION,

BOOK FIRST,

Which treateth of the KNOWLEGE of GOD the CREATOR.

CHAP. I.

That the knowlege of God and of ourſelves are things conjoined: and how they are connected the one with the other.

THE whole ſum, in a manner, of all our wiſdom, which only ought to be accounted true and perfect wiſdom, conſiſteth in two parts; that is to ſay, the knowlege of God, and of ourſelves. But though theſe two kind of knowlege are cloſely connected together: yet which of them goes before, or produceth the other, it is hard to diſcern. For, firſt, no man can look upon himſelf, but he muſt needs by and by turn all his ſenſes to the beholding of God, in whom he liveth and is moved: becauſe it is plain, that thoſe gifts wherewith we are endowed, do not proceed from ourſelves; but that theſe, together with our being itſelf, are all derived from the one God. Finally, by theſe good things that are drop by drop poured into us from heaven, we are led, as it were, by certain ſtreams to the ſpring head. And ſo by our own needineſs better appeareth that infinite plenty of good things that abideth in God. Eſpecially that miſerable ruin, whereinto the fall of the firſt man hath thrown us, compel us to lift up our eyes, not only being foodleſs and hungary, to crave from thence that which we lack; but alſo being awakened with fear, to learn humility. For as there is found in man a certain world of all miſeries; and ſince we have been ſpoiled of the divine apparel, our ſhameful nakedneſs diſcloſeth an infinite heap of filthy diſgracements; it muſt needs be, that every man be ſo touched with a ſenſe of his own unhappineſs, as to make him come at the leaſt unto ſome knowlege of God. Thus by the underſtanding of our ignorance, vanity, beggary, weakneſs, perverſeneſs, and corruption, we learn to recognize

Whether we conſider our being, the gifts wherewith we are endowed, or the evils that are found in us, we are thereby led to the knowlege of God.

nize or acknowledge, that no where elſe but in the Lord abideth the true light of wiſdom, ſound virtue, perfect abundance of all good things, and purity of righteouſneſs. And ſo by our own evils we are excited to conſider the good things of God: and we cannot earneſtly aſpire toward him, until we begin to diſlike ourſelves. For of all men, what one is there, that would not willingly reſt in himſelf? yea, who doth not reſt, ſo long as he knoweth not himſelf; that is to ſay, ſo long as he is contented with his own gifts, and ignorant or unmindful of his own miſery? Therefore every man is by the knowlege of himſelf, not only incited to ſeek after God, but alſo led as it were by the hand to find him.

Till we have conſidered the exact perfection of juſtice, wiſdom and all virtue, which is in God, we never know our own imperfection.

2. Again, it is certain, that man never cometh unto the knowlege of himſelf, unleſs he hath firſt beheld the face of God, and from beholding thereof, do deſcend to look into himſelf. For (ſuch is the pride that is naturally implanted in us) we always think ourſelves righteous, innocent, wiſe and holy, until that with manifeſt proofs we be convinced of our unrighteouſneſs, filthineſs, folly and impurity. But we are not convinced thereof, if we look upon ourſelves only, and not upon God alſo, who is the only rule whereby this judgment ought to be tried. For becauſe we are naturally inclined to hypocriſy, therefore a certain vain reſemblance of righteouſneſs doth abundantly content us inſtead of righteouſneſs indeed. And becauſe there appeareth nothing within us, nor about us, that is not defiled with much filthineſs, therefore that which is ſomewhat leſs filthy pleaſeth us as though it were moſt pure, ſo long as we hold ourſelves within the bounds of man's uncleanneſs. Like as the eye that is uſed to ſee nothing but black, thinketh that to be pure white, which yet is but darkiſh white, or brown. Yea, we may yet more plainly diſcern by our bodily ſenſe how much we are blinded in conſidering the powers of the ſoul. For if at mid-day we either look down upon the ground, or behold thoſe things that round about ly open before our eyes, then we think ourſelves to have very briſk and piercing force of ſight: but when we look up to the ſun, and behold it with fixed eyes, then that ſame ſharpneſs that was of great force upon the ground, is with ſo great brightneſs by and by dazled and confounded, that we are compelled to confeſs, that the ſame ſharp ſight which we had in conſidering earthly things, when it cometh to the ſun, is but mere dullneſs. Even ſo cometh it to paſs in weighing our ſpiritual good things. For while we look no further than the earth, ſo long being well contented with our own righteouſneſs, wiſdom and ſtrength, we do ſweetly flatter ourſelves, and think we are in a manner half gods. But if we once begin to raiſe up our thoughts unto God, and to conſider what an One he is, and how exact is the perfection of his righteouſneſs, wiſdom and power, after the rule whereof we ought to be framed: then that which before did pleaſe us in ourſelves, with falſe pretence of righteouſneſs, ſhall become loathſome to us as the greateſt wickedneſs: then that which did marvelouſly deceive us under colour of wiſdom, ſhall diſguſt us as extreme folly: then that which did bear the face of ſtrength, ſhall be proved to be moſt miſerable weakneſs. So ſlenderly doth that which in us ſeemeth even moſt perfect, anſwer in proportion to the pureneſs of God.

The beholding of the majeſty of God maketh men to ſee their own baſeneſs.

3. Hence proceedeth that trembling and amazedneſs, wherewith the ſcripture in many places reciteth that the holy men were ſtricken and aſtoniſhed ſo oft as they perceived the preſence of God. For when we ſee, that they who in his abſence did ſtand aſſured and unmoved, ſo ſoon as he diſcloſeth his glory, begin ſo to quake, and are ſo diſmayed, that they fall down, yea, are ſwallowed up, and in a manner are deſtroyed with fear of death: it is to be gathered thereby, that man is never ſufficiently touched and inwardly moved with the knowlege of his own baſeneſs, until he have compared himſelf to the majeſty of God. But of ſuch diſmaying we have often examples both in the Judges and in the prophets: ſo that this was a common ſaying among the people of God, "We ſhall "die, becauſe the Lord hath appeared unto us." Judges xiii. 22. Iſa. vi. 5. Exek. ii. 1. And therefore the hiſtory of Job, to throw men down with the knowlege of their own folly, weakneſs, and impurity, bringeth always his principal proof from deſcribing God's wiſdom, power and holineſs. And that not without cauſe. For we ſee how Abraham, the nearer that he came to behold the glory of God, the better acknowleged himſelf to be earth and duſt, Gen. xviii. 17. We ſee how Elias could not abide to tarry his coming to him with uncovered face; ſo terrible is the beholding of him. 1 Kings xix. 13. And what may man do, that is but corruption and a worm, when even the cherubims for very fear muſt hide their faces? Even this is it that

that the prophet Iſaiah ſpeaketh of, Iſa. xxiv. 23. "The ſun ſhall bluſh, and the moon ſhall be a-"ſhamed, when the Lord of hoſts ſhall reign:" That is to ſay, when he diſplayeth his brightneſs, and bringeth it nearer to ſight, than in compariſon thereof the brighteſt thing of all ſhall be darkened. But though the knowlege of God and of ourſelves, are inſeparably connected together; yet the order of right teaching requireth that firſt we treat of the knowlege of God, and then deſcend to ſpeak of the knowlege of ourſelves.

CHAP. II.

What it is to know God, and to what end tendeth the knowlege of him.

The knowlege whereby we conceive that there is a God; that he is the creator and preſerver of all things that are, and the only giver of good things, begetteth godlineſs and obedience.

I Mean by the knowlege of God, not only that knowlege, whereby we conceive that there is ſome God; but alſo that, whereby we learn ſo much as behoveth us to know of him, and as is profitable for his glory: finally ſo much as is expedient. For, to ſpeak properly, we cannot ſay that God is known where there is no religion nor godlineſs. But here I do not yet touch that ſpecial kind of knowlege whereby thoſe men that are in themſelves reprobate and accurſed, do conceive God the Redeemer in Chriſt the Mediator: but I ſpeak only of that firſt and ſimple manner of knowlege, whereunto the very order of nature would have led us, if Adam had continued a in ſtate of innocency. For although no man, ſince mankind is in this ruin, can perceive God to be either a father, or author of ſalvation, or in any wiſe favourable, unleſs Chriſt come as a mean to pacify him towards us: yet is is one thing to feel that God our maker doth by his power ſuſtain us, by his providence govern us, by his goodneſs nouriſh us, and endow us with all kinds of bleſſings: and another thing to embrace the grace of reconciliation offered us in Chriſt. Whereas therefore the Lord firſt ſimply appeareth as well by the making of the world, as by the general doctrine of the ſcripture, to be the Creator, and then in the face of Chriſt to be the Redeemer; hereupon ariſe two ſorts of knowing him, of which the former is now to be treated of, and then the other ſhall orderly follow in its proper place. For although our mind cannot conceive the knowlege of God, but that it muſt give to him ſome kind of worſhip, yet ſhall it not be ſufficient ſimply to know, that it is he only that ought to be honoured and worſhipped of all men, unleſs we be alſo perſuaded that he is the fountain of all good things, to the end that we ſhould ſeek for nothing elſewhere but in him. I mean hereby, not only for that as he hath once created this world, ſo by his infinite power he ſuſtaineth it, by his wiſdom he governeth it, by his goodneſs he preſerveth it; and ſpecially mankind he ruleth by his righteouſneſs and judgment, ſuffereth by his mercy, and rendereth ſafe by his defence: but alſo becauſe there can no where be found any one drop either of wiſdom, or of light, or of righteouſneſs, or of power, or of uprightneſs or of ſincere truth, which floweth not from him, or of which he is not the cauſe: to this end verily, that we ſhould learn to look for, and crave all theſe things at his hand, and with thankſgiving account them received of him. For this feeling of the powers of God is to us a mere ſchoolmaſter of godlineſs, out of which ſpringeth religion. Godlineſs I call a reverence of God, joined with love of him, which is procured by knowlege of his benefits. For men will never with willing obedience ſubmit themſelves to God, until they perceive that they owe all things to him; that they are nouriſhed by his fatherly care; that he is to them the author of all good things, ſo that nothing is to be ſought elſe where than in him. Yea, they will never yield themſelves truly, and with all their heart wholly to him, unleſs they aſſuredly believe, that in him is perfect felicity laid up for them.

How the knowlege of divers properties of God brought forth divers virtues in us.

2. Therefore they do but triſle with vain ſpeculations, who in treating of this queſtion do make it their purpoſe to diſcuſs what thing God is; where it rather behoveth us to know what manner of one he is, and what agreeth with his nature. For to what end ſerveth it to confeſs, as Epicurus doth, that there is a God which doth only delight himſelf with idleneſs, having no care of the world? Finally, what profiteth it to know ſuch a God with whom we may have nothing to do? But rather the knowlege of him ought to ſerve to this end, firſt to frame us to fear and reverence: then that, by it guiding and teaching us, we may learn to crave all good things at his hand,

and to account them received of him. For how can any thought of God enter into thy mind, but that thou muſt therewithal by and by think, that foraſmuch as thou art his creature, therefore thou art of right ſubject and bound to his authority, that thou oweſt him thy life, that whatſoever thou enterpriſeſt, whatſoever thou doeſt, ought to be directed to him? If this be true, then truly it followeth that thy life is perverſely corrupted if it be not framed to obeying of him, foraſmuch as his will ought to be our law to live by. Again, thou canſt not clearly ſee him, but that thou muſt needs know that he is the fountain and original of all good things, whereupon ſhould grow both a deſire to cleave unto him, and an aſſured truſt in him, if man's own corruptneſs did not draw his mind from the right ſearching of him. For firſt of all, the godly mind doth not as by a dream imagine to herſelf any God at adventure, but ſtedfaſtly beholdeth the only one and true God: and doth not falſly forge of him whatſoever herſelf liketh, but is content to believe him to be ſuch a one as he manifeſts himſelf, and doth alway with great diligence beware that with preſumptuous raſhneſs ſhe paſs not beyond his will, and ſo wander out of the way. And when ſhe ſo knoweth him, becauſe ſhe underſtandeth that he governeth all things, ſhe aſſuredly truſteth that he is her ſafe keeper and defender, and therefore wholly committeth herſelf to his faith, becauſe ſhe underſtandeth that he is the author of all good things: therefore if any thing trouble her, or if ſhe want any thing, by and by ſhe fleeth to him for ſuccour, looking for help at his hand. Becauſe ſhe is perſuaded that he is good and merciful, therefore with aſſured confidence ſhe reſteth on him, and doubteth not in all her evils to find ready remedy in his merciful kindneſs. Becauſe ſhe knoweth him to be her Lord and Father, therefore ſhe determineth that he is worthy that ſhe ſhould in all things have regard to his authority, reverence his majeſty, procure the advancement of his glory, and obey his commandments. Becauſe ſhe ſeeth that he is a righteous judge, and armed with power to puniſh ſinners, therefore ſhe always ſetteth his judgment ſeat before her eyes, and with fear of him withdraweth and reſtraineth herſelf from provoking his wrath. Yet is ſhe not ſo afraid with the feeling of his judgment, that ſhe would convey herſelf from it, although there were a way open to eſcape it: but rather ſhe doth no leſs love him, while he extendeth veangence upon the wicked, than while he is beneficial to the godly, foraſmuch as ſhe underſtandeth that it doth no leſs belong to his glory that he hath in ſtore puniſhment for the wicked and evil doers, than that he hath reward of eternal life for the righteous. Moreover ſhe doth not for mere dread of puniſhment refrain herſelf from ſinning: but becauſe ſhe loveth and reverenceth him as her father, attendeth on him and honoureth him as her Lord, therefore although there were no hell at all, yet ſhe dreadeth his only diſpleaſure. Now behold what is the pure and true religion, even faith joined with an earneſt fear of God, ſo that fear may contain in it a willing reverence, and draw with it a right form of worſhipping ſuch as is appointed in the law. And this is the more heedfully to be noted, becauſe all men generally do worſhip God, but few do reverence him, while every where is great pompous ſhew in ceremonies, but the pureneſs of heart is rare to be found.

CHAP. III.

That the knowlege of God is naturally planted in the minds of men.

Why God hath imprinted ſome knowlege of himſelf in all mens minds, as that all nations, even idolaters themſelves do prove.

WE hold it out of controverſy, that there is in the mind of man, even by natural inſtinct, a certain feeling of the Godhead. For to the end that no man ſhould flee to the pretence of ignorance, God himſelf hath planted in all men a certain underſtanding of his divine majeſty, the remembrance whereof, with pouring in now and then as it were new drops, he continually reneweth: that when all, not one excepted, do know that there is a God, and that he is their maker, they may all be condemned by their own teſtimony, for that they have not both worſhipped him, and dedicated their life to his will. But truly if the not knowing of God be any where to be found, it is likely that there can no where elſe be any example of it more than among the groſſeſt ſorts of peoples and fartheſt from civil order of humanity. But (as the heathen philoſopher ſaith) there is no nation ſo barbarous, no kind of people ſo ſavage, in whom reſteth not this perſuaſion that there is a God. *Cicero de nat. Deorum.* And even they who in other parts of their life ſeem very little to differ from brute beaſts, yet do continually retain a cer-

certain impreſſion of religion. So thoroughly hath this common principle poſſeſſed all mens minds, and ſo deeply is it engraven in every man's breaſt. Since then from the beginning of the world there hath been no country, no city, yea no houſe, that could be without religion, in this is implied a certain ſecret confeſſion, that a feeling of the Godhead is written in the hearts of all men. Yea, and idolatry it ſelf is a ſubſtantial proof of this perſuaſion. For we know how unwillingly man abaſeth himſelf to honour other creatures above himſelf. Therefore when he had rather worſhip a block and a ſtone, than he would be thought to have no God, it appeareth that this imprinted perſuaſion of God is of moſt great force, which is impoſſible to be razed out of the mind of man, that it is much more eaſy to have the affection of nature broken, as indeed it is broken when man from his own natural ſwelling pride of his own will ſtoopeth down even to the baſeſt creatures to honour God.

Yea, they who do moſt deny it, ſhew moſt that it cannot reaſonably be denied.

2. Wherefore it is moſt vain which ſome do ſay, that religion was deviſed by the ſubtilty and craft of a few, by this policy, to keep the ſimple people in awe, whereas they themſelves that procured others to worſhip God, believed nothing leſs than that there was any God at all. I grant indeed that ſubtle men have invented many things in religion, whereby to bring the people to a reverence, and caſt them in a fear, to make their minds the more pliable to obedience: but this they could never have brought to paſs, unleſs the minds of men had been already before-hand perſuaded that there was a God, out of which perſuaſion as out of ſeed ſpringeth that ready inclination to religion. Neither is it likely that even they who ſubtilly deceived the ſimple ſort with colour of religion were themſelves altogether without knowlege of God. For though in times paſt there have been ſome, and at this day there ariſe up many that deny that there is any God: yet whether they will or no, they oftentimes feel that which they are deſirous not to know. We read of none that ever did break forth into more preſumptuous and unbridled deſpiſing of God, than *Caius Caligula:* yet none more miſerably trembled when any token of God's wrath appeared. And ſo againſt his will he quaked for fear of him whom of wilful purpoſe he endeavoured to deſpiſe. And the ſame may a man commonly ſee to happen to ſuch as he was. For the bolder deſpiſer of God that any man is, the more is he troubled at the very noiſe of the falling of a leaf. And whence cometh that but from the revengement of God's majeſty, which doth ſo much the more vehemently ſtrike their conſciences as they more labour to fly away from it? They do indeed look about for all the ſtarting holes that may be, to hide themſelves from the preſence of the Lord: but whether they will or no, they are ſtill holden faſt tied. For howſoever ſometimes it ſeemeth to vaniſh away for a moment, yet it oft returneth again, and with new aſſault doth run upon them: ſo that the reſt which they have, if they have any at all, from torment of conſcience, is much like to the ſleep of drunkards or frantic men, which even while they ſleep do not quietly reſt, becauſe they are at every moment vexed with horrible and dreadful dreams. Therefore the very ungodly themſelves ſerve for an example to prove that there always liveth in all mens minds ſome knowlege of God.

It is in vain to know God, of whom the moſt ungodly have a kind of feeling, unleſs we know him ſo that we alſo worſhip him.

3. Truly, they that judge rightly, will alway hold this for certain, that there is graven in the minds of men a certain feeling of the Godhead, which never can be blotted out. Yea that this perſuaſion, that there is a God, is even from their generation naturally planted in them, and deeply rooted within their bones, the very obſtinacy of the wicked is a ſubſtantial witneſs, which with their furious ſtriving yet can never wind themſelves out of the fear of God. Although Diagoras and ſuch other do jeſt and laugh at all that hath in all ages been believed concerning religion: although Dionyſius do ſcoff at the heavenly judgment: yet that is but a laughter from the teeth forward, becauſe inwardy the worm of conſcience gnaweth them much more ſharply than all hot ſearing irons. I allege not this that Cicero ſaith, that errors by continuance of time grow out of uſe, and religion daily more and more encreaſeth and waxeth better. For the world (as a little hereafter we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew) ſtrives to ſhake off all knowlege of God, and by all means to corrupt the worſhipping of him. But this only I ſay, that when the dull hardneſs, which the wicked do deſirouſly labour to get to deſpiſe God withal, doth ly piningly in their hearts, yet the ſame feeling of God, which they would moſt of all deſire to have utterly deſtroyed, liveth ſtill, and ſometimes doth utter itſelf: whereby we conclude that it is no ſuch doctrine as is firſt to be learned in ſchools, but ſuch a one whereof every man is a teacher to himſelf even from his mother's womb,

and ſuch a one as nature ſuffereth none to forget, although many uſe their utmoſt efforts to ſhake it out of their mind. Now, if all men be born and do live to this end, to know God, and the knowledge of God is but fickle and tranſient, unleſs it proceed thus far; it is evident that they all widely err from the law of their creation, who do not direct to this mark all the whole thoughts and actions of their life. Of which the philoſophers themſelves were not ignorant. For Plato meant nothing elſe, when he oftentimes taught, that the ſovereign good of the ſoul is the likeneſs of God, when the ſoul having thoroughly conceived the knowlege of him is wholly transformed into him. Therefore very aptly doth Grillus reaſon in Plutarch, where he affirmeth, that men, if religion be once taken from their life, are not only nothing better than brute beaſts, but alſo many ways much more miſerable, for that being ſubject to ſo many ſorts of evils, they continually lead a troubleſome and unquiet life: and therefore the worſhipping of God is the only thing that maketh them better than brute beaſts, by which alone they aſpire to immortality. *In Phedrone & theetero*

CHAP. IV.

That the ſame knowlege is either marred, or corrupted, partly by ignorance, and partly by malice.

The erroneous notion which ſuperſtitious perſons have of God, cannot be excuſed, becauſe they are the cauſe of their own blindneſs.

BUT experience teacheth that God hath ſown the ſeed of religion in all men, ſo ſcarcely may be found the hundredth man, that having it conceived in his heart doth cheriſh it, but no man in whom it ripeneth, ſo far is it of that any fruit appeareth in due time. Therefore whether it be that ſome become vain in their own ſuperſtitions, or that ſome do of ſet purpoſe maliciouſly revolt from God; yet all do run out of kind from the true knowlege of him. So cometh it to paſs that there remaineth no true godlineſs in the world. But whereas I ſaid that ſome by error fall into ſuperſtition. I mean not thereby as though their ſimplicity might excuſe them from blame, becauſe the blindneſs that they have, is commonly always mingled both with proud vanity, and with ſtubbornneſs. Vanity and the ſame joined with pride appeareth in this, that they, miſerable men, both in the ſeeking of God do not climb above themſelves as they ought to have done, but meaſure him according to the proportion of their own fleſhly dulneſs, and alſo neglecting the ſound manner of ſearching for him, do curiouſly flee to vain ſpeculations. And ſo they conceive him not ſuch a one as he offereth himſelf, but do imagine him ſuch a one as of their own raſh preſumption they have forged him. Which gulf being once opened, what way ſoever they ſtirr their feet, they muſt needs always run headlong into deſtruction. For whatſoever afterwards they go about toward the worſhipping or ſervice of God, they cannot account it done to him, becauſe they worſhip not him, but rather the deceit of their own heart, and their own dream inſtead of him. This perverſeneſs doth Paul expreſsly touch, where he ſaith, that they were made fools when they coveted to be wiſe, Rom. i. 22. He had before ſaid, that they were made vain in their imaginations: but leſt any man ſhould thereby excuſe them from blame, he addeth further, that they are worthily blinded becauſe not contented with ſobriety, but preſumptuouſly taking upon themſelves more than they ought, they wilfully bring darkneſs upon them, yea with vain and forward pride do make themſelves fools. Whereupon followeth, that their fooliſhneſs is not excuſable, whereof the cauſe is not only vain curioſity, but alſo a greedineſs to know more than is fit for them, joined with a falſe confidence.

Malicious ſinners are ſaid to think there is no God, not as if they did preciſely deny him to be, but becauſe they labour to put off from themſelves all feeling of his power, which notwithſtanding they cannot do.

2. As for this that David ſaith, that the wicked and mad men think in their hearts, that there is no God: Pſal. xiii. 1. Firſt, that is meant only of thoſe who putting out the light of nature, do of purpoſe make themſelves ſenſeleſs, as we ſhall ſee again a little hereafter. Even as we ſee that many after that they have been hardened with boldneſs and cuſtom of ſinning, do furiouſly put from them all the remembrance of God, which yet is but very feeling of nature inwardly miniſtred unto their minds. Now David, to make their madneſs the more deteſtable, bringeth them in as though they preciſely denied, that there is any God: although they take not from him his being, but becauſe in taking from him his judgment and providence, they ſhut him up idle in heaven. For whereas

whereas nothing less agreeth with the nature of God, than to throw away the government of the world, and leave it to fortune, to wink at the sins of men, so as they may live in licentious outrage unpunished: whosoever he be that quenching the fear of the heavenly judgment, doth carelesly follow his own affections, he denieth that there is a God. And this is the just vengeance of God, to draw a fatness over their hearts, so that the wicked when they have once closed their eyes, even in seeing may not see. And David in another place is the best expounder of his own meaning, where he saith: "That the fear of God is not before the eyes of "the wicked." Psal. xxxvi. 1. Again, that in their evil doings they proudly rejoice at themselves, because they persuade themselves that God doth not take any notice of them. Psal. x. 11. Therefore although they be compelled to acknowlege some God, yet they do rob him of his glory in withdrawing from him his power. For as God (as Paul witnesseth) cannot deny himself, because he continually abideth like himself, 2 Tim. i. 13. so is it truly said, that these men in feigning God to be a dead and vain image, do deny God. Moreover it is to be observed that although they wrestle against their own natural feeling, and do desire not only to shake out God from thence, but also to destroy him in heaven: yet their dull hardness can never so far prevail, but that God sometimes draweth them back to his judgment-seat. But forasmuch as they are not withholden with any fear from runinng violently against God: therefore it is certain that there reigneth in them a brutish forgetfulness of God, so long as that blind pang of rage doth so forcibly carry them.

God alloweth no devotion but that which springeth from the true knowlege of his name.

3. So is that vain defence overthrown, which many are wont to pretend for excuse of their superstition. For they think, that any devotion to religion sufficeth, whatsoever it be, though it be never so much contrary to order and truth. But they consider not, that true religion ought to be framed according to the will of God, as by a perpetual rule: and that God himself abideth always like himself, and is no imagined apparition or fancy, that may be diversly fashioned after every man's liking. And truly we may plainly see with how lying deceits superstition mocketh God, while she goeth about to do him pleasure. For catching hold of those things in a manner only, which God hath testified that he careth not for, she either contemptuously useth, or openly refuseth those things that he appointeth and declareth to be pleasant unto him. Therefore whosoever do set up new invented forms of worshipping God, they worship and honour their own foolish devices: because they durst not so trifle with God, unless they had first feigned a God, agreeing with the follies of their trifling toys. Wherefore the Apostle affirms, that that unstay'd and wandering opinion of the majesty of God, is in effect to disown God. "When (saith he) ye knew not God, ye serv-"ed them that by nature were no gods." Gal. iv. 8. And in another place he saith that the Ephesians were without a God at such time as they departed from the right knowlege of the one God. Eph. ii. 13. And at least in this case, it differeth not much, whether thou believest one God or many, because in both cases thou departest from and forsakest the true God: whom when thou hast once forsaken, there is nothing left with thee but a detestable idol. It followeth therefore, that we must determine with Lactantius, that there is no lawfully allowable religion, but that which is joined with truth.

God accepteth not their service who seek him only by fear in cases of extremity, which nevertheless doth prove that there was a seed of the knowlege of God which lay suppressed in them.

4. There is also a second fault that they neither have at any time any consideration of God, but against their wills, nor do approach towards him, till for all their holding back they be forcibly drawn to him: and even then also they have not a willing fear that proceedeth from reverence of God's majesty, but only a servile and constrained fear, which the judgment of God extorteth from them: which judgment because they cannot escape, therefore they dread it, but yet so as therewithal they abhor it. And so that saying of Statius, that fear first made gods in the world, may be fitly spoken of ungodliness, and of this kind of ungodlness only. They that have a mind abhoring from the justice of God, do heartily wish to have his throne of judgment overthrown, which they know to stand for punishment of offences against his justice by which affection they war against God, who cannot be without his judgment. But when they understand that his power impossible to be avoided, hangeth over them: because they can neither by force remove it, nor by flight escape it, therefore they fear it. So lest they should in all things seem to despise him, whose majesty still presseth upon them, they use a certain outward form of religion, such as it is: but in the mean time they cease not to defile themselves with all kinds of vices, to join outragious mischiefs to mischiefs, until they have in all

points violate the holy law of the Lord, and deſtroyed his whole righteouſneſs, or at leaſt they are not ſo holden back with that feigned fear of God, but that they ſweetly reſt in their ſins, and flatter themſelves, and had rather to follow the intemperance of their fleſh than reſtrain it with the bridle of the holy Ghoſt. But foraſmuch as the ſame is but a void and lying ſhadow of religion, yea ſcarce worthy to be called a ſhadow: hereby again is eaſily gathered, how much the true godlineſs, which is poured only into the hearts of the faithful, I mean that out of which religion ſpringeth, doth differ from this confuſed knowlege of God. And yet the hypocrites would obtain by crooked compaſſes, to ſeem nigh unto God, whom they flee from. For whereasthere ought to have been one continual unbroken courſe of obedience in their whole life, they in a manner in all their doings careleſly rebelling againſt him, labour with a few ſacrifices to appeaſe him. Whereas they ought to have ſerved him with holineſs of life and ſincerneſs of heart, they invent triflings and obſervances of no value, to procure his favour withal: yea they do the more licentiouſly ly dull in their own dregs, becauſe they truſt that they may be diſcharged againſt him with their own mockeries of propitiatory ſatisfactions. Finally, whereas their affiance ought to have been faſtened in him, they neglecting him do reſt in themſelves, or in creatures. At length they entangle themſelves with ſuch a heap of errors, that the dark miſt of malice doth choke, and at laſt utterly quench thoſe ſparks, that glimmeringly ſhined to make them ſee the glory of God. Yet that ſeed ſtill remaineth which can by no mean be plucked up by the root, to believe that there is a certain Godhead: but the ſame ſeed is ſo corrupted, that it bringeth forth of it none other but very evil fruits. Yea, thereby is that which I labour to prove more certainly gathered, that there is a feeling of Godhead naturally graven in the hearts of men, foraſmuch as the very reprobates themſelves are of neceſſity conſtrained to acknowlege it. In quiet proſperity they pleaſantly mock at God, yea they are full of talk and prating to diminiſh the greatneſs of his power: but if once any deſperation touch them, it ſtirreth them up to ſeek the ſame God, and miniſtereth them ſudden ſhort prayers: by which it may apear, that they were not utterly ignorant of God, but that the ſame which ought ſooner to have been uttered, was by obſtinacy ſuppreſſed.

CHAP. V.

That the knowlege of the Deity, doth eminently appear in the creation of the world, and in the continual government of it.

God's power and Godhead ſhineth ſo clearely in the world, that it may be ſeen by all, be they never ſo dull.

MOREOVER, becauſe the furtheſt end of a bleſſed life ſtandeth in the knowlege of God: that the way to felicity ſhould be ſtopped to none, therefore God hath not only planted in the minds of men that ſeed of religion which we have ſpoken of, but alſo hath ſo diſcloſed himſelf in the whole workmanſhip of the world, and daily ſo manifeſtly preſenteth himſelf, that men cannot open their eyes but they muſt needs behold him. His ſubſtance indeed is incomprehenſible, ſo that his divine majeſty far ſurmounteth all mens ſenſes: but he hath in all hisworks graven certain marks of his glory, and thoſe ſo plain and notably diſcernable, that the excuſe of ignorance is taken away from men, be they never ſo groſs and ſtupid. Therefore the prophet with juſtice crieth out, "that he is clothed with light "as with a garment:" Pſal. civ. 2. as if he ſhould have ſaid, that then he firſt began to come forth to be ſeen in viſible apparel, ſince the time that he firſt diſplayed his enſigns in the creation of the world, by which even now what way ſoever we turn our eyes, he appeareth glorious unto us. In the ſame place alſo the ſame prophet aptly compareth the heavens as they be diſplayed abroad, to his royal pavilion: he ſaith that he framed his parlours in the waters, that the clouds are his chariots, that he rideth upon the wings of the winds, that the winds and lightenings are his ſwift meſſengers; and becauſe the glory of his power and wiſdom doth more fully ſhine above, therefore commonly the heaven is called his palace. And firſt of all, what way ſoever thou turn thy eyes, there is no part, of the world how ſmall ſoever in which at leaſt ſome ſparkles of his glory are not ſeen to ſhine. But as for this moſt large and beautiful frame, thou canſt not with one view peruſe the wide compaſs of it, but that thou muſt needs be on every ſide overwhelmed with the infinite force of the brightneſs thereof. Wherefore the author of the epiſtle to the Hebrews doth very well call the ages of the world the ſpectacle of inviſible things, Heb. ii. 3. for that the ſo orderly framing of the

the world ſerveth us for a mirror wherein we my behold God, who otherwiſe is inviſible. For which cauſe the Prophet aſſigneth to the heavenly creatures a language that all nations underſtand, Pſal. xix. 1. for that in them there is a more evident teſtification of the Godhead, than that it ought to eſcape the conſideration of any nation be they never ſo dull. Which thing the Apoſtle declaring more plainly ſaith, that there is diſcloſed unto men ſo much as was behooveful to be known concerning God: becauſe all men without exception, do clearly perceive the inviſible things of God, even his eternal power and Godhead, which they underſtand by the creation of the world. Rom. i. 19.

His wiſdom, though the learned more nearly, yet the rudeſt may plainly enough perceive.

2. As to his marvellous wiſdom, there are innumerable proofs of that both in the heavens and earth. I mean not only that ſort of things which are more remote from our view, and for the diſcovery and cloſer inſpection of which, aſtrology, phyſic and all natural philoſophy ſerveth, but even thoſe things which expoſe themſelves to every one's obſervation, to the obſervation of men of the meaneſt capacity; inſomuch that whoſoever do but open their eyes muſt needs be witneſſes of them. But truly they that have digeſted, yea or but taſted the liberal arts, aſſiſted by the aid thereof, do proceed much farther to look into the ſecrets of God's wiſdom. Yet is there no man ſo hindered by want of knowlege of thoſe arts, but that he thoroughly ſeeth an abundance of ſkilful contrivance in God's works, ſufficient to excite in him an admiration of the author of them. As for example, to the ſearching out of the motions of the ſtars, appointing of their places, meaſuring of their diſtances, and noting of their porperties, there needeth art and an exacter diligence: by which being thoroughly perceived, as the providence of God is the more manifeſtly diſcloſed, ſo it is convenient, that the mind riſe ſomewhat the higher thereby to behold his glory. But foraſmuch as the unlearned people, yea, and the rudeſt ſort of them, ſuch as are furniſhed with the bare help of their eyes, cannot be ignorant of the exellency of God's ſkillful workmanſhip, which in this innumerable and yet ſo ſeverally well ordered and diſpoſed variety doth of it ſelf ſhew forth it ſelf: it is evident that there is no man to whom God doth not largely diſcover his wiſdom. Likewiſe it requireth a ſingular acuteneſs of underſtanding, to conſider with ſuch niceneſs as Galen doth, the knitting together, the proportional agreement, the beauty, and uſe in the frame of man's body: but by all mens confeſſion, the body of man doth diſcover in very ſhew of itſelf ſo ſkilful a compacting together, that on the account thereof the maker of it may worthily be judged wonderful.

We need not ſeek far for the knowlege of God when in our own faces we may ſee his.

3. And therefore certain of the philoſophers in old time did not without cauſe call man a little world, becauſe he is a rare repreſentation of the power, goodneſs and wiſdom of God, and containeth in himſelf miracles enough to occupy our minds, if we will be content to mark them And for this reaſon Paul, after that he had ſaid that the very blind men may find out God by groping for him, by and by ſaith further, that he is not to be ſought far off; Acts xvii. 2. becauſe all men do feel undoubtedly within themſelves the heavenly grace wherewith they be quickned. But if we need to go no further than ourſelves, to find and take hold of God: what pardon ſhall his ſlothfulneſs deſerve, that will not vouchſafe to deſcend into himſelf to find God? And the ſame is the reaſon why David, when he had ſhortly ſpoken in the advancement of the wonderful name and honour of God, that do every where gloriouſly ſhine, by and by crieth out: "What is man that thou art mindful of him? again "Out of the mouth of infants and ſucking babes "thou haſt perfected ſtrength, Pſal. viii. 5." For ſo he pronounceth that not only the whole kind of man is a mirror of the works of God, but alſo that the very infants while they yet hang on their mothers breaſts, have tongues eloquent enough to preach his glory, ſo that there needeth no other orators. And therefore he doubteth not to ſet their mouths in the front, as being ſtrongly armed to ſubdue their madneſs that would according to their deviliſh pride covet to extinguiſh the name of God. And hereupon riſeth that which Paul allegeth out of Aratus, that we are the offſpring of God, Acts xvii. 28. becauſe he garniſhing us with ſuch excellency, hath teſtifyed that he is our father: juſt in the ſame manner as by common reaſon, and as it were by information of experience, the prophane poets called him the father of men. And truly no man will wittingly and willingly yield himſelf to ſerve God, but he that having taſted his fatherly love, is mutually allured to love and worſhip him.

Their unthankfulneſs is worthy of deteſtation who aſcribe the operations of their ho-

4. And here is diſcloſed the baſe ingratitude of men who while they have within themſelves a work-houſe, gloriouſly furniſhed with innumerable works of God, and

dies and ſouls in ſuch wiſe to nature, that they hide the power of God which worketh in them.

and alſo a ſhop repleniſhed with ineſtimable plenty of riches, and when they ought to burſt forth into praiſing of him, are contrariwiſe puffed up and do ſwell with ſo much the greater pride. They feel how diverſly in marvellous wiſe God worketh in them: they are taught by experience it ſelf, how great variety of gifts they poſſeſs by his liberality: whether they will or no, they are inforced to know that theſe are the tokens of his Godhead: and yet they ſuppreſs it cloſe within them. Truly they need not to go out of themſelves, ſo that they would not in preſumptuouſly taking upon themſelves that which is given from heaven, bury within the ground that which brightly giveth light to their minds to ſee God. But even at this day the earth beareth many monſtrous ſpirits, which ſtick not to abuſe the whole ſeed of Godhead that is ſown in man's nature, and to imploy it to oppreſs, the name of God. How deteſtable, I pray you, is this madneſs, that man finding God a hundred times in his body and his ſoul, ſhould by the very ſame pretence of excellency deny that there is a God? They will not ſay, that they are by chance made different from brute beaſts. But they pretend a cloke of nature, whom they account the maker of all things, and ſo do convey God away. They ſee that exquiſite workmanſhip in all their members, from their mouth and their eyes, even to the nails of their toes, and yet hear alſo they put nature in place of God. But eſpecially the ſo ſwift motions, the ſo excellent powers, the ſo rare gifts of the ſoul, do repreſent a divine nature that doth not eaſily ſuffer itſelf to be hid: unleſs the Epicureans like the giants Cyclopes would (bearing themſelves bold upon his high degree) outragiouſly make war againſt God. Do the whole treaſures of the heavenly wiſdom ſo meet together, to rule a worm of five feet long: and ſhall the whole univerſality of the world be without this prerogative? Firſt to agree that there is a certain inſtrumental thing that anſwereth to all the parts of man, doth ſo ſerve nothing at all to obſcure the honour of God, that it rather doth more glorioufly ſet it out. Let Epicurus anſwer me, what meeting of undiviſible bodies, boiling the meat and drink in man, doth diſpoſe part into excrements and part into blood, and bringeth to paſs that there is in all the members of man ſuch an endeavouring to do their office, even as if ſo many ſeveral ſouls did by common advice rule one body?

They obſcure the glory of God, who bind the ſoul in ſuch ſort unto the body that they take from it thoſe operations which depending not at all upon corporal inſtruments do both ſhew the divine nature of the ſoul, and the powerful providence of him that created it.

5. But I have not now to do with that ſty of ſwine. I rather ſpeak unto them, who being given to ſubtilties, would by crooked conveyance with that cold ſaying of Ariſtotle, both to deſtroy the immortality of the ſoul, and alſo to take from God his right. For becauſe there are inſtrumental powers of the ſoul, by pretence thereof they bind the ſoul to the body, that it cannot continue without the body, and with praiſes of nature they do as much as in them is, ſuppreſs the name of God. But the powers of the ſoul are far from being incloſed in thoſe exerciſes that ſerve the body. For what pertaineth it to the body, for a man to meaſure the ſky, to gather the number of the ſtars, to learn the greatneſs of one, to know what ſpace they be diſtant one from another, with what ſwiftneſs or ſlowneſs they go their courſes, how many degrees they decline this way or that way? I grant indeed that there is ſome uſe of aſtrology: but my meaning is only to ſhew that in this ſo deep ſearching out of heavenly things, it is not an inſtrumental meaſuring, but that the ſoul hath her offices by itſelf independent of the body. I have ſhewed one example, by which it ſhall be eaſy for the readers to gather the reſt. Truly the manifold nimbleneſs of the ſoul, by which it ſurveyeth both heaven and earth, joineth things paſt with things to come, keepeth in memory things heard long before, and expreſſeth each thing to itſelf by imagination, alſo the ingeniouſneſs by which it inventeth things incredible, and which is the parent of ſo many marvellous arts, are ſure tokens of divine nature in man. Beſide that, even in ſleeping it doth not only roll and turn itſelf, but alſo conceiveth many things profitable, reaſoneth of many things, and alſo propheſieth of things to come. What ſhall we in this caſe ſay, but that the ſigns of immortality that are imprinted in man, cannot be blotted out? Now what reaſon may bear that man ſhall be of divine nature, and not acknowlege his creator? Shall we forſooth by judgment that is put into us diſcern between right and wrong, and ſhall there be no judge in heaven? Shall we even in our ſleep have abiding with us ſome remnant of underſtanding, and ſhall no God be waking in governing the world? Shall we be ſo counted the inventors of ſo many arts and profitable things, that God ſhall be defrauded of his praiſe, whereas yet experience ſufficiently teacheth, that from another and not from ourſelves, all that we have, is in divers ways diſtri-

tributed among us? As for that, which ſome do babble of the ſecret inſpiration that giveth livlineſs to the world, it is not only weak, but alſo ungodly. They like well that famous ſaying of Virgil:

Firſt, heaven, and earth, and ocean's liquid plains,
The moon's bright globe, the ſun, and ſhining ſtars,
A ſoul within enlivens; and a mind,
Diffus'd thro' all its parts, the gen'ral maſs
Invigorates, and mingles with the whole.
Hence men and beaſts, and all the feather'd kind
Proceed, and monſters of the boundleſs deep:
A fiery force, and origin divine
Theſe ſeeds inſpires; &c. ÆNEID VI.

Forſooth, that the world which was created for a ſpectacle of the glory of God, ſhould be the creator of itſelf. So in another place the ſame author, following the common opinion of the Greeks and Latins, ſaith:

Some think, by theſe appearances induc'd,
That to the bees an energy divine,
And part of the celeſtial mind, is given;
For that a God, diffus'd thro' all the maſs,
Pervades the earth, the ſea, and deep of air:
Hence men, and cattle, herds and ſavage beaſts,
All at their births, receive ethereal life;
Hither again, diſſolv'd, they back return;
Nor death takes place; but all, immortal, fly
To heav'n, and in their proper ſtars reſide.
GEO. IV.

Lo, what that ſilly notion of an univerſal mind that giveth ſoul and livelineſs to the world, availeth to engender and nouriſh godlineſs in the hearts of men. Which doth alſo better appear by the blaſphemous ſayings of the filthy dog Lucretius, which are derived from the ſame principle. What is this but to make a mere ſhadow of a Deity, in order to drive far away the true God whom we ought to fear and worſhip. I grant indeed that this may be piouſly ſaid, ſo that it proceed from a godly mind, that nature is God: but becauſe it is a hard and an unproper manner of ſpeech, foraſmuch as nature is rather an order preſcribed by God: therefore in things of ſo great weight and to which is due a ſingular religiouſneſs, it is hurtful to wrap up God confuſedly with the inferior courſe of his works. Let us therefore remember, ſo oft as any man conſidereth his own nature, that there is one God which ſo governeth all natures, that his will is to have us look unto him, our faith to be directed to him, and him to be worſhipped and called upon by us: becauſe there is nothing more prepoſterous and irrational, than for us to enjoy thoſe excellent gifts that ſavour of divine nature in us, and to deſpiſe the author that freely doth give them unto us. Now as concerning his power, with how notable examples doth it forcibly draw us to conſider it, unleſs perhaps we may be ignorant, of how great a ſtrength it is with his only word to uphold this infinite maſs of heaven and earth, with his only beck, ſometime to ſhake the heaven with noiſe of thunders, to burn up each thing with lightenings, to ſet the air on fire with lightening flames, ſometime to trouble it with divers ſorts of tempeſts, and by and by the ſame God when he liſts in one moment to make fair weather; to hold in the ſea as if it hanged in the air, which with its height ſeemeth to threaten continual deſtruction to the earth, ſometimes in horrible wiſe to raiſe it up with outragious violence of winds, and ſometimes to appeaſe the waves and make it calm again. For proof hereof do ſerve all the praiſes of God gathered of the teſtimonies of nature, ſpecially in the book of Job and in Iſaiah, which now I purpoſely paſs over, becauſe they ſhall elſe where have another place fitter for them, where I ſhall treat of the creation of the world according to the ſcriptures. Only my meaning was now to hint, that both ſtrangers and they of the houſhold of God have this way of ſeeking God common to them both, that is, to follow theſe firſt draughts which both above and beneath do as in a ſhadow ſet forth a lively image of him. And now the ſame power leadeth us to conſider his eternity. For it muſt needs be that he from whom all things have their beginning, is of eternal duration, and hath his beginning of himſelf. But now if any man enquire the cauſe whereby he both was once led to create all theſe things, and is now moved to preſerve them: we ſhall find that his alone goodneſs was that which moved him to it. Yea and although this alone be the cauſe, yet ought the ſame abundantly to ſuffice to allure us to the love of him, foraſmuch as there is no creature (as the prophet ſaith) upon which his mercy is not poured out.

The works of God in cheriſhing the good, puniſhing the wicked, and calling ſinners home unto himſelf, are proofs of his exceeding power and virtue.

6. Alſo in the ſecond ſort of his works, I mean thoſe that come to paſs beſide the ordinary courſe of nature, there doth appear no leſs evident proof of his powers. For in governing his man ſociety he ſo ordereth his providence, that whereas he is by innumerable means good and bountiful to all men, yet by manifeſt and daily tokens he declareth his favourable kindneſs to the godly, and his ſeverity to the wicked and evil doers. For not doubtful are the puniſhments that he layeth upon

hainous offences: like as he doth openly ſhew himſelf a defender and revenger of innocency, while he proſpereth the life of good men with his bleſſing, helpeth their neceſſity, aſſwageth and comforteth their ſorrows, relieveth their calamities, and by all means provideth for their ſafety. Neither ought it in the leaſt to deface the perpetual rule of his juſtice, that he oftentimes permitteth wicked men and evil doers for a time to triumph with impunity, and on the other ſide ſuffereth good and innocent men to be toſſed with mans adverſities, yea and to be oppreſſed with the malice and unjuſt dealings of the ungodly. But rather a much contrary conſideration ought to enter into our minds: that when by manifeſt ſhew of his wrath he puniſheth one ſin, we ſhould therefore think that he hateth all ſins: and when he ſuffereth many ſins to paſs unpuniſhed, we ſhould thereupon think that there ſhall be another judgment to which they are deferred to be then puniſhed. Likewiſe what great matter of ſurprize is it to conſider the power of his mercy, in that he oft ceaſes not to ſhew his unwearied bountifulneſs upon miſerable ſinners in calling them home to him with more than fatherly tenderneſs, until he have ſubdued their frowardneſs with doing them good.

The goodneſs of God is ſhewed by delivering men that are in miſery, his ſtrength by overthrowing them that are mighty, his wiſdom by diſpoſing all things in fitteſt opportunity.

7. To this end, where the prophet particularly rehearſeth, how God in caſes paſt hope, doth ſuddenly and wonderfully and beſide all hope ſuccour men that are in miſery and in a manner loſt, whether he defend them wandering in wilderneſs from the wild beaſts, and at length leadeth them into the way again, or miniſtreth food to the needy and hungry, or delivereth priſoners out of horrible dungeons and iron bands, or bringeth men in peril of ſhipwreck ſafe into the haven, or healeth the half dead of diſeaſes, or ſcorcheth the earth with heat and dryneſs, or maketh it fruitful with ſecret watering of his grace, or advanceth the loweſt of the mean people, or throweth down the noble peers from the high degree of dignity: by ſuch examples ſhewed forth, he gathereth that thoſe things which are judged chances happening by fortune, are ſo many teſtimonies of the heavenly providence and ſpecially of his fatherly kindneſs, and that thereby is given matter of rejoicing to the godly, and the wicked and reprobate have their mouths ſtopped. But becauſe the greater part infected with their errors are blind in ſo clear a place of beholding, therefore he crieth out, that it is a gift of rare and ſingular wiſdom, wiſely to weigh theſe works of God: by ſight whereof they nothing profit that otherways ſeem moſt clear ſighted. And truly how much ſoever the glory of God doth apparently ſhine before them, yet ſcarcely the hundredth man is a true beholder of it. Likeways his power and wiſdom are no more hid in darkneſs: whereof the one, his power, doth notably appear, when the fierce outragiouſneſs of the wicked being in all mens opinion unconquerable, is beaten flat in one moment, their arrogancy tamed, their ſtrongeſt holds raiſed, their weapons and armour broken in pieces, their ſtrength ſubdued, their devices overthrown, and themſelves fall with their own weight, the preſumptuous boldneſs, that lifted itſelf above the heavens is thrown down even to the depths of the earth again, the lowly are lifted up out of the duſt, and the needy raiſed from the dunghill, Pſal. cxiii. 7. the oppreſſed and afflicted are drawn out of extreme diſtreſs, men in deſpaired ſtate are reſtored to good hope, the unarmed bear away the victory from the armed, few from many, the feeble from the ſtrong. As for his wiſdom, itſelf ſheweth itſelf manifeſtly excellent, while it diſpoſeth every thing in fitteſt opportunity, confoundeth the wiſdom of the world be it never ſo piercing, findeth out the ſubtle in their ſubtilty, 1 Cor. iii. 19. finally governeth all things by moſt convenient order.

The true knowlege of God conſiſteth not in the curious ſearching of his nature, but in the inward feeling of his power.

8. We ſee that it needeth no long elaborate proof, to fetch out teſtimonies, to ſerve for the glorious declaration and proof of God's majeſty: for by theſe few that we have touched, it appeareth, that which way ſoever a man chance to look, they are ſo common and ready that they may be eaſily marked with the eye, and pointed out with the finger. And here again is to be noted, that we are called to the knowlege of God, not ſuch as contented with vain ſpeculation, doth but fly about in the brain, but ſuch as ſhall be ſound and fruitful, if it be rightly conceived and take root in our hearts. For the Lord is declared by his powers, the force whereof becauſe we feel within us, and do enjoy the benefits of them, it muſt needs be that we be inwardly moved much more lively with ſuch a knowlege, than if we ſhould imagine God to be ſuch an one, of whom we ſhould have no feeling. Whereby we underſtand that this is the righteſt way and fitteſt order to ſeek God, not to attempt to enter deeply with preſumptuous curioſity thoroughly to

diſcuſs

discuss his substance, which is rather to be reverently worshipped than scrupulously searched: but rather to behold him in his works, by which he maketh himself near and familiar, and doth in a manner communicate himself unto us. And this the Apostle meant, when he said, that God is not to to be sought afar off, forasmuch as he with his most present power dwelleth within every one of us, Acts xvii. 27. Wherefore David having before confessed his unspeakable greatness, when he descendeth to the particular rehearsal of his works, protesteth that the same will shew forth itself. Psal. cxlv. Therefore we ought to give ourselves to such a searching out of God, as may so hold our wit suspended with admiration, that it may therewithal thoroughly move us with effectual feeling. And, as Augustine teacheth in another place, because we are not able to conceive him, it behoveth us as it were fainting under the burden of his greatness, to look unto his works, that we may be refreshed with his goodness.

The knowlege of those things which God worketh upon man, doth give us a taste of that which shall be more fully accomplished in the life to come, especially if we consider his effectual working in ourselves.

9. Then such a knowlege ought not only to stir us up to the worshipping of God, but also to awake us, and raise us to the hope of the life to come. For when we consider that such examples as God sheweth both of his mercifulness, and of his severity, are but begun and not half full: without doubt we must think, that herein he doth but make a shew aforehand of those things, whereof the open disclosing and full deliverance is deferred unto another life. On the other side, when we see that the godly are by the ungodly grieved with afflictions, troubled with injuries, oppressed with slanders, and vexed with despiteful dealings and reproaches: contrariwise that wicked doers do flourish, prosper and obtain quiet with honour, yea, and that unpunished: we must by and by gather that there shall be another life, wherein is laid up in store both due revenge for wickedness, and reward for righteousness. Moreover, when we observe that the faithful are often chastised with the rods of the Lord, we may most certainly determine that much less the ungodly shall escape his scourges. For very well is that spoken of Augustine, "If every sin should now be "punished with open pain, it would be thought "that nothing were reserved to the last judgment. "Again, if God should now openly punish no sin, "it would be believed, that there were no providence of God." *De civit. dei*, c. 8. Therefore we must confess, that in every particular work of God, but principally in the universal generality of them, the powers of God are set forth as it were in painted tables, by which all mankind are provoked and allured to the knowlege of him, and from knowlege to full and perfect felicity. But whereas these his powers do in his works most brightly appear, yet what they principally tend unto, of what efficacy they be, and to what end we ought to weigh them: this we then only attain to understand when we descend into ourselves, and do consider by what means God doth shew forth in us his life, wisdom, and power, and doth use towards us his righteousness, goodness, and merciful kindness. For though David justly complaineth, that the unbelieving do dote in folly because they consider not the deep counsels of God in his government of mankind: Psal. xcii. 7. yet that is also most true, which he saith in another place, that the wonderful wisdom of God in that behalf exceedeth the hairs of our head; Psal. xl. 13. But because this point shall hereafter in place convenient be more largely handled, therefore I do at this time pass it over.

God manifesting himself, men profit not by it, because they behold things done without regarding the doer, or they ascribe that to fortune which he doth, or if they have some feeling of God, they deprave it with doting fancies, which fault is common unto all, even the sharpest witted.

10 But with how great brightness soever God doth in the mirror of his works shew by representation, both himself and his immortal kingdom: yet such is our gross stupidity, that we stand dully amazed at so plain testimonies, so that they pass away from us without profit. For, as touching the frame and most beautiful placing of the world, how many a one is there of us, that when he either lifteth up his eyes to heaven, or casteth them about on the divers countries of the earth, doth direct his mind to remembrance of the creator, and doth not rather rest beholding the works without having regard of the workman? But as touching those things that daily happen beside the order of natural course, how many a one is there, that doth not more think that men are rather whirled about and rowled by blind unadvisedness of fortune, than governed by providence of God? But if at any time we be by the guiding and direction of these things, driven to the consideration of God, (as all men must needs be) yet so soon as we have without advisement conceived a feeling of some Deity, we by and by slide away to the dotages

or erroneous intentions of our flesh, and with our vanity we corrupt the pure verity of God. So herein indeed we differ one from another, that every man privately by himself procureth to himself some peculiar error: but in this point we all are most like together, that we all, not one excepted, do part from the one true God, to monstrous trifles. To which disease not only common and gross wits are subject, but also the most excellent, and those that otherwise are indowed with singlar sharpness of understanding, are intangled with it. How largely hath the whole sect of philosophers betrayed their own dulness and beastly ignorance in this behalf? For to pass over all the rest, which are much more unreasonably fooliſh, Plato himself, the most religious and most sober of all the rest, vainly erreth in his round globe. Now what might not chance to the other, when the chief of them, whose part was to give light to the rest, do themselves so err and stumble? Likewise where God's governing of human affairs doth so plainly prove his providence, that it cannot be denied, yet this doth no more prevail with men, than if they believed that all things are tossed up and down with the rash will of fortune: so great is our inclination to vanity and error. I speak now altogether of the most excellent, and not of the common sort, whose madness hath infinitely wandered in prophaning the truth of God.

Men when they trust to their own wits, become in their opinions concerning God, either vain, as the stoics, and the Egyptians, or irreligious as the Epicures or irresolute as Symonides.

11. Hence proceedeth that unmeasurable sink of errors, wherewith the whole world hath been filled and overfloweth. For each man's wit is to himself as a maze, so that it is no wonder that every different nation was diversly drawn into several devices, and not that only, but also that each several man had his several gods by himself. For since that rash presumption and wantonness was joined to ignorance and darkness, there hath been scarcely at any time, any one man found, who did not devise to himself an idol or fancy instead of God. Truly, even as out of a wide and large spring do issue waters, so the infinite number of gods hath flowed out of the wit of man, while every man over licentiously straying, erroniously deviseth this or that concerning God himself. And yet I need not here make a register of the superstitions, wherewith the world hath been intangled: because both in so doing I should never have end, and also though I speak not one word of them, yet by so many corruptions it sufficiently appeareth how horrible is the blindness of man's mind. I pass over the rude and unlearned people. But among the philosophers, who enterprised with reason and learning to pierce into heaven, how shameful is the disagreement? With the higher knowlege that any of them was endowed and filled with art and science, with so much the more glorious colours he seemed to paint out his opinion. All which notwithstanding, if one do narrowly look upon, he shall find them to be but vanishing false colours. The stoics seemed in their own conceit to speak very wisely, that out of all the parts of nature may be gathered diverse names of God, and yet that God being but one is not thereby torn asunder. As though we were not already more than enough inclined to vanity, unless a manifold plenty of gods set before us, should further and more violently draw us into error. Also the Egyptians mystical science of divinity sheweth, that they all diligently endeavoured to this end, not to seem to err without a reason. And it is possible, that at the first sight some thing seeming probable, might deceive the simple and ignorant: but no mortal man ever invented any thing, whereby religion hath not been fouly corrupted. And this so confused diversity emboldened the Epicures and other gross despisers of godliness, by little and little to cast off all feeling of God. For when they saw the wisest of all to strive in contrary opinions, they sticked not out of their disagreements, and out of the fooliſh or apparently erroneous doctrine of each of them, to gather, that men do in vain and fondly procure torments to themselves while they search for God, which is none at all. And this they thought that they might freely do without punishment, because it was better briefly to deny utterly, that there is any God, than to feign uncertain gods, and so to raise up contentions that never should have an end. And too much fondly do they reason, or rather cast a mist, to hide their ungodliness by ignorance of men, whereby it is no reason that any thing should be taken away from God. But forasmuch as all do confess, that there is nothing, about which both the learned and unlearned do so much disagree, thereupon is gathered that the wits of men are more than dull and blind in heavenly mysteries, that do so err in seeking out of God. Some other do praise that answer of Symonides who being demanded of king Hieron, what God was, desired to have a day's respite granted him to study upon it. And when the next day following, the king demanded the same question, he required two days respite, and so oftentimes doubling the number of days at length he answered: "How much the more I consider it, so

"much

"much the harder the matter seemeth unto me." But granting that he did wisely to suspend his sentence of so dark a matter, yet hereby appeareth, that if men be only taught by nature, they can know nothing certainly, soundly, and plainly concerning God, but only are tied to confused principles to worship an unknown God.

It cannot be true worshipping of God which is grounded only upon common reason, custom, or consent of men, being not taught by the law what God they ought to worship.

12. Now we must also hold that all they who corrupt the pure religion (as all they must needs do that are given to their own opinion) do depart from the one God. They will boast that their meaning is otherwise: but what they mean, or what they persuade themselves, maketh no much to the matter, since the holy Ghost pronounceth, that all they are apostates, who according to the darkness of their own mind do thrust devils in the place of God. For this reason, Paul pronounceth that the Ephesians were without a God, till they had learned by the gospel, what it was to worship the true God, Eph. ii. 12. And we must not think this to be spoken of one nation only, forasmuch as he generally affirmeth in another place, that all men were become vain in their imaginations, since that by the creation of the world the majesty of the Creator was disclosed unto them, Rom. i. 21. And therefore the scripture, to make place for the true and one only God, condemneth of falshood and lying, whatsoever godhead in old time was celebrated among the Gentiles, and leaveth no God at all, but in the mount Sion, where flourished the peculiar knowlege of God. Truly, among the Gentiles the Samaritans in Christ's time seemed to approach nighest to true godliness: and yet we hear it spoken by Christ's own mouth, that they knew not what they worshipped, John iv. 22. Whence it followeth, that they were deceived with vain error. Finally, although they were not all infected with gross faults or fell into open idolatry, yet was there no true and approved religion that was grounded only upon common reason. For although there were a few that were not so mad as the common people were, yet this doctrine of Paul remaineth certainly true, that the princes of this world know not the wisdom of God, 1 Cor. ii. 8. Now if the most excellent have wandered in darkness, what is to be said of the very dregs of the people? Wherefore it is no wonder if the holy Ghost do refuse, as not being genuine all forms of worship, which are merely of human invention. Because in heavenly mysteries opinion conceived by wit of men, although it do not always breed a heap of errors, yet it is always the mother of error. And though there come no worse of it, yet is this no small fault, at adventure, to worship an unknown God, John iv. 22. of which fault, all they by Christ's own mouth are pronounced guilty, that are not taught by the law what God they ought to worship. And truly the best law-makers that ever were, proceeded no further than to say that religion was grounded upon common consent. Yea, and in Xenophon, Socrates praised the answer of Apollo, wherein he commanded that every man should worship gods after the manner of the country, and the custom of his own city. But how came mortal men by this power, of their own authority, to determine that, which far surmounteth the world? or who can so rest in the decrees of ancestors, or common ordinances of people, as to receive without doubting a God delivered by man's device? Every man rather will stand to his own judgment, than yield himself to the will of another. Since therefore it is too weak and feeble a bond of godliness, in worshipping of God to follow either a custom of a city or the consent of antiquity, it remaineth that God himself must testify of himself from heaven.

By the creatures of the world we cannot aspire to the true knowlege of God, except our hearts be also enlightened by him through faith.

13. In vain therefore so many lamps lightened do shine in the edifice of the world, to shew forth the glory of the Creator, which do so every way display their beams upon us, that yet of themselves they cannot bring us into the right way. Indeed they raise up certain sparkles, but such as be choked up before that they can spread abroad any full brightness. Therefore the apostle in the same place where he calleth the ages of the world images of things invisible, saith further, that by faith is perceived, that they were framed by the word of God, Heb. xi. 3. meaning thereby that the invisible Godhead is indeed represented by such shews, but that we have no eyes to see the same thoroughly, unless they be enlightened by the revelation of God through faith. And Paul, where he teacheth that by the creation of the world was disclosed, Rom. i. 19. that which was to be known concerning God, doth not mean such a disclosing as may be perceived by the understanding of man how quick soever: but rather sheweth that the same proceedeth no further than to make them inexcusable. The same Paul also, although in one place he saith, that God is not to be sought afar of, as one that dwelleth within us, Acts xvii. 27: yet in another place teacheth to what end that nearness availeth, Acts

xiv, 16. In the times past (saith he) God suffered the nations to walk in their own ways: nevertheless he left not himself without witness, in that he did good, and gave us rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling the hearts of men with food and gladness. Howsoever therefore the Lord be not without witness, while with his great and manifold goodness he sweetly alloreth men to the knowlege of himself: yet for all that, they cease not to follow their own ways, that is to say, their damnable errors.

Our ignorance nevertheless becauſe it cometh by our own fault is without excuſe.

14. But although we want natural power, whereby we cannot climb up unto the pure and clear knowlege of God, yet becauſe the fault of our dulneſs is in ourselves, therefore all colour of excuſe is cut off from us. For we cannot so pretend ignorance, but that even our conſcience doth ſtill condemn us of ſlothfulneſs and unthankfulneſs. It is a defence forſooth right worthy to be received, if man will allege that he wanted ears to hear the truth, for the publiſhing whereof the very dumb creatures have loud voices: if man ſhall ſay that he cannot ſee thoſe things with his eyes, which the creatures without eyes do ſhew him: if man ſhall lay for his excuſe the feebleneſs of his wit, where all creatures without reaſon do inſtruct him. Wherefore ſince all things do ſhew us the right way, we have no manner of excuſe to make for ourſelves, when we wander and ſtray out of the way. But howſoever, it is to be imputed to the fault of men, that they do by and by corrupt the ſeed of the knowlege of God ſown in their minds by marvelous workmanſhip of nature, ſo that it groweth not to good and clean fruit: yet it is moſt true, that we are not ſufficiently inſtructed by that bare and ſimple teſtimony, that the creatures do honourably declare of God's glory. For ſo ſoon as we have taken by the beholding of the world a ſmall taſte of the Godhead, we, leaving the true God, do inſtead of him raiſe up dreams and fancies of our own brain, and do convey hither and thither from the true fountain the praiſe of righteouſneſs, wiſdom, goodneſs and power. Moreover we do ſo either obſcure, or by ill eſteeming them, deprave his daily doings, that we take away both from them their glory, and from the author his due praiſe.

CHAP. VI.

That to attain to God the Creator, it is needful to have the ſcripture to be our guide and miſtreſs.

The true Creator and governor of the world cannot perfectly be known without the word, which mean God hath uſed from the beginning, to inſtruct his people by.

THEREFORE, although that ſame brightneſs, which both in heaven and earth ſhineth in the eyes of all men, doth ſufficiently take away all defence from the wickedneſs of men, even ſo as God to wrap all mankind in one guiltineſs, doth ſhew his divine majeſty to all without exception as it were portrayed out in his creatures: yet is it neceſſary that we have alſo another and a better help that may rightly direct us to the very creator of the world. Therefore not in vain he hath added the light of his word, that thereby he might be known to ſalvation. And this prerogative he hath vouchſafed to give us, whom it pleaſed him more nearly and more familiarly to draw together to himſelf. For becauſe he ſaw the minds of all men to be carried about with wandering and unſtedfaſt motion, after he had choſen the Jews to his peculiar flock, he compaſſed them in as it were with bars, that they ſhould not wander out in vanity as others did. And not without cauſe he holdeth us with the ſame mean in the true knowlege of himſelf. For otherwiſe even they ſhould quickly ſwerve away that ſeem to ſtand ſtedfaſt in compariſon of other. For as men who are old or ſand-blind, or whoſe eyes are dim ſighted, if you lay a fair book before them, though they perceive that there is ſomewhat written therein, yet can they not read two words together: but being helped with ſpectacles ſet between them and it, they begin to read diſtinctly: ſo the ſcripture gathering up together in our minds the knowlege of God, which otherwiſe is but confuſed, doth remove the miſt and plainly ſhew us the true God. This therefore is a ſingular gift, that to the inſtruction of his church God uſeth not only dumb teachers, but alſo openeth his own holy mouth: not only publiſheth that there is ſome God to be worſhipped, but alſo therewithal pronounceth that he himſelf is the ſame God whom we ought to worſhip: and doth not only teach the elect to look upon God, but alſo preſenteth himſelf unto them to be looked upon. This order hath he kept from the beginning towards his church, beſide theſe common inſtructions to give them alſo his word. Which is the righter and certainer mark to know

know him by. And it is not to be doubted, that Adam, Noah, Abraham, and the reſt of the patriarchs by this help attained to that familiar knowlege, which made them to be peculiarly diſtinguiſhed from the unbelievers. I ſpeak not yet of the proper doctrine of faith, wherewith they were enlightened to the hope of eternal life. For, in order to have ſure hopes of paſſing from death to life, it was needful for them to know God not only as their creator, but alſo as their redeemer, both which they doubtleſs learned from God's word. For that kind of knowlege which taught them that it was God that made the world, and governs it, in order came before the other: and then was that other inward knowlege adjoined, which alone quickneth dead ſouls, by which God is known not only to be the maker of the world and the only author and judge of all things that are done, but alſo to be the redeemer in the perſon of the mediator. But becauſe I am not yet come to the fall of the world and the corruption of human nature, I will omit alſo to treat of the remedy thereof. Therefore let the readers remember that I do not yet ſpeak of the covenant whereby God hath adopted to himſelf the children of Abraham, and of that eſpecial part of doctrine whereby the faithful have always been peculiarly ſeparated from the heathen nations: becauſe that doctrine was founded upon Chriſt: but I ſpeak how we ought to learn by the ſcripture, that God who is the creator of the world, is by certain marks clearly diſtinguiſhed from the counterfeit multitude of falſe gods. And then the order itſelf ſhall conveniently bring us to the redeemer. But although we ſhall allege many teſtimonies out of the New Teſtament, and ſome alſo out of the law and the prophets, in which expreſs mention is made of Chriſt: yet they ſhall all tend to this end, to prove that in the ſcripture is diſcloſed unto us God the creator of the world, and in the ſcripture is ſet forth what we ought to think of him, to the end that we ſhould not ſeek about the buſh for an uncertain Godhead.

The patriarchs who knew God by the word, knew alſo the word to be from God, who hath publiſhed the ſame in writing, that all ages might be taught by it.

2. But whether God were known to the patriarchs by oracles and viſions, or whether by the means and miniſtration of men, he informed them of that which they ſhould from hand to hand deliver down to their poſterity: yet it is undoubtedly true, that in their hearts was engraven a ſtedfaſt certainty of doctrine, ſo as they might be perſuaded and underſtand that what they had learned came from God. For God always made undoubted aſſurance for credit of his word, which far exceeded all uncertain opinion. At length, that by continual proceeding of doctrine, the truth ſurviving in all ages might ſtill remain in the world, the ſame oracles which he had left with the patriarchs, his pleaſure was to have as it were enrolled in public tables. For this intent was the law publiſhed, to which afterwards were added the prophets, who were to be interpreters of it. For though there were divers uſes of the law, as hereafter ſhall better appear in place convenient: and ſpecially the principal purpoſe of Moſes and all the prophets was to teach the manner of reconciliation between God and men; for which cauſe alſo Paul calleth Chriſt the end of the law: Rom. x. 4. yet, as I ſay once again, beſide the proper doctrine of faith and repentance which ſheweth forth Chriſt the mediator, the ſcripture doth by certain marks and tokens paint out the only and true God, in that he hath created and doth govern the world, to the end he ſhould be clearly diſtinguiſhed from, and not reckoned in the falſe number of feigned gods. Therefore although it behoveth man earneſtly to bend his eyes to conſider the works of God, foraſmuch as he is ſet as it were in this glorious ſtage to be a beholder of them: yet principally ought he to bend his ears to the word, that he may better profit by it. And therefore it is no wonder that they who are born in darkneſs do more and more wax hard in their amazed dulneſs, becauſe very few of them do ſubmit them to be taught by the word of God, in order that by it they might keep within their bounds, but they rather rejoice in their own vanity. Thus then ought we to maintain, that to the end true religion may ſhine among us, we muſt take our beginning at the heavenly doctrine: and that no man can have any taſte be it never ſo little of true and ſound doctrine, unleſs he hath been ſcholar to the ſcripture. And from hence flows the original of true underſtanding, that we reverently embrace whatſoever it pleaſeth God from his word to teſtify of himſelf. For not only the perfect and in all points abſolute faith, but alſo all right knowlege of God ſpringeth from obedience. And truly in this behalf God of his ſingular providence hath provided for men in and for all ages.

On many accounts it was neceſſary the word of God ſhould be committed to writing, and that mankind ſhould

3. For if we conſider how ſlippery an inclination man's mind hath to ſlide into forgetfulneſs of God, how great a readineſs to fall into all kind of errors, how ſtrong deſire to invent frequently new and falſe religions, we may from hence diſcern

account it binding upon them.

discern how necessary it was to have a divine revelation committed to writing, so that it shall not either perish by forgetfulness, or grow vain by error, or be corrupted by boldness of men. Since therefore it is manifest that God hath always made use of his word, as the mean of conveying solid and sufficient instruction to those whom he inclined to have taught because he foresaw that his image imprinted in the most beautiful form of the world was not sufficiently effectual: therefore it behoveth us to travel this straight way [of the scriptures] if we pant after, and desire to arrive at the true knowlege of God. We must, I say, come to his word, wherein God is well and lively set out by his works, when his works are weighed not after the perverseness of our own judgment, but according to the rule of the eternal truth. If we swerve from that word, as I said even now, although we run never so fast; yet we shall never attain to the mark, because the course of our running is out of the way. For thus we must think, that the brightness of the face of God, which the apostle calleth such as cannot be attained unto, 1 Tim. vi. 16. is unto us like a maze, out of which we cannot unwrap ourselves, unless we be by the line of the word guided into it: so that it is much better for us to halt in this way, than to run never so fast in another. And therefore David oftentimes when he teacheth that superstitions are to be taken away out of the world, that pure religion may flourish, bringeth in God reigning: Psal. ix. and xcvi. xcvii. xcix. *&c.* meaning by this word reigning, not the power that he hath, but the doctrine whereby he challengeth to himself a lawful government: because errors can never be rooted out of the hearts of men, till the knowlege of God be planted.

It is in vain to seek God by contemplation of his creatures without the study of his word.

4. Therefore the same prophet, after that he hath recited that the heavens declare the glory of God, that the firmament sheweth forth the works of his hands, that the orderly succeeding course of days and nights preacheth his majesty; then descendeth to make mention of his word. "The law "of the Lord (saith he) is undefiled, converting "souls: the witness of the Lord is faithful, giving "wisdom to little ones: the righteousnesses of the "Lord are upright, making hearts chearful; the "commandment of the Lord is bright, giving light "to the eyes." Psal. xix. For although he comprehendeth also the other uses of the law, yet in generality he meaneth, that forasmuch as God doth in vain call unto him all nations by the beholding of the heaven and earth, therefore this is the peculiar school of the children of God. The same meaning hath the xxix Psalm, where the prophet having preached of the terrible voice of God, which in thunder, winds, showers, whirlwinds and storms, shaketh the earth, maketh the mountains to tremble, and breaketh the cedar trees: in the end at last he goeth further and saith, that his praises are sung in the sanctuary, because the unbelievers are deaf and hear not all the voices of God that resound in the air. And in like manner in another psalm, after that he had described the terrible waves of the sea, he thus concludeth; "Thy testimonies are verified, "the beauty of thy temple is holiness for ever." Psal. xciii. 5. Hence it was that Christ said to the woman of Samaria, that her nation and the rest did worship they knew not what, and that only the Jews did worship the true God, John iv. 22. For whereas the wit of man by reason of the feebleness thereof can by no means attain unto God, but being helped and lifted up by his holy word, it followed of necessity, that all men, except the Jews, did wander in vanity and error, because they sought God without his word.

CHAP. VII.

By what testimony the scripture ought to be established, that is by the witness of the holy Ghost, that the authority thereof may remain certain. And that it is a wicked invention to say that the credit thereof doth depend on the judgment of the church.

The credit of the scripture doth not depend upon the church's receiving and authorising of it.

BUT before I go any further, it is needful to say somewhat of the authority of the scripture, not only to prepare mens minds to reverence it, but also to take away all doubt thereof. Now, when it is a matter confessed that it is the word of God that is there set forth, there is no man of so desperate boldness, unless he be void of all common sense and natural part of man, that dare derogate from the credit of him that speaketh it. But because there are not daily oracles given from heaven, and the only scriptures

tures remain wherein it hath pleaſed him to preſerve his truth to perpetual memory, the ſame ſcripture by none other means is full of credit among the faithful, but in that they do believe that it is as really come down from heaven, as if they heard the lively voice of God to ſpeak therein. This matter indeed juſtly deſerves both to be largely treated of and diligently conſidered. But the readers ſhall pardon me if herein I rather regard what the proportion of the work which I have begun may bear, then what the largeneſs of the matter requireth. There is grown up among the moſt part of men a moſt pernicious error, that the ſcripture hath only ſo much authority as by common conſent of the church is given unto it: as if the eternal and inviolable truth of God did reſt upon the pleaſure of men. For ſo, to the great ſcorn of the holy Ghoſt, they aſk of us who can aſſure us that theſe ſcriptures came from God: or who can aſcertain us that they have continued unto our age ſafe and uncorrupted: who can perſuade us, that this one book ought to be reverently received, and that other to be ſtruck out of the number of ſcripture, unleſs the the church did appoint a certain rule of all theſe things? It depends therefore (ſay they) upon the determination of the church, both what reverence is due to the ſcripture, and what books are to be reckoned in the canon thereof. So theſe robbers of God's honour, while they ſeek under colour of the church to bring in an unbridled tyranny, care nothing with what abſurdities they ſnare both themſelves and others ſo that they may enforce this one thing to be believed among the ſimple, that the church can do all things. But if it be ſo: what ſhall become of the poor conſciences that ſeek ſtedfaſt aſſurance of eternal life, if all the promiſes that remain thereof ſtand and be ſtayed only upon the judgment of men? When they receive ſuch anſwer, ſhall they ceaſe to waver and tremble? Again, to what ſcorns of the ungodly is our faith made ſubject? into how great ſuſpicion with all men is it brought, if this be believed, that it hath but as it were a borrowed credit by the favour of men.

The church depending upon the ſcripture, doth not by her teſtimony give it credit, but becauſe it hath an evidence of certainty with it ſelf, doth therefore of duty acknowlege it to be the truth of God.

2. But ſuch bablers are well confuted even with one word of the apoſtle. He teſtifieth that the church is built upon the foundation of the prophets and apoſtles, Eph. ii. 20. If the doctrine of the prophets and apoſtles be the foundation of the church: then muſt it needs be, that the ſame doctrine ſtood in ſtedfaſt certainty, before that the church began to be. Neither can they well cavil, that although the church take her firſt beginning thereof, yet it remaineth doubtful what is to be ſaid of the writings of the prophets and apoſtles, unleſs the judgment of the church did declare it. For if the chriſtian church were at the beginning built upon the writings of the prophets and preaching of the apoſtles: whereſoever that doctrine ſhall be found, the allowed credit thereof was ſurely before the church, without which the church itſelf had never been. Therefore it is a vain forged device, that the church hath power to judge the ſcripture, ſo as the certainty of the ſcripture ſhould be thought to depend upon the will of the church. Wherefore, when the church doth receive the ſcripture and ſealeth it with her conſenting teſtimony, ſhe doth not of a thing doubtful, and that otherwiſe ſhould be in controverſy, make it authentic and of credit: but becauſe ſhe acknowlegeth it to be the truth of her God, according to her duty of godlineſs without delay ſhe doth honour it. Whereas they demand, How ſhall we be perſuaded that it came from God, unleſs we have recourſe to the decree of the church? This is all one as if a man ſhould aſk, How ſhall we learn to know light from darkneſs, white from black, or ſweet from ſowre? For the ſcripture ſheweth in itſelf no leſs apparant ſenſe of its truth, than white and black things do of their colour, or ſweet and ſowre things of taſte.

The authority of the church, as St. Auguſtine confeſſeth, is of force to win unbelievers to their firſt liking of the ſcripture, whereof, when once they do believe they ſee then a ſounder foundation whereupon they reſt their faith.

3. I know that they commonly allege the ſaying of Auguſtine, *Contra epiſt. fundamentalem ca.* 5. where he ſaith, that he would not believe the goſpel, ſave that the authority of the church moved him thereto. But how falſely and captiouſly it is alleged, for ſuch a meaning, by the whole tenor of his writing it is eaſy to perceive. He had to do with the Manichees, who required to be believed without gainſaying, when they vaunted that they had the truth on their ſide, but proved it not. And to make their Manicheus to be believed, they pretended the goſpel. Now Auguſtine aſketh them what they would do, if they did light upon a man that would not believe the goſpel itſelf, with what manner of perſuaſion they would draw him to their own opinion. Afterward he ſaith: I my ſelf would not believe the goſpel, &c. ſave that

the authority of the church moved me thereto. Meaning that he himself, when he was a stranger from the faith, could not otherwise be brought to embrace the gospel for the assured truth of God, but by this, that he was overcome with the authority of the church. And what marvel is it, if a man not yet knowing Christ, have regard to men? Augustine therefore doth not there teach that the faith of the godly is grounded upon the authority of the church, nor meaneth that the certainty of the gospel doth depend upon it: but simply and only, that there should be no assuredness of the gospel to the infidels, whereby they might be won to Christ, unless the consent of the church did drive them unto it, *Contra epist. fundamentalem ca.* 4. And the same meaning a little before he doth plainly confirm in this saying. When I shall praise that which I believe, and scorn that which thou believest what thinkest thou meet for us to judge or do? but that we forsake such men as first call us to come and know certain truths, and after command us to believe things uncertain: and that we follow them that require us first to believe that which we are not yet able to see, that being made strong by believing, we may attain to understand the thing that we believe: not men now, but God himself inwardly strengthning and giving light to our mind. These are the very words of Augustine: from which every man may easily see that it was never this good man's intention to make the credit we give to the scriptures to depend on the authority and judgment of the church, &c. but only to shew this, (which we ourselves also do confess to be true) that they who are not yet enlightened by the Spirit of God, are brought, by the reverence of the church, unto a willingness to be taught, so as they can find in their hearts to learn the faith of Christ by the gospel: and that thus by this means the authority of the church is an introduction, whereby we are prepared to believe the gospel. For, as we see, his mind is that the assurance of the godly be stayed upon a far other foundation. Otherwise I do not deny but that he often presseth the Manichees with the consent of the whole church, when he seeketh to prove the same scripture which they refused. And from hence it came, that he so reproached Faustus for that he did not yield himself to the truth of the gospel so grounded, so established, so gloriously renowned, and from the very time of the apostles by certain successions perpetually commended, *Contra Faustum lib.* 32. But he never labours, to teach that the authority which we acknowlege to be in the scripture, depends upon the determination or decree of men. But only this, which made much for him in the matter that he disputed of, he produces the universal judgment of the church, wherein he had the advantage of his adversaries. If any desire a fuller proof of this matter, let him read his book concerning the advantage of Faith: where he shall find that there is no other readiness of belief commended unto us by him, than that which only giveth us an entry, and is unto us a convenient beginning to inquire, as he termeth it: and yet not that we ought to rest upon bare opinion, but to lean to the certain and sound truth, *Aug. de utilitate cred.*

4. We ought to maintain, as before I said, that the credit of this doctrine, is not established in us, until such time as we be undoubtedly persuaded that God is the author thereof. Therefore the principal proof of the scripture is commonly taken of the person of God the speaker of it. The prophets and apostles boast not of their own penetration, or of any such things as procure credit to men that speak: neither stand they upon proofs by reason, but they bring forth the holy name of God, thereby to compel the whole world to obedience. Now we have to see how not only by probable opinion, but by apparant truth it is evident, that in this behalf the name of God is not without cause nor deceitfully pretended. If then we will provide well for consciences, that they be not continually carried about with unstedfast doubting, nor may waver, nor stay at every small stop, this manner of persuasion must be fetched deeper than from either the reasons, judgments or the conjectures of men, even from the secret testimony of the holy Ghost. True indeed it is, that if we had a mind to work by way of arguments, many things might be alleged that may easily prove, if there be any God in heaven, that the law, the prophecies and the gospel came from him. Yea, although men learned and of deep judgment would stand up to the contrary, and would employ and shew forth the whole force of their wits in this disputation: yet if they be not so hardened as to become desperately shameless, they would be compelled to confess, that there are seen in the scripture manifest tokens that it is God that speaketh therein: whereby it may appear that the doctrine thereof is from heaven. And shortly hereafter we shall see, that all the

Although there be reason enough to prove the divine authority of the scripture against the cavils of prophane men: yet cannot it hereby find that credit in the hearts of men which the assurance of godliness doth require except it be inwardly sealed by the testimony of the holy Ghost, the same being the witness who was the author of it.

the books of the holy ſcripture do far excel all other writings whatſoever they be. Yea, if we bring thither pure eyes and uncorrupted ſenſes, we ſhall forthwith find there the majeſty of God, which ſhall ſubdue all hardneſs of gainſaying, and enforce us to obey him. But yet they act properſterouſly who labour to eſtabliſh the perfect credit of the ſcripture And truly although I am not furniſhed with great dexterity, nor eloquence: yet if I were to contend with the moſt ſubtle deſpiſers of God, that have a deſire to ſhew themſelves witty and pleaſant in weakning the authority of ſcripture, I truſt it ſhould not be hard for me to put to ſilence their bablings. And if it were worth while to ſpend labours in confuting their cavils, I perſuade myſelf I ſhould find it no difficult matter to put forever to ſilence the boaſting words which they mutter in corners. But though a man do deliver the ſound word of God from the reproaches of men, yet that ſufficeth not forthwith to faſten in their hearts that aſſuredneſs that godlineſs requireth. Prophane men becauſe they think religion ſtandeth only in opinion, to the end they would believe nothing fondly or lightly, do deſire and require to have it proved to them by reaſon, that Moſes and the prophets ſpake from God. But I anſwer, that the teſtimony of the holy Ghoſt is better than all reaſon. For as only God is a proper witneſs of himſelf in his own word, ſo ſhall the ſame word never find credit in the hearts of men, until it be ſealed up with the inward witneſs of the holy Ghoſt. It behoveth therefore of neceſſity that the ſame holy Ghoſt which ſpake by the mouth of the prophets, do enter into our hearts to perſuade us, that they faithfully uttered that which was by God commanded them. And this order is very aptly ſet forth by Iſaiah in theſe words: "My ſpirit which is in thee, and the words that I "have put in thy mouth, and in the mouth of thy "ſeed, ſhall not fail forever, Iſa. ii. 16." It grieveth ſome good men, that they have not ready at hand ſome clear proof to allege, when the wicked do with impunity murmur againſt the word of God: as though the holy Ghoſt were not for this cauſe called both a ſeal and pledge, becauſe until he do enlighten mens minds, they do always, waver among many doubtings.

The ſcripture for its own ſake is worthy of credit, which notwithſtanding it doth not obtain in us, till our hearts be ſo enlightned that we therein perceive as it were the very breathing of the divine majeſty.

5. Let this therefore ſtand as an undoubted maxim, or truth, that they whom the holy Ghoſt hath inwardly taught, do wholly reſt upon the ſcripture, and that the ſame ſcripture is to be credited for its own ſake, and ought not to be made ſubject to demonſtration and reaſons: but yet the certainty which it getteth among us, it attaineth by the witneſs of the holy Ghoſt. For though by the only majeſty of itſelf it procureth reverence to be given to it: yet then only it thoroughly pierceth our affections, when it is ſealed in our hearts by the holy Ghoſt. So being enlightened by his powerful influence, we do then believe, not by our own judgment, or other mens, that the ſcripture is from God: but above all man's judgment we hold it moſt certainly determined, even as if we beheld the majeſty of God himſelf there preſent, that by the miniſtry of men it came to us from the very mouth of God. We ſeek not for arguments and probabilities to reſt our judgment upon: but as to a thing without all compaſs of conſideration, we ſubmit our judgment and underſtanding unto it. And that not in ſuch ſort as ſome are wont ſometimes haſtily to take hold of a thing unknown, which after being thoroughly perceived diſpleaſeth them: but becauſe we are in our conſciences well aſſured that we maintain an invincible truth. Neither in ſuch ſort, as ſilly men are wont to yield their mind in thraldom to ſuperſtitions, but becauſe we undoubtedly perceive therein the ſtrength and breathing of the divine majeſty, wherewith we are drawn and ſtirred to obey, both wittingly and willingly, and yet more lively and effectually than man's will or underſtanding can attain. And therefore, for good cauſe doth God cry out by Iſaiah, that the prophets with the whole people do bear him witneſs, becauſe being taught by prophecies they did undoubtedly believe without guile or uncertainty that God himſelf had ſpoken, Iſa. xliii. 10. Such therefore is our perſuaſion, as requireth no reaſons: ſuch is our knowlege, as hath a right good reaſon to maintain it, even ſuch a one, wherein the mind more aſſuredly and ſtedfaſtly reſteth than upon any reaſons: ſuch is our feeling, as cannot proceed but by revelation from heaven. I ſpeak now of none other thing but that which every one of the faithful doth by experience find in himſelf, ſaving that my words do much want of a full declaration of it. I leave here many things unſpoken, becauſe there will be elſewhere again a proper place to treat of this matter. Only now let us know, that only that is the true faith which the ſpirit of God doth ſeal in our hearts. Yea, with this only reaſon will the ſober reader, and he who is willing to learn be contented. Iſaiah promiſeth, that all the children of the renewed church ſhall be the diſciples of God, Iſa. liv. 13. A ſingular privilege therein doth God

condeſcended to grant to his elect only, whom he ſeparates from all the reſt of mankind. For what is the beginning of true doctrine, but a ready chearfulneſs to hear the voice of God? But God requireth to be heard by the mouth of Moſes as it is written: "Say not in thy heart, Who ſhall aſcend into heaven, "or who ſhall deſcend into the deep? the word is "even in thine own mouth, Deut. xxx. 12." If it be the pleaſure of God that this treaſure of underſtanding be laid up in ſtore for his children, it is no wonder nor unlikely, that in the common multitude of men is ſeen ſuch ignorance and dulneſs. The common multitude I call even the moſt excellent of them, until ſuch time as they be graffed into the body of the church. Moreover Iſaiah giving warning that the prophets doctrine ſhould ſeem incredible, not only to ſtrangers but alſo to the Jews that would be accounted of the houſhold of God, addeth this reaſon: Becauſe the arm of God ſhall not be revealed to all men, Iſa. liii. 1. So oft therefore as the ſmallneſs of the number of the believers doth trouble us, on the other ſide let us call to mind, that none can comprehend the myſteries of God but they to whom it is given.

CHAP. VIII.

That ſo far as man's reaſons may bear, there are ſufficient proofs to eſtabliſh the credit of ſcripture.

The ſcripture being once devoutly embraced, we are afterwards the more eſtabliſhed by conſidering the divine diſpoſition, majeſty and agreement which is in it, and the force which it hath in our minds thro' dignity of matter, not grace of words.

UNLESS we have this aſſurance, which is both more excellent and of more force than any judgment of man, in vain ſhall the authority of ſcripture either be ſtrengthened with arguments, or ſtabliſhed with conſent of the church, or confirmed with any other means of defence. For unleſs this foundation be laid it ſtill remaineth hanging in doubt. As on the other ſide when exempting it from the common ſtate of things, we have embraced it devoutly, and according to the worthineſs of it: then theſe things become very fit helps, which before were but of ſmall force to graff and faſten the aſſurance thereof in our minds. For it is marvelous, how great eſtabliſhment ariſes from hence, when with earneſt ſtudy we conſider how orderly and well framed a diſpoſition of the divine wiſdom appeareth therein, how heavenly a doctrine in every place of it, and nothing ſavouring of earthlineſs, how beautiful an agreement of all the parts among themſelves, and ſuch other things as avail to procure a majeſty to writings. But more perfectly are our hearts confirmed when we conſider, how we are even violently carried to an admiration of it, rather with dignity of matter, than with grace of words. For this alſo was not done without the ſingular providence of God, that the high myſteries of the heavenly kingdom ſhould for the moſt part be uttered under a contemptible baſeneſs of words, leaſt if it had been beautified with more glorious ſpeech, the wicked ſhould cavil that the only force of eloquence doth reign therein. But when that rough and in a manner rude ſimplicity doth raiſe up a greater reverence of itſelf than any rhetorician's eloquence, what may we judge, but that there is a more mighty ſtrength of truth in the holy ſcripture, than that it needeth any art of words? Not without cauſe therefore the apoſtle maketh his argument, to prove that the faith of the Corinthians was grounded upon the power of God, and not upon man's wiſdom, becauſe his preaching among them was ſet forth not with enticing words of man's wiſdom, but in plain evidence of the ſpirit with power, 1. Cor. ii. 4. For the truth is then ſet free from all doubting, when not upholden by foreign aids itſelf alone ſufficeth to ſuſtain itſelf. But that this power doth properly belong to the ſcriptures alone, appears from this, that of all the writings of men, however finely embelliſhed they may be, not one is capable of making our affections in the manner that the ſcriptures do. Read Demoſthenes or Cicero, read Plato, Ariſtotle, or any other of all that ſort: I grant they ſhould wonderfully allure, charm, move, and raviſh you. But if from them you deſcend to the reading of the holy ſcriptures, you ſhall find that theſe, whether you will or not, ſhall ſo pierce your heart, and your affections in ſo lively a manner, ſhall ſo ſettle within your bones, that in compariſon of the efficacy of this feeling, all that force of rhetoricians and philoſophers ſhall in a manner vaniſh away: ſo that it is eaſy to perceive that the ſcriptures, which do far excel all gifts and graces of man's induſtry, do indeed breathe out a certain divinity.

All divine writers are not rude, neither be all which

2. I grant indeed, that ſome of the prophets have an elegant, clear, yea, and a beautiful phraſe of ſpeech, ſo as their eloquence giveth

are rude divine: but ſcripture, whether it ſpeak roughly or ſmoothly, ſtill it hath ſomthing above the excellency of human ſpeech.

eth not place to the prophane writers: and by ſuch examples it pleaſed the holy Ghoſt to ſhew that he wanted not eloquence, though in the reſt he uſed a rude and groſs ſtyle. But whether a man read David, Iſaiah, and ſuch like, who have a ſweet and pleaſant flowing ſpeech, or Amos, the herdman, Jeremiah and Zechariah, whoſe rougher talk ſavoureth of country rudeneſs: in every one of them ſhall appear that majeſty of the holy Ghoſt that I ſpeak of. Yet am I not ignorant, that as Satan is in many things a counterfeiter of God, that with deceitful reſemblance he might the better creep into ſimple mens minds: ſo hath he craftily ſpread abroad with rude and in manner barbarous ſpeech thoſe wicked errors wherewith he deceived ſilly men, and hath oft-times uſed diſcontinued phraſes, that under ſuch viſor he might hide his deceits. But how vain and uncleanly is that curious counterfeiting, all men that have but mean underſtanding do plainly ſee. As for the holy ſcripture, although froward men labour to quarrel at many things, yet is it full of ſuch ſentences as could not be conceived by man. Let all the prophets be looked upon, there ſhall not one be found among them, but he hath far excelled all man's capacity, in ſuch ſort that thoſe are to be thought, to have no judgment of taſte to whom their doctrine is unſavoury.

The ſcripture antienter than all other writings.

3. Other men have largely treated of this argument, wherefore at this time it ſufficeth to touch but a few things, that chiefly make for the principal ſum of the whole matter. Beſide theſe points that I have already touched, the very antiquity of the ſcripture is of great weight. For howſoever the Greek writers tell many fables of the Egyptian divinity: yet there remaineth no monument of any religion, but that is far inferior to the age of Moſes. And Moſes deviſeth not a new God, but ſetteth forth the ſame thing which the Iſraelites had received in long proceſs of time, conveyed to them by their fathers as it were from hand to hand concerning the everlaſting God. For what doth he elſe but labour to call them back to the covenant made with Abraham? If he had brought a thing never heard of before, he had had no entry to begin. But it muſt needs be that the deliverance from bondage, wherein they were detained, was a thing well and commonly known among them, ſo that the hearing of the mention thereof did forthwith raiſe up all their minds. It is alſo likely that they were informed of the number of the four hundred years. Now it is to be conſidered, if Moſes who himſelf by ſo long diſtance of time was before all other writers, do from a beginning ſo long before himſelf fetch the original deliverance of his doctrine: how much is the holy ſcripture then beyond all other writings in antiquity?

Moſes, in that he publiſheth things tending to the diſhonour of his own ſtock, ſheweth himſelf to have followed no ſuch humour as common writers amongſt men.

4. Unleſs perhaps ſome incline to believe the Egyptians, who date their original ſix thouſand years before the creation of the world. But ſince their vain babling hath been alway ſcorned even by all the prophane writers themſelves, there is no cauſe why I ſhould ſpend labour in confuting of it. But Joſephus againſt Appion, allegeth teſtimonies worthy to be remembred out of antient writers, whereby may be gathered, that by conſent of all nations the doctrine that is in the law hath been famous even from the firſt ages, although it were neither read nor truly known. Now, that neither there ſhould remain to the malicious any cauſe of ſuſpicion, nor to the wicked any occaſion to cavil, God hath for both theſe dangers provided good remedies. When Moſes rehearſeth what Jacob almoſt three hundred years before had by heavenly inſpiration pronounced upon his own poſterity, how doth he ſet forth his own tribe? yea, in the perſon of Levi he brands it with eternal infamy. "Simeon (ſaith he) and "Levi the inſtruments of wickedneſs. O my ſoul "come not thou into their counſel, nor my tongue in- "to their ſecret." Truly, he might have paſſed over that blot with ſilence, in ſo doing not only to pleaſe his father, but alſo not to brand himſelf and his whole family with part of the ſame ſhame. How can that writer be ſuſpected, which unconſtrainedly publiſhing by the oracle of the holy Ghoſt, that the principal anceſtor of the family whereof himſelf deſcended was an abominable tranſgreſſor, neither privately provided for his own honour, nor refuſed to undergo the diſpleaſure of all his own kinſmen, whom undoubtedly this matter grieved? When alſo he rehearſeth the wicked murmuring of Aaron his own brother, and Miriam his ſiſter: Num. xii. 1. ſhall we ſay that he ſpake after the meaning of the fleſh, or rather that he wrote it obeying the commandment of the holy Ghoſt? Moreover, ſince himſelf was higheſt in authority, why did he not leave at leaſt the office of the high prieſt-

hood to his own ſons, but appointeth them to the baſeſt place? I touch here only a few things of many. But in the law itſelf a man ſhall every where meet with many arguments that are able to bring full proof to make men believe that Moſes without all queſtion cometh from heaven as an angel of God.

The authority of Moſes confirmed by miracles.

5. Now theſe ſo many and ſo notable miracles that he recounteth, are even as many eſtabliſhments of the law that he delivered, and the doctrine that he publiſhed. For, this that he was carried in a cloud up into the mountain: Exod. xxiv. 18. that there even to the fortieth day he continued without company of men: that in the very publiſhing of the law his face did ſhine as it were beſet with ſun beams: that lightenings flaſhed round about: that thunders and noiſes were heard every where in the air: that a trumpet ſounded being not blown with any mouth of man: that the entry of the tabernacle by a cloud ſet between, was kept from the ſight of the people: that his authority was ſo miraculouſly revenged with the horrible deſtruction of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and all that wicked faction: that the rock ſtruck with a rod did immediately pour forth a river: that at his prayer it rained manna from heaven: Exod. xxxiv. 29. xix. 16. and xl. 34. Num. xvi. 24. xx. 10. and xi. 9. Did not God herein commend him from heaven as an undoubted prophet? If any man object againſt me, that I take theſe things as confeſſed, which are not out of controverſy, it is eaſy to anſwer this objection. For ſeeing that Moſes in open aſſembly publiſhed all theſe things, what place was there to deſire before thoſe witneſſes that had themſelves ſeen the things done? It is likely forſooth that he would come among them, and rebuking the people of infidelity, ſtubbornneſs, unthankfulneſs, and other ſins, would have boaſted that his doctrine was eſtabliſhed in their own ſight with ſuch miracles, which indeed they never ſaw.

His miracles not done by magical arts and ſorceries.

6. For this alſo deſerves to be remarked, that as oft as he makes mention of any miracles, he therewithal joineth ſuch things as might ſtir the whole people to cry out againſt him, if there had been never ſo little occaſion. From whence it appeareth, that they were by no other means brought to agree unto him, but becauſe they were ever more than ſufficiently convinced by their own experience. But becauſe the matter was plainlier known, than that the prophane could deny that miracles were wrought by Moſes, the father of lies hath ſuggeſted to them another objection, ſaying, that they were wrought by magical arts and ſorcery. But what probable proof have they to accuſe him for a ſorcerer, who ſo much deteſted ſuch ſuperſtition, that he commandeth to ſtone him to death, that doth but aſk counſel of ſorcerers and ſoothſayers? Truly no ſuch deceiver uſeth his juggling caſts, but that he ſtudieth to amaze the people to get himſelf a fame. But what doth Moſes? by this that he crieth out, that himſelf and his brother Aaron are nothing, but doth only execute thoſe things that God hath appointed, he doth ſufficiently wipe away all blots of thinking evil of him. Now if the things themſelves be conſidered, what enchantment could bring to paſs that manna daily raining from heaven, ſhould ſuffice to feed the people? And if any man kept in ſtore more than his juſt meaſure, by the very rotting thereof he ſhould be taught, that did puniſh his want of belief? Beſide that with many great proofs God ſuffered his ſervant to be tried, that now the wicked can nothing prevail with prating againſt him. For how oft did ſometimes the people proudly and impudently make inſurrections, ſometime divers of them conſpiring among themſelves went about to overthrow the holy ſervant of God: how could he have beguiled their rage with illuſions? And the event plainly ſheweth, that by this means his doctrine was eſtabliſhed ſo as to continue to the end of all ages.

Moſes by foretelling things which came to paſs long after his deceaſe, declareth that he ſpake by the inſpiration of God.

7. Moreover where he aſſigneth the chief government to the tribe of Judah in the perſon of the patriarch Jacob, Gen. xlix. who can deny that this was done by ſpirit of prophecy, ſpecially if we take into conſideration the thing itſelf, how in coming to paſs it proved true? Imagine Moſes to have been the firſt author of this prophecy: yet from the time that he did firſt put it in writing, there paſſed four hundred years wherein there was no mention of the ſceptre in the tribe of Judah. After Saul was conſecrated king, it ſeemed that the kingdom ſhould reſt in the tribe of Benjamin. 1 Sam. xi. 15. When David was anointed by Samuel, chap. xvi. what reaſon appeared there why the courſe of inheritance of the kingdom ſhould be changed? who would have expected that there ſhould have proceeded a king out of the mean houſe of a ſhepherd? And when there were in the ſame houſe ſeven brethren, who would have ſaid that the honour ſhould light upon the youngeſt? By what means came he to hope to be a king

a king? who can say that this anointing was governed by any art, industry, or policy of man, and not rather that it was an accomplishment of the divine prediction? Likewise those things that Moses speaks of before, though darkly, concerning the Gentiles to be adopted into the covenant of God, seeing they came to pass almost two thousand years after, do they not make it plain, that he spake by the inspiration of God? I pass over his other predictions of things, which do so evidently savour of the revelation of God, that all men that have their sound wit may plainly perceive that it is God that speaketh. To be short, that same one song of his, is a clear looking glass wherein God evidently appeareth. Deut. xxxii.

The like proof appears in the writings of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and other prophets, to shew that they spake by divine inspiration.

8. But in the other prophets the same is yet also much more plainly seen. I will chuse out only a few examples, because to gather them all together were too great a labour. When in the time of Isaiah the kingdom of Judah was in peace, yea, when they thought that the Caldees were to them some prop and defence, then did Isaiah prophesy of the destruction of the city and of the exile of the people. But admit that, yet this was no token plain enough of the inspiration of God, to foretel, long before hand such things as at that time seemed false, and afterwards proved true: yet those prophecies that he uttereth concerning their deliverance, whence shall we say that they proceed but from God? He nameth Cyrus by whom the Caldees should be subdued, and the people restored to liberty. There passed more than a hundred years from the time that Isaiah so propheſied before that Cyrus was born: for Cyrus was born in the hundred year or thereabouts after the death of Isaiah. No man could then guess that there should be any such Cyrus, that should have war with the Babylonians, that should subject so mighty a monarchy under his dominion, and put an end to the exile of the people of Israel. Doth not this bare prediction whithout any ornament of words evidently shew, that the things that Isaiah speaketh, are the undoubted oracles of God, and not the conjectures of men? Again when Jeremiah a little before that the people were carried away, did determine the end of the captivity within threescore and ten years, and promised return and liberty, Jer. xxv. 11, 12. must it not needs be that his tongue was governed by the Spirit of God? What a bare-faced thing shall it be to deny, that the credit of the prophets was established by such proofs, and that the same thing was fulfilled in deed, which they themselves do report to make their sayings to be believed? "Behold, the former things are come to "pass, and new things do I declare: before they "come forth, I tell you of them, Isa. xlii. 9." I omit to speak how Jeremiah and Ezekiel being so far asunder, yet propheſying both at one time, they so agreed in all their sayings, as if either one of them had endited the words for the other to write. What did Daniel? Doth he not write continuing propheſies of things to come for the space of six hundred years after, in such sort as if he had compiled an history of things already done and commonly known? These things if godly men have well considered, they shall be sufficiently well furnished, to put to silence the ill-natured objections of the wicked. For the plain proof hereof is too clear to be subject to any disputes at all.

They are absurd men who ask how do we know that any book was written by Moses and who make it a question, whether ever there were any such person as Moses.

9. I know what some learned men do prat in corners, to shew the quickness of their wit in assaulting the truth of God. For they ask who hath assured us that these things that are read under title of their names, were ever written by Moses and the prophets? Yea, they are so bold as to move this question, whether ever there were any such Moses or no. But if a man should call in doubt whether ever there were any Plato, or Aristotle, or Cicero, who would not say, that such madness were worthy to be corrected with strokes and stripes? The law of Moses hath been marvelously preserved, rather by heavenly providence than by diligence of men. And though by the negligence of the priests it lay buried a little while: yet since the time that the godly king Josias found it, it hath still by continual succession from age to age been used in the hands of men. Neither did Josias bring it forth as an unknown or new thing, but such a thing as had been ever commonly published, and whereof the remembrance was at that time famous. The original book itself was appointed to be sacredly kept in the temple, and a copy written out thereof, to remain with the keepers of the king's records. Only this had happened, that the priests had ceased to publish the law according to the old accustomed manner, and the people themselves had neglected their wonted reading of it. Yea, there in manner passed no age wherein the establishment thereof was not confirmed and renewed. They that had David in their hands,

knew

knew they not of Moſes? But to ſpeak of them all at once, it is moſt certain that their writings came to poſterity no otherwiſe but from hand to hand (as I may term it) by continual orderly courſe of years delivered from their fathers, which had partly heard them ſpeak, and partly while the remembrance was freſh of it, did learn of them which heard them that had ſo ſpoken.

The miraculous preſervation of the law, a token of the divine excellency thereof

10. As for that which they object out of the hiſtory of the Maccabees, to leſſen the credit of the ſcripture, it is ſuch a thing as nothing can be deviſed more fit to ſtabliſh the ſame. But firſt let us wipe away the colour that they lay upon it, and then let us turn upon themſelves the engine that they raiſe up againſt us. When Antiochus (ſay they) commanded all the books to be burned, whence are come theſe copies that we now have? On the other ſide I aſk them, in what ſhop they could ſo ſoon be made? It is evident, that after the cruelty appeaſed they were immediately abroad again, and were without controverſy known to be the ſame of all godly men, that having been brought up in the doctrine of them, did familiarly know them. Yea, when all the wicked men being as it were conſpired together did inſolently triumph with reproaches upon the Jews, yet never was there any that durſt lay to their charge falſe changing of their books. For whatſoever they think the Jews religion to be, yet ſtill they think, Moſes to be the author of it. What then do theſe praters elſe, but bewray their own more than brutiſh frowardneſs, while they falſely ſay, that theſe books are changed, and new ones put in their places, whoſe ſacred antiquity is approved by conſent of all hiſtories? But to ſpend no more labour vainly in confuting ſuch fooliſh cavillations: let us rather hereby conſider how great a care God had for the preſervation of his word, when beyond the hope of all men he ſaved it from the outrage of the moſt cruel tyrant, as out of a preſent fire: that he endowed the godly prieſts and others with ſo great conſtancy, that they ſticked not to redeem this book even with loſs of their life if need were, and ſo to convey it over to poſterity: that he diſappointed the narrow ſearch of ſo many governors and ſouldiers. Who can but acknowlege the remarkable and miraculous work of God, that theſe ſacred monuments which the wicked verily thought to have been utterly deſtroyed, by and by came abroad again as fully reſtored, and that with a great deal more honour? For immediately followed the tranſlating of them into Greek, to publiſh them throughout the world. And not in this only appeared the miraculous working, that God preſerved the tables of his covenant from the bloody proclamations of Antiochus: but alſo that amongſt ſo manifold miſerable afflictions of the Jews, wherewith the whole nation was ſometime worn to a few and waſted, and laſt of all, brought in manner to utter deſtruction, yet they remained ſtill ſafe and extant. The Hebrew tongue, ſay not only unesteemed, but almoſt unknown. And ſurely had it not been God's pleaſure to have his religion provided for, it had periſhed altogether. For how much the Jews, that lived after the return from Babylon, had departed from the natural uſe of their mother tongue, appeareth by the prophets that lived in that age, which is therefore worthy to be noted, becauſe by this compariſon the antiquity of the law and the prophets is the more plainly perceived. And by whom hath God preſerved for us the doctrine of ſalvation contained in the law and the prophets, to the end that Chriſt might in his appointed time be openly ſhewed? even by the moſt cruelly bent enemies of Chriſt, the Jews whom St. Auguſtine doth therefore worthily call the keepers of the library of the Chriſtian church, becauſe they have miniſtred unto us that thing, to read whereof, themſelves have no uſe.

The myſteries which the three Evangeliſts deliver in ſimple language, the thundering majeſty of John, the rude education of the apoſtles before they became teachers, Paul's cruelty againſt chriſtians before he taught chriſtianity, delivereth the doctrine of the New Teſtament from the contempt of prophane men.

11. Now if we come to the New Teſtament, with how firm pillars is the truth thereof upheld! The three Evangeliſts write the hiſtory in plain and ſimple language. Many proud men do loath that ſimplicity, becauſe they take no heed to the chief points of doctrine therein, whereby it were eaſy to gather, that they treat of heavenly myſteries above man's capacity. Surely whoſoever hath but the ſmalleſt degree of modeſty will be aſhamed if they read the firſt chapter of Luke. Now, the ſermons of Chriſt, the ſum of which is ſhortly compriſed by theſe three Evangeliſts, do eaſily deliver their writing from all contempt. But John thundering from on high, thoſe whom he compelleth not to obedience of faith, he throweth down their ſtubbornneſs more mightily than any thunderbolt. Now let come forth all theſe ſnarling critics, that have a great pleaſure to ſhake the reverence of ſcripture out of their own and other men's hearts, let them read John's Goſpel, whether they will or no, they ſhall there find a thouſand ſentences that may at leaſt awaken

waken their ſluggiſhneſs, yea, that may print a horrible brand in their own conſciences to reſtrain their laughing. The ſame is to be thought of Peter and Paul, in whoſe writings although the more part be blind, yet the very heavenly majeſty in them holdeth all men bound, and as it were faſt tyed unto it. But this one thing doth ſufficiently advance their doctrine above the world, that Matthew being before wholly given to the gain of his money board, Peter and John brought up in their fiſher boats, all plain illiterate men, had learned nothing in mens ſchool that they might deliver to other. Paul, not only from a profeſſed, but alſo from a cruel and bloody enemy converted to a new man, with ſudden and unhoped change doth ſhew, that being compelled by heavenly authority, he now maintaineth that doctrine, which before he had fought againſt. Now let theſe dogs deny, that the holy Ghoſt, came down upon the apoſtles, or let them diſcredit the hiſtory: yet ſtill the truth it ſelf openly crieth out, that they were taught by the holy Ghoſt, which being before time deſpiſed men among the common people, ſuddenly began ſo glorioufly to treat of heavenly myſteries.

No ſmall eſtimation ariſes to the ſcripture, if the general and continual agreement of men in yielding conſent and credit unto it be conſidered.

12. Furthermore there are likewiſe many very good reaſons, why the conſent of the church ſhould not be eſteemed without weight. For it is to be accounted no ſmall matter, that ſince the ſcripture was firſt publiſhed, the wills of ſo many ages have conſtantly agreed to obey it. And that howſoever Satan with all the world hath laboured by marvelous means either to oppreſs it, or overthrow it, or utterly to blot and deface it out of mens remembrance, yet ever ſtill, like a palm tree, it hath riſen up above, and remained invincible. For there hath not lightly been in old time any ſophiſter or rhetorician that had any more excellent wit than other, but he hath bent his force againſt the ſcripture: yet they all have nothing prevailed. The whole power of the earth hath armed itſelf to deſtroy it, and yet all their enterpriſes are vaniſhed away, as in ſmoke. How could it have reſiſted being ſo mightily on each ſide aſſailed, if it had none other defence but man's? Yea, rather it is hereby proved, that it came from God himſelf, that all the labours of men ſtriving againſt it, yet it hath of its own power ſtill riſen up. Beſide that not one city alone, nor one nation only hath agreed to receive and embrace it: but ſo far as the world extendeth in length and breadth, the ſcripture hath attained her credit, by one holy conſent of divers nations, which in other things were in nothing agreeable one with another. And foraſmuch as ſuch agreement of minds, ſo divers and diſagreeing in manner in all things elſe, ought much to move us, becauſe it appeareth, that the ſame is brought about none other way, but by working of the heavenly majeſty: no ſmall eſtimation groweth unto it, when we behold their godlineſs, that do ſo agree, I mean not of them all, but only of thoſe, with whom as with lights it pleaſed God to have his church to ſhine.

The dignity of ſcripture not a little aſſeertained by the conſtant ſufferings of ſo many that have ſealed it with their blood.

13. Now with what aſſuredneſs of mind ought we to ſubmit ourſelves to that doctrine which we ſee eſtabliſhed and witneſſed with the blood of ſo many holy men? They, when they had but once received it, ſticked not boldly, without fear, yea, and with great chearfulneſs to die for it: how ſhould it then come to paſs, that we having it conveyed to us with ſuch an aſſured pledge, ſhould not with certain and unmoveable perſuaſion take hold of it? It is therefore no ſmall confirmation of the ſcripture, that it hath been ſealed with the blood of ſo many witneſſes, eſpecially when we conſider, that they ſuffered death to bear witneſs of their faith: and not of their frantic diſtemperance of brain, as ſometime the erroneous ſpirits are wont to do, but with a firm and conſtant, and yet ſober zeal of God? There be other reaſons and thoſe not few nor weak, whereby the ſcripture hath her dignity and majeſty, not only aſcertained unto godly hearts, but alſo honourably defended againſt the ſubtilties of cavillers, yet be they ſuch as be not of themſelves ſufficiently available to bring ſtedfaſt credit unto it, until the heavenly Father, diſcloſing therein his majeſty, doth bring the reverence thereof out of all controverſy. Wherefore then only the ſcripture ſhall ſuffice to that knowlege of God that bringeth ſalvation, when the certainty thereof ſhall be grounded upon the inward perſuaſion of the holy Ghoſt. So thoſe teſtimonies of men that ſerve to confirm it ſhall not be vain, if as ſecond helps of our weakneſs they follow that chief and higheſt teſtimony. But they act fondly that will have it perſuaded by proof to the unfaithful, that the ſcripture is the word of God, which cannot be known but by faith. For good reaſon therefore doth Auguſtine give warning, that godlineſs and peace of mind ought to go before to make a man underſtand ſome what of ſo great matters. *De utilitate credendi.*

CHAP. IX.

That those fantastical men, who, forsaking scripture resort unto revelation, do overthrow all the principles of godliness.

The spirit of Christ is given not to guide men without the scripture, but according to the scripture.

NOW they who forsaking the scripture do imagine I know not what way to attain unto God, are to be thought not so much to be holden with error, as to be carried with rage. For there have arisen of late certain giddy brained men, who most presumptuously pretending a school of the spirit, both themselves do forsake all reading, and also do scorn their simplicity, which still follow the dead and slaying letter, as they call it. But I would fain know of these men, what spirit that is, by whose inspiration they are carried up so high, that they dare despise the doctrine of the scriptures as childish and base. For if they answer that it is the spirit of Christ, then such carelessness is worthy to be laughed at. For I think they will grant, that the apostles of Christ and other faithful men in the primitive church were enlightened with none other spirit. But none of them did learn of that spirit to despise the word of God: but rather every one was moved more to reverence it, as their writings do most plainly witness. And surely so was it foretold by the mouth of Isaiah. For where he saith: "My "spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I "have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of "thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed for-"ever: Isa. lix. 21." He doth not bind the old people to the outward doctrine, as though they were set to learn to spell, but rather he teacheth, that this shall be the true and perfect felicity of the new church under the reign of Christ, that it shall no less be led by the voice of God than by the spirit of God. Whereby we gather, that these lewd men with wicked sacrilege do sever asunder those things that the prophet hath joined with an inviolable knot. Moreover, Paul being rapt up into the third heaven, yet ceased not to go forward in the doctrine of the law and the prophets, even so as he exhorteth Timothy, a doctor of singular excellency, to apply reading, 1 Tim. iv. 13. And worthy is that commendation to be remembred, wherewith he setteth forth the scripture, saying, that it is profitable to teach, to admonish and to reprove, that the servants of God may be made perfect, 2 Tim. iii. 16. How devilish a madness is it to feign, that the use of scripture is but transitory, and lasteth but for a while: which indeed guideth the children of God even to the last end? Again, I would have them answer me this: whether they have tasted of another spirit than that which the Lord promised to his disciples. Although they be vexed with extreme madness, yet I think they are not carried with such giddiness, that they dare so boast, But what manner of spirit did he speak of in his promise? even that spirit which should not speak of itself, but should minister and inspire into their minds those things which the Lord himself had taught by his word, John xvi. 13. It is not therefore the office of the spirit which is promised us, to feign new and unheard-of revelations, or to coin a new kind of doctrine, whereby we should be led from the received doctrine of the gospel, but to seal to our minds the self same doctrine that is commended unto us by the gospel.

By the scripture the spirit is tried whether it be of God or no, neither is it dishonourable for the spirit so to be tried.

2. Whereby we plainly understand, that we ought very studiously to apply the reading and hearing of the scripture, if we would take any use and fruit of the spirit of God. As also Peter praiseth their diligence that are heedful to the doctrine of the prophets, which yet might seem to have given place after the rising of the light of the gospel. On the other side, if any spirit leaving the wisdom of the word of God, doth impose upon us another doctrine, that the same spi- ought rightfully to be suspected of vanity and lying. For what? when Satan transformeth himself into an angel of light, what credit shall the holy Ghost have among us, if it be not distinctly known by some assured mark? And truly it hath been plainly pointed out unto us by the word of the Lord, but that these miserable men do willingly covet to err to their own destruction, while they seek a spirit rather from themselves than from him. But (say they) it is dishonourable, that the spirit of God, whom all things ought to obey, should be subject to the scripture. As if this were a dishonour to the holy Ghost to be every where equal and like to itself, to agree with itself in all things, and no where to vary. Indeed if it were to be tried by the rule either of men or angels, or any other rule whatsoever,

ever, then it might well be thought, that it were brought into obedience, or if ye liſt ſo to term it, into bondage. But when it is compared with itſelf, when it is conſidered in itſelf, who can therefore ſay, that there is any wrong done unto it? But thus it is brought to trial. I grant, but ſuch a trial wherewith it was his own pleaſure to have his majeſty eſtabliſhed. It ought to content us ſo ſoon as he entereth into us. But leaſt under his name the ſpirit of Satan ſhould creep in, he will have us to know him by that image of himſelf, which he hath printed in the ſcriptures: he is the author of them, he cannot be various and unlike himſelf. Therefore it muſt needs be, that he continually remain ſuch as he hath ſhewed himſelf therein. This is no diſhonour unto him, unleſs perhaps we count it honourable to ſwerve and go out of kind from himſelf.

As the ſcripture is a dead letter when we read it, having not the life of the ſpirit, ſo the ſpirit is a dangerous guide if we follow it, leaving the conduct of the ſcripture; they muſt go hand in hand, each aſſuring & warranting other.

3. Whereas they cavil that we reſt upon the letter that ſlayeth, herein they ſuffer puniſhment for deſpiſing of the ſcripture. For it is plain enough that Paul there contendeth againſt the falſe apoſtles, who, commending the law without Chriſt, did call away the people from the benefit of the New Teſtament, wherein the Lord doth covenant, that he will put his law in the inward part of believers, and write it in their hearts. The letter therefore is dead, and the law of the Lord killeth the readers of it when it is ſeparated from the grace of Chriſt, and not touching the heart, only ſoundeth in the ears. But if it be effectually printed in our hearts by the holy Ghoſt, if it preſent Chriſt unto us; then it is the word of life, converting ſouls, giving wiſdom to little ones, &c. Alſo in the ſame place the apoſtle calleth his preaching, the miniſtry of the holy Ghoſt, 2 Cor. iii. 8. meaning that the holy Ghoſt doth ſo ſtick faſt in his truth which he hath expreſſed in the ſcriptures, that then only he putteth forth and diſplayeth his force, when the ſcripture hath her due reverence and dignity. And it diſagreeth not herewith which I before ſaid, that the word itſelf is not much aſſured unto us, unleſs it be confirmed by the witneſs of the holy Ghoſt. For with a certain mutual knot the Lord hath coupled together the aſſurance of his word and of his ſpirit, ſo that perfect reverence to the word doth then ſettle in our minds when the holy Ghoſt ſhineth upon us to make us therein behold the face of God: and on the other ſide, without all fear of being deceived we do embrace the holy Ghoſt, when we recognize him in his own image, that is, in his word. Thus it is undoubtedly: God brought not abroad his word among men for ſudden ſhew, meaning at the coming of his ſpirit by and by to take it away again, but he after ſent the ſame ſpirit with whoſe power he had diſtributed his word, to make an end of his work with effectual confirmation of his word. In this manner Chriſt opened the minds of the two diſciples, not that they ſhould caſt away the ſcriptures and grow wiſe of themſelves, but that they ſhould underſtand the ſcriptures, Luke xxiv. 27. Likewiſe Paul when he exhorteth the Theſſalonians not to quench the ſpirit, 1 Theſſ. v. 19. doth not carry them up on high to vain ſpeculations without the word, but by and by ſaith further, that prophecies are not to be deſpiſed: whereby without doubt is meant, that the light of the ſpirit is quenched ſo ſoon as prophecies come to be deſpiſed. What ſay theſe proudly ſwelling men, raviſhed with the ſpirit to theſe things which reckon this only to be an excellent illumination, when careleſsly forſaking and bidding farewel to the word of God, they both boldly and raſhly do take hold of all that they have conceived in their ſleep? Truly, a far other ſobriety becometh the children of God: who, as they ſee that without the ſpirit of God they are void of all light of truth, ſo do they know that the word is the inſtrument wherewith the Lord diſtributeth to the faithful the light of his ſpirit. For they know none other ſpirit but that which dwelt and ſpake in the apoſtles, by whoſe oracles they are continually called to the hearing of the word.

CHAP. X.

That the ſcripture, to correct all ſuperſtition, doth in compariſon ſet the true God againſt all the gods of the Gentiles, reckoning him for none of them.

The ſame power, providence, mercy, and juſtice which ſhineth in the creation of the world, is alſo

BUT, becauſe we have ſhewed, that the knowlege of God which in the frame of the world and all the creatures is ſomewhat plainly ſet forth, is yet more familiarly and plainly declared in the

taught in holy scripture.

word: now, it is worth while to consider, whether the Lord shew himself such in the scripture as it pleased him first to be represented in his works. But I shall at this time be contented only to point unto it, whereby the godly minds being admonished, may know what is chiefly to be searched in the scriptures concerning God, and be directed to one certain mark in their seeking. I do not yet touch the peculiar covenant, whereby God separated the stock of Abraham from other nations. For even then he appeared the redeemer, in receiving for his children by free adoption those that before were enemies. But we are yet about that knowlege that resteth in the creation of the world, and ascendeth not to Christ the mediator. And although by and by it shall be good to allege certain places out of the New Testament, forasmuch as even out of it both the power of God the creator, and his providence in preserving of the first nature is approved, yet I warn the readers before, what is now my purpose to do, to the end that they pass not the appointed bounds. So for this present, let it suffice us to learn, how God the maker of heaven and earth doth govern the world by him created. Every where is proclaimed both his fatherly bounty, and inclined will to do good, and there are also examples rehearsed of his severity, which shew him to be a righteous punisher of wicked doers, specially where his patience nothing prevaileth with the obstinate.

Moses, David and Jeremiah, teach the same which heaven & earth do teach concerning God, namely, his power, goodness, mercy, holiness, justice, judgment, and truth, and they teach to the same end, that we might yield him obedience, & put confidence in him.

2. In certain places are set forth more plain descriptions, wherein his natural face is as in an image represented to be seen. For in the place where Moses describeth it, it seemeth that his meaning was shortly to comprehend all that was lawful for men to understand of God. "The Lord (saith he) "the Lord, a merciful God, and "gracious, patient, and of much "mercy, and true, who keepeth "mercy unto thousands, which "takest away iniquity and wicked doings, before whom the "innocent shall not be innocent, "which rendrest the wickedness "of the fathers to the children "and children's children. Exod. "xxxiv. 6." Where let us mark, that his eternity and being of himself, is expressed in the twice repeating of that honourable name and that then his excellencies are rehearsed, in which is described unto us, not what he is in respect to himself, but what a one he is toward us: that this knowlege of him may rather stand in a lively feeling, than in an empty and supernatural speculation. And here we do hear recited those attributes of his which we observed are manifest in the heaven and earth, that is to say, clemency, bounty, mercy, justice, judgment and truth. For might and power are contained under this name *Elohim* God. With the same names of addition do the prophets set him forth when they mean fully to describe his holy name. But because I would nor heap up too many examples together at this present let one Psalm suffice us, wherein the sum of all his excellencies is so exactly reckoned up to us, that nothing can seem to be omitted. Psal. clxv. 3. And yet there is nothing there rehearsed, but that which we may behold in his creatures. So plainly do we perceive God by information of experience, to be such as he declareth himself in his word. In Jeremiah, where he pronounceth, what a one he would have us know him to be, he setteth forth a description not altogether so full, but yet coming all to one effect. "He that glorieth (saith "he) let him glory in this, that he knoweth me to "be the Lord that exerciseth mercy, justice, and "judgment in the earth. Jer. v. 2." Surely, these three things are very necessary for us to know: mercy, in which alone consisteth all our salvation: judgment, which is daily executed upon evil doers, and more grievous is prepared for them to eternal destruction: justice, whereby the faithful are preserved and most tenderly cherished. Which things when thou hast conceived, the prophecy saith, thou hast sufficiently enough whereof thou mayest glory in God. And yet here are not omitted either his truth or his power, or his holiness or goodness. For how should the knowlege stand sure which is here required of his justice, mercy and judgment, unless it did rest upon his unmoveable truth? And how should we believe that he doth govern the earth with justice and judgment, but by understanding his power? And whence cometh his mercy but of his goodness? If then all his ways be mercy, judgment and justice, in them must holiness also needs be seen. And to no other end is directed that knowlege of God that is set forth unto us in the scriptures, than is that knowlege also which appeareth imprinted in his creatures; that is to say, first it moveth us to the fear of God, and then to place our confidence in him, to the end we may learn first to honour him with perfect innocency of life and unfeigned obedience, and then to rely wholly upon his goodness.

3. But here I mean to gather a sum of general doctrine

Howſoever the name of one God was known among ſt the Gentiles, their knowlege of him hath been alway ſo corrupted, that the ſcripture directing to the true God, giveth ſpecial warning of theirs as falſe.

doctrine. And firſt let the readers obſerve, that the ſcripture to the end to direct us to the true God, doth expreſsly exclude, and caſt away all the gods of the Gentiles, becauſe commonly in a manner in all ages religion hath been corrupted. True it is indeed that the name of one God was every where known and celebrated. For even they that worſhipped a great number of gods, ſo oft as they did ſpeak according to the proper ſenſe of nature, they ſimply uſed the ſingular name of God, as if they were contented with one God alone, And this was wiſely marked by Juſtine the martyr, which for this purpoſe made a book of the monarchy of God, where by many teſtimonies he ſheweth that this, that there is but one God, was engraven in the hearts of all men. The ſame thing alſo doth Tertullian prove by the common phraſe of ſpeech. But foraſmuch as all without exception are by their own vanity either drawn or fallen to falſe forged devices, and ſo their ſenſes are become vain, therefore all that ever they naturally underſtood of the being but one God, availed no further, but to make them inexcuſable. For even the wiſeſt of them do plainly ſhew the wandering error of their mind, when they wiſh ſome god to aſſiſt them, and ſo in their prayers they call upon uncertain gods. Moreover in this that they imagined God to have many natures. although they thought ſomewhat leſs abſurdly than the common people did of Jupiter, Mercury, Venus, Minerva and others, yet were they not free from the deceits of Satan, as we have already ſaid elſewhere, whatſoever ways of eſcape the philoſophers have ſubtilly invented, they cannot purge themſelves of rebellion, but that they all have corrupted the truth of God. For this reaſon Habakkuk, after he had condemned all idols, biddeth to ſeek God in his own temple, that the faithful ſhould not admit him to be any other than ſuch as he had diſcloſed himſelf by his word. Hab. ii.

CHAP. XI.

That it is unlawful to attribute unto God a viſible form, and that generally they forſake God, ſo many as do erect to themſelves any images.

The ſcripture is of no one thing more careful than leſt men corrupt the glory of God, firſt by conceiving, and then by expreſſing him under any ſhape or ſimilitude.

BUT as the ſcripture providing for the rude and groſs wit of man, uſeth to ſpeak after the common manner: ſo when it meaneth to make diſtinctly known the true God from the falſe gods, it chiefly compareth him with idols: not that it doth allow theſe inventions that are more ſubtilly and finely taught by the philoſophers, but the plainlier to diſcloſe the fooliſhneſs of the world, yea, rather their madneſs in ſeeking God ſo long as they cleave every one to their own imaginations. Therefore that excluſive definition which we commonly hear, bringeth to nought all that manner of Godhead, that men frame to themſelves by their own opinion, becauſe God himſelf is the only proper witneſs of himſelf. In the mean time, ſince this brutiſh groſſneſs hath poſſeſſed the whole world, to covet viſible ſhapes of God, and ſo to forge themſelves gods of timber, ſtone, gold, ſilver, and other dead and corruptible matter, we ought to hold this principle, that with wicked falſhood the glory of God is corrupted, ſo oft as any ſhape is feigned to repreſent him. Therefore God in the law, after he had once challenged the glory of his Deity to himſelf alone, meaning to teach us what manner of worſhipping him he alloweth or refuſeth, addeth immediately: "Thou ſhalt "make thee no graven image, nor any ſimilitude, "Exod. xx. 4." in which words he reſtraineth our liberty, that we attempt not to repreſent him with any viſible image. And then he ſhortly reckoneth up all the forms wherewith of long time before, ſuperſtition had begun to turn his truth into lying. For we know that the Perſians worſhipped the ſun, yea, and ſo many ſtars as the fooliſh nations ſaw in the ſky, ſo many gods they feigned them. And ſcarce was their any living creature which was not among the Egyptians a figure of God. But the Grecians were thought to be wiſer than the reſt, becauſe they worſhipped God in the ſhape of a man. But God compareth not images one with another, as though one were more and another leſs meet to be uſed, but without any exception, he rejecteth all images, pictures and other ſigns, whereby the ſuperſtitious thought to have God near unto them.

Not only Moſes, Iſaiah and Paul,

2. This is eaſy to be gathered by the reaſons which he joineth to the prohibition. Firſt with Moſes:

but also blind idolaters themselves have taught that the majesty of God is defiled when he is represented in any bodily shape.

Moses: "Remember that the Lord "hath spoken to thee in the vale "of Horeb. Thou heardest a "voice, but thou sawest no body. "Therefore take heed to thy self, "least peradventure thou be de-"ceived and make to thy self "any likeness, Deut. iv. 10, 12, "15. &c." We see how openly God setteth his voice against all counterfeit shapes, that we may know that they forsake God whosoever do covet to have visible forms of him. Of the prophets, only Isaiah shall be enough, which speaketh oft and much hereof, to teach that the majesty of God is defiled with uncomely and foolish counterfeiting, when he being without body, is likened to bodily matter: being invisible, to a visible image: being a Spirit, to a thing without life: being incomprehensible, to a small lump of timber, stone, or gold, Isa. xl. 18. chap. xli. 7. xlv. 9. and xlvi. 5. In like manner reasoneth Paul: Forasmuch as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone graven by art and man's device, Acts xvii. 29. Whereby it certainly appeareth, whatsoever images are erected, or pictures painted to express the shape of God, they simply displease him as certain dishonours of his majesty. And what marvel is it if the holy Ghost do thunder out these oracles from heaven, since he compelleth the very wretched and blind idolaters themselves to confess this in earth? It is known how Seneca complained as may be seen in Augustine. "They dedicate (saith he) the holy "immortal and inviolable gods in most vile and base "stuff, and put upon them the shapes of men and "beasts, and some of them with kind of man and "woman mingled together, and with sundry shapen "bodies, and such they call gods, which if they should "receive breath and meet them, would be reckoned "monsters, *Lib 6. De civ. Dei. cap.* 10." Whereby again plainly appeareth, that it is a fond cavillation, wherewith the defenders of images seek to escape, which say that the Jews were forbidden images, because they were inclinable to superstition. As though that thing pertained to one nation only, which God bringeth forth of his eternal being and the continual order of nature. And Paul spake not to the Jews but to the Athenians when he confuted their error in counterfeiting a shape of God.

Although God hath used to declare the presence of his godhead by corporal signs, yet even therein he hath still given some mark to shew that hereupon we should not presume to erect unto ourselves a representation of that Deity which we cannot comprehend. The Jews having such rudiments is no argument why we should have them because they had much less worship them, which they did not.

3. God indeed, I grant, sometimes in certain signs hath given a presence of his Godhead, so as he was said to be seen face to face, but all these signs ever he shewed, did aptly serve for means to teach, and withal did plainly admonish men of an incomprehensible essence. For the cloud and smoke and flame, although they were tokens of the heavenly glory, yet did they as it were bridle and restrain the minds of men, that they should not attempt to pass any further. Wherefore, not Moses himself, to whom God disclosed himself most familiarly in comparison of others, obtained by prayer to see that face, but received this answer, that man is not able to sustain so great brightness. The holy Ghost appeared under the likeness of a dove, but since he immediately vanished away, who doth not see that by that token of so short a continuance of a moment, the faithful are put in mind, that they ought to believe him to be an invisible spirit, that holding them contented with his virtue and grace, they should make him no outward shape. This that God appeared sometimes in form of a man, was a foretelling of the revelation that was to be made of him in Christ. And therefore it was not lawful for the Jews to abuse this pretence to erect to themselves a representation of the Godhead in the shape of a man. Also the mercy seat wherein God shewed forth the presence of his power in the time of the law, was so made, as it might teach that the best beholding of the Godhead is this, when mens minds are carried beyond themselves with admiration of it. For the cherubins with their wings streched abroad did cover it, the veil did hid it, and the place itself being set far inward, did of itself sufficiently keep it secret. Therefore it is manifest that they are very mad, who go about to defend the images of God and of saints, with the example of these cherubins. For, I pray you, what meant these little images, but to shew that images are not fit to represent the mysteries of God? forasmuch as they were made for this purpose, that hiding the mercy seat with their wings, they should not only keep back the eyes of men, but also all his senses from the beholding of God, and so to correct his rash boldness. For this end it was, that the prophets described the Seraphins shewed them in a vision, with their face covered, Isa. vi 2.: whereby they signify, that so great is the brightness of the glory of God, that the angels themselves are

are kept from direct beholding it, and the ſmall ſparks thereof that ſhine in the angels are withdrawn from our eyes. Although yet ſo many as rightly judge, do acknowlege that the cherubins of whom we now ſpeak, pertained only to the old manner of introduction, as it were of children, uſed in the law. So to allege them now for an example to our age, is an abſurdity. For that childiſh age, as I may ſo term it, is paſſed, for the which ſuch rudiments were appointed. And it is a great ſhame that the pagan writers are better expounders of the law of God than the Papiſts are. Juvenal reproacheth the Jews, as it were in ſcorn, that they honour the white clouds and the Deity of heaven. I grant he ſpeaketh perverſely and wickedly: and yet he ſpeaketh more truly in ſaying that they have among them no image of God, than the Papiſts do who prate that they had a viſible image of God. And whereas that people with a certain firey zeal, brake out oftentimes to ſeek them idols, even as waters out of a great freſh ſpring boil out with violent force: hereby rather let us learn how great is the inclination of our nature to idolatry, leſt throwing upon the Jews the blame of that fault which is common to all, we ſleep a deadly ſleep under vain allurements to ſin.

The matter whereof idols are made, their makers, their meaſure, doth make them ſeem worſe than mad, who allow the graving or painting, or honouring of ſuch things as the figures of God.

4. To the ſame purpoſe ſerveth this ſaying: "The idols of the "Gentiles are gold and ſilver, "even the works of men's hands, "Pſal. cxv. 4. and cxxxv. 15." Becauſe the prophet doth conclude from the matter itſelf, that they are no gods that have a golden or ſilver image: and he taketh it for confeſſed truth that it is a fooliſh feigned invention whatſoever we conceive of our own ſenſe concerning God. He nameth rather gold and ſilver, than clay or ſtone, that the beauty or the price ſhould not ſerve to bring a reverence to idols. But he concludeth generally, that nothing is leſs allowable, than gods to be made of dead matter. And in the mean while he ſtandeth as much upon this point, that men are carried away with too mad a raſhneſs, who themſelves bearing about with them but a borrowed breath, ready to vaniſh away at every moment, yet dare give the honour of God to idols. Man muſt needs confeſs that himſelf is but a creature of a day's continuance, and yet he will have a piece of metal to be counted God, to which himſelf gave the beginning to be a God. For whence came the beginning of idols but from the will of men? Very juſtly doth the heathen Poet give them this taunt:

I was ſometime a fig tree log,
a block that ſerv'd for nought:
The workman doubted what of me
were fitteſt to be wrought;
A form to ſit upon, or elſe
a Priap god to be.
At length he thought the better was
a god to make of me.

Forſooth an earthly ſilly man that breatheth out his own life in a manner every moment, by his workmanſhip ſhall convey the name and honour of God to a dead ſtock. But foraſmuch as Epicurus in ſcoffing jeſting hath cared for no religion, let us leave the taunts of him and ſuch as he, and let the rebuking of the prophet prick us, or rather thruſt us through where he ſaith, that they are too much beaſtly witted, that with the ſelf ſame piece of wood do make a fire and warm themſelves, do heat the oven to bake bread, do roaſt or ſeeth fleſh, and do make them a god before which they fall down humbly to pray, Iſa. lxiv. 15. Therefore in another place he doth not only accuſe them by the law, but alſo doth reproach them that have not learned of the foundation of the earth: for that there is nothing leſs convenient than to bring God to the meaſure of five foot, who is above all meaſure and incomprehenſible. And yet this ſame monſtrous thing which is quite contrary to the order of nature, cuſtom ſheweth to be natural to men. We muſt moreover bear in mind, that ſuperſtitions are in ſcripture commonly rebuked in this phraſe of ſpeech, That they are the works of mens hand which want the authority of God: that this may be certain, that all theſe modes of worſhip that men do deviſe of themſelves are deteſtable. The prophet in the Pſalm doth amplify the madneſs of them that therefore are indowed with underſtanding, that they ſhould know that all things are moved with the only power of God, and yet they pray for help to things dead and ſenſeleſs. But becauſe the corruption of nature carrieth as well all nations, as each man privately to ſo great madneſs at laſt the holy Ghoſt thundereth with terrible curſes againſt them, ſaying: "Let them that make them "become like to them, and ſo many as truſt in them, Iſa. xl. 19. chap. ii. 8. xxxi 7. and lvii. 10. Hoſ. xiv. 3. Mica. 5. 14. Pſal cxv. 8. And it is to be noted that a ſimilitude is no leſs forbidden than a graven image, whereby the fond ſubtilty of the Greeks is confuted. For they think they are well diſcharged if they grave not a god, while in painting

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ing they do more licentiously outrage than any other nations. But the Lord forbiddeth an image not only to be made by the graver, but also to be counterfeited by any other workman, because such counterfeiting is evil and to the dishonour of his majesty.

They who seek the knowlege of God in such books, learn nothing but errors and lies by them.

5. I know that it is a saying more than common among the people, that images are lay mens books. Gregory so said, but the spirit of God pronounceth far otherwise, in whose school if Gregory had been taught, he would never so have spoken. For whereas Jeremiah plainly saith, that the stock is a doctrine of vanity: Jer. x. 8. And whereas Habakkuk teacheth that the molten image is a teacher of lies: surely hereof is a general doctrine to be gathered, that it is vain and lying whatsoever men learn by images concerning God. If any man take exception, and say, that the prophets reprove them only who abused images to wicked superstition. I grant that to be true: but I add further, that which is easy for all men to see, that they condemn that thing wholly which the Papists take for an assured principle, that images are instead of books. For they do in comparison set images against God, as things directly contrary, and such as never can agree together. This comparison I say is made in those places which I have alleged. Since there is but one true God whom the Jews did worship, it is amiss and falsely done to forge visible shapes to represent God, and men are miserably deceived that thereby seek for the knowlege of God. Finally, if it were not true that it is a deceitful and corrupt knowlege of God that is learned by images, the prophet would not so generally condemn it. At least this much I win of them, when we shew that it is vanity and lying that men do attempt to represent God with images, we do nothing but rehearse word for word that which the prophets have taught.

By Lactantius, Eusebius, Augustine, the Elibertine council, and Varro himself, the counterfeiting of God by imagery, condemned as a thing which diminsheth his fear and bringeth his glory into contempt.

6. Let be read what Lactantius and Eusebius have written of this matter, who scruple not to take it for certain that they were all mortal, of whom images are to be seen. Likewise Augustine: who without doubting pronounceth that it is unlawful not only to worship images, but also to set up images to God. And yet saith he no other thing but the same which many years before was decreed by the Elibertine council whereof this is the xxxvi. chapter. It is ordained that no pictures be had in the church, that the thing which is honoured and worshipped be not painted on the walls. But most notably is that which in another place Augustine allegeth out of Varro, and confirmeth it with his own assent, that they who first brought in the images of gods, both took away the fear of God, and brought in error. If Varro alone should say this, peradventure it should be but of small authority. Yet ought it of right to make us ashamed, that a heathen man groping in darkness came to this light, to see corporeal images are therefore unmeet for the majesty of God, because they diminish the fear of God, and encrease error in men. The proof it self witnesseth that this was no less truly than wisely spoken. But Augustine having borrowed it of Varro, bringeth it forth as of his own mind. And first he admonisheth, that the first errors wherewith men were entangled concerning God, began not of images, but as with new matter added, encreased by them. Secondly he expoundeth that the fear of God is therefore diminished or rather taken away thereby, because his majesty may easily in the foolishness, and in the fond and absurd forgeing of images grow to contempt. Which second thing I would to God we did not by proof find to be so true. Whosoever therefore will desire to be rightly taught, let him elsewhere learn than of images, what is meet to be known concerning God.

If the images which Papists propose as books of holiness, were not patterns of impurity as they are, yet are they no fit means to instruct the people of God, before whom Christ should rather be painted by teaching, than taught by painting.

7. Wherefore if the Papists have any shame, let them no more use this shift to say that images are lay mens books, which by many testimonies of scripture are so openly confuted. And altho' I grant them so much, yet should they not get much thereby for defence of their idols what monsters they thrust in, in the place of God, is well known. The pictures and images that they dedicate to saints what are they but examples of extreme riot and uncleanness, whereunto if any would fashion himself he were worthy to be beaten with staves? surely, the brothelhouses, can shew harlots more chastely and soberly attired, than their temples shew images of these whom they would have called virgins. Even as uncomely array give they to the martyrs. Let them therefore fashion their idols at least to some

some honest shew of shamfacedness that they may some what more modestly, and with greater colour of pretence ly in saying that they are the books of some holiness. But if it were so, yet then would we answer, that this is not the right way to teach the faithful people in holy places, whom God would have there instructed with far other doctrine than with these trifles. God commanded in the churches a common doctrine to be set forth to all men in preaching of his word and in his holy mysteries: whereunto they shew themselves to have a mind not very heedful, that cast their eyes about to behold images. But whom do the Papists call lay and unlearned men whose unskilfulness may bear to be taught only by images? Forsooth even those whom the Lord acknowlegeth for his disciples, to whom he vouchsafeth to revail the heavenly wisdom, whom he willeth to be instructed with the wholsome mysteries of his kingdom. I grant indeed as the matter standeth, that there are at this day many who cannot be without such books. But whence I pray you groweth that dulness, but that they are defrauded of that doctrine which only was meet to instruct them with? For it is for no other cause, that they who had the cure of churches gave over their office of teaching to idols, but because themselves were dumb. Paul testifieth that Christ is in the true preaching of the gospel, painted out in a manner crucified before our eyes. To what purpose then were it to have commonly set up in churches so many crosses of wood, stone, silver and gold, if this were well and faithfully beaten into the peoples heads, that Christ died to bear our curse upon the cross, to cleanse our sins with the sacrifice of his body, and to wash them away with his blood, and finally to reconcile us to God the Father? Of which one thing they might learn more than of a thousand crosses of wood or stone. For perhaps the covetous do set their minds and eyes faster upon the golden and silver crosses, than upon any words of God.

Imagery is ancient & springeth from the ancient root of infidelity, men not believing or not considering God to be present, unless they have some visible sign for advertisement of his presence.

8. As concerning the beginning of idols, that is by common consent thought to be true which is written in the book of wisdom that they were the first authors of them, who gave this honour to the dead, superstitiously to worship their memory. And truly I grant that this evil custom was very ancient, and I deny not that it was the firebrand wherewith the rage of men being kindled to idolatry, did more and more burn therein. Yet do I not grant that this was the first original of this mischief. For it appeareth by Moses that images were used before that this curiosity in dedicating the images of dead men, whereof the prophane writers make often mention, were come in use. When he telleth that Rachel had stoln her father's idols, he mentions it as a common fault. Whereby we may gather that the wit of man is, as I may so call it, a continual worship of idols. After the general flood, there was as it were a new regeneration of the world, and yet there passed not many years but that men according to their own lust feigned them gods. and it is likely that the holy patriarch yet living, his childrens children were given to idolatry, so that to his bitter grief he saw the earth defiled with idols, whose corruptions the Lord had but lately purged with so horrible judgment. For Thare and Nachor even before the birth of Abraham were worshippers of false gods, as Joshuah testifieth, Josh. xxiv. 2. Seeing the generation of Shem so soon swerved what shall we judge of the posterity of Cham, who were already cursed in their father? The mind of man, as it is full of pride and rash boldness, presumeth to imagine God according to its own conceit: and as it is possessed with dulness, yea, overwhelmed with gross ignorance, so it conceiveth vanity and a fond fansy instead of God. And in these evils is added a new mischief, that man attempteth to express in workmanship such a God as he inwardly conceiveth. Thus the mind begetteth the idol, and the hand bringeth it forth. The example of the Israelites proveth that this was the beginning of idolatry, that men do not believe that God is among them, unless he shew himself carnally present. We know not (said they) what is become of this Moses: make us gods that may go before us. They knew that there was a God whose power they had had experience of in so many miracles: but they did not believe that he was nigh unto them, unless they did see with their eyes a corporal representation of his face to be a witness unto them of the God that governed them. Their mind was therefore to know by the image going before them, that God was the guide of their journey. This thing daily experience teacheth, that the flesh is always unquiet till it hath gotten some counterfeit device like itself, wherein it may vainly delight as in an image of God. In a manner in all ages since the creation of the world, men, to obey this blind desire, have erected signs wherein they imagined God to be present before their carnal eyes.

9. After such invention forged, by and by followeth worshipping. For when men thought

From making images to repre-

sent God, men were brought first to think that his presence was restricted unto those images, then to imagine that there was some divine thing in them, and at length flatly to worship them.

that they beheld God in images they did also worship him in, them. At length being both with minds and eyes altogether fastned, thereon, they began to wax more and more brutish, and to wonder at them and have them in admiration, as if there were some divine nature in them. So that it appeareth that men brake not out into the worshipping of images, till they were persuaded in some gross opinion; not to think the images to be gods, but to imagine that there did a certain power of the divinity abide in them. Therefore whether you represent to yourself either God or a creature in the image, when you fall down to worship, you are already bewitched with some superstiton. For this reason the Lord hath forbidden not only images to be erected that are made to express a likeness of him, but also any titles or stones to be dedicated, that should stand to be worshipped. And for the same reason also in the commandment of the law, this other point is added concerning worshipping. For so soon as they have forged a visible form for God, they also restrict the power of God unto it. So beastly foolish are men, that there they fasten God where they counterfeit him, and therefore must they needs worship it. Neither is there any difference whether they simply worship the idol, or God in the idol. This is always idolatry, when honours due to God are given to an idol, under what colour soever it be. And because God will not be worshipped superstitiously, therefore whatsoever is given to idols is taken from him. Let them take heed to this who seek for pretences to defend the abominable idolatry, with which these many ages past, true religion hath been drowned and overthrown. But (say they) the images are not taken for gods. Neither were the Jews themselves so unadvised as to forget that it was God by whose hands they had been brought out of Egypt before they made the calf. Yea when Aaron said, that those were the gods by whom they were delivered out of the land of Egypt, they boldly assented, shewing a plain token of their meaning, that they would still keep that God that was their deliverer, so that they might see him go before them in the calf. Neither is it to be believed that the heathen were so stupid as to believe, that God was no other thing but stocks and stones. For they changed their images at their pleasure, but still they kept the same gods in their mind: and there were many images of one God, and yet they did not according to the multitude of images form to themselves many gods. Besides tho' they did daily consecrate new images, yet did they not think that they made new gods. Let the excuses be read which Augustine saith were pretended by the idolaters of his age. When they were rebuked, the common people answered; that they did not worship that visible thing, but the deity who resided in it in an invisible manner. And they that were of somewhat better religion, as he calleth it, did say that they did neither worship the image, nor the spirit in it, but by the corporeal image they did behold the sign of that thing which they ought to worship? How then? All idolaters, whether they were of the Jews, or of the Gentiles were no otherwise minded than as I have said: being not contented with a spiritual understanding of God, they thought by the images he should be more sure and nearer imprinted in them. When once such disordered counterfeiting of God pleased them well, they never ended, till daily more and more deluded with new deceits, they imagined that God did shew forth his power in images. And nevertheless, both the Jews were persuaded that under such images they did worship the one true Lord of heaven and earth: and likewise the Gentiles, their false gods, whom yet they feigned to dwell in heaven.

The same fault in Papists which was in idolatrous Jews and Gentiles.

10. Whosoever deny that it hath thus been done in time past, yea within our own remembrance, they impudently lie. For, why fall they down before them? And when they pray, why turn they towards them as to the ears of God? For it is true that Augustine saith, that no man prayeth or worshippeth when he so beholdeth an image, but he is so affected in mind, that he thinketh himself to be heard by it, or that it will do for him what he desireth. Why is there such difference between the images of one God, that passing by one image with little reverence or none done to it, they honour another solemnly? Why do they weary themselves with vowed pilgrimages to visit those images whereof they have the like at home? Why do they at this day in defence of them as it were for their religion and country, fight to slaughter and destruction, in such sort as they would better suffer to have the one only God than their idols to be taken from them? And yet I do not reckon up the gross errors of the common people, which are almost infinite, and do in a manner possess the hearts of all men. I do only shew what themselves do confess when they mean most

moſt of all to excuſe themſelves of idoatry. We do not call them (ſay they) our gods. No more did the Jews nor the Gentiles call them theirs in time paſt: and yet the prophets each where ceaſe not to caſt in their teeth their fornication with ſtocks and ſtones, for doing no more but ſuch things as are daily done by them that would be counted Chriſtians, that is to ſay, that they carnally worſhipped God in ſtocks and ſtones.

The difference that they put between themſelves and idolaters, is but a ſhift. They are not acquitted from the ſame ſin becauſe they give it another name.

11. Although I am not ignorant, nor think good to paſs it over, as if I knew it not, how they ſeek to eſcape with a more ſubtle diſtinction, whereof I ſhall again make mention more at large hereafter. For they pretend that the worſhip which they give to images, is *idolodulia*, which is ſervice of images, and not *idololatria*, which is worſhip of images. For ſo they term it when they teach that they may lawfully without any wrong done to God, give unto images and pictures that worſhip which they call *doulia*, or ſervice. And ſo they think themſelves without blame, if they be but the ſervants and not alſo the worſhippers of idols: as though it were not a little lighter matter to worſhip than to ſerve. And yet while they ſeek a hole to hide them in the Greek word, they childiſhly diſagree with themſelves. For ſeeing *latrevein* in Greek ſignifieth nothing but to worſhip, their ſaying cometh but to this effect, as if they would ſay, that they worſhip indeed their images, but without any worſhipping. And there is no cauſe why they ſhould ſay that I ſeek to catch them in words: but they themſelves, while they ſeek to caſt a miſt before the eyes of the ſimple, do diſcover their own ignorance. And yet though they be never ſo eloquent, they ſhall not attain by their eloquence to prove unto us that one ſelf ſame thing is two ſundry things. Let them (I ſay) ſhew me a difference in the thing itſelf whereby they may be thought to differ from the old idolaters. For as an adulterer or a murderer cannot eſcape guiltineſs of his fault, by giving his ſin a new deviſed name: ſo it is abſurd to the laſt degree to imagine that theſe men are acquit by new device of a name, if in the matter itſelf they nothing differ from thoſe idolaters, whom they themſelves are compelled to condemn. But ſo far are they from proving that their caſe differeth from the caſe of thoſe idolaters, that rather the fountain of all this whole miſchief is an unorderly countfeiting, wherein they have ſtrived with them, while both with their own wit they deviſe, and with their own hands they frame them ſignifying forms to expreſs them a faſhion of God.

Images, whether they be of ſtories, or only of bodies may be both made and uſed, ſo that they be not made to repreſent God, nor otherwiſe abuſed when they are made.

12. And yet am I not ſo ſuperſtitious that I think no images may be allowed at all. But foraſmuch as carving and painting are the gifts of God, I require that they both be purely and lawfully uſed. Leſt theſe things which God hath given us for his glory and for our own benefit be not only defiled by diſordered abuſe, but alſo turned to our own deſtruction. We think it unlawful to have God faſhioned out in viſible form, becauſe himſelf hath forbidden it, and becauſe it cannot be done without ſome defacement of his glory. And leſt they think that it is only we that are of this opinion they who have been converſant in their works ſhall find that all ſound writers did always reprove the ſame thing. If then it be not lawful to make any bodily image of God, much leſs ſhall it be lawful to worſhip it for God, or God in it. It remaineth therefore lawful that only thoſe things be painted and graven whereof our eyes are capable: but that the majeſty of God which is far above the ſenſe of our eyes, be not abuſed with uncomely deviſed ſhapes. Of this ſort are partly hiſtories and things done, partly images and faſhions of bodies, without expreſſing of any things done by them. The firſt of theſe have ſome uſe in teaching or admoniſhing a man: but what profit the ſecond can bring ſave only delectation, I ſee not. And yet it is evident, that even ſuch were almoſt all the images that heretofore have ſtood up in churches. Whereby we may judge that they were there ſet up not by diſcreet judgment or choice, but by fooliſh and unadviſed deſire. I ſpeak not how much amiſs and uncomely they were for the moſt part faſhioned, nor how licentiouſly painters and carvers have in this point ſhewed their wantonneſs, which thing I have already touched. Only I ſpeak to this end, that though there were no fault in them, yet do they nothing avail to teach.

Images dangerous and unfit to be in churches.

13. But leaving alſo that difference, let us by the way conſider whether it be expedient in chriſtian temples to have any images at all that do expreſs either things done or the bodies of men. Firſt, if the authority of the ancient church do any thing move us, let us remember that for about five hundred years together, while religion yet better flouriſhed, and ſincere

doctrine was in force, the christian churches were universally without images. So they were then first brought in for the decoration of churches, when the sincerity of ministration was not a little altered. I will not now dispute what reason they had with them that were the first authors thereof. But if a man compare age with age, he shall see that they were greatly degenerated from that uprightness of them that were without images. What? do we think that these holy fathers would have suffered the church to be so long without the thing which they judged profitable and good for them? But rather because they saw little or no profit in it, and much danger to lurk underneath it, they did rather of purpose and advisedly reject it, than by ignorance or negligence omit it. Which thing Augustine doth also in express words testify: "When "they be set in such places (saith he) honourably "on high, to be seen of them that pray and do "sacrifice, although they want both sense and life, "yet with the very likeness that they have of lively "members and senses, they so move the weak minds "that they seem to live and breathe, *&c. Epist.* 49." And in another place: For that shape of members doth work and in manner enforce thus much, that the mind living within a body doth think that body to have, sense which he seeth like unto his own. And a little after: Images do more avail to bow down an unhapy soul, by this that they have mouth, eyes, ears, and feet, than to amend it by this that they neither speak, nor see, nor hear, nor go. This truly seemeth to be the cause why John willed us to beware not only of worshipping of images, but also of images themselves, 1 John v. 21. And we have found it too much in experience, that thro' the horrible madness which hath heretofore possessed the world to the destruction in a manner of all godliness, so soon as images be set up in churches, there is as it were a sign set up of idolatry, because the folly of men cannot refrain itself, but it must forthwith run on to superstitious worshippings. But if there were not so much danger flowing from that: yet when I consider for what use temples are ordained, methinks it is very ill beseeming the holiness thereof to receive any other images than these lively and natural images, which the Lord by his word hath consecrate. I mean baptism and the Lord's supper and other ceremonies wherewith our eyes ought both more earnestly to be occupied and more lively to be moved, than that they should need any other images framed by the wit of men. Lo this is the incomparable advantage of images, which can by no value be recompenced, if we believe the Papists.

The frivolous argument of Papists whereby it was disputed in the Nicene synod that images were to be had in churches.

14. I think I had spoken enough of this thing already, but that the Nicene synod doth as it were lay hand on me to enforce me to speak more. I mean not that most famous synod which Constantine the great assembled, but that which was holden eight hundred years ago, by the commandment and authority of Irene the empress. For that synod decreed, that images should not only be had in churches, but also worshipped. For whatsoever I should say, the authority of the synod would make a great prejudice on the other side. Although to say truth, that doth not so much move me, as to make it appear to the readers how far their rage extended, that were more desirous of images than became Christians. But first let us dispatch this. They who at this day maintain the use of images, allege the decree of that Nicene synod for their defence. But there is extant a book of confutation bearing the name of Charles the Great which by the phrase we may gather to have been written at the same time. Therein are recited the sentences of the bishops that were present at that council, and the arguments wherewith they contended. John the Legate of the East parts said: God created man after his own image: and thereupon gathered that we ought to have images. The same man thought that images were commended unto us in this sentence: "Shew me thy face because it is "beautiful." Another to prove that images ought to be set upon altars, cited this testimony: "No man "lighteth a candle and putteth it under a bushel." Another, to shew that the beholding of them is profitable for us, brought forth a verse out of the Psalms: The light of thy countenance is sealed upon us. Another took this similitude: as the patriarch used the sacrifices of the Gentiles, so must Christian men have the images of saints instead of the images "of the Gentiles." To the same purpose have they wrested this saying: "Lord I have loved the beauty of thy house. but especially witty is the exposition of this place: "As we have heard so have we seen," that God is not known by only hearing of his word, but also by looking upon images. Like is the sharp divice of bishop Theodore. Marvelous (saith he) is God in his saints. And in another place: In the saints that are in the earth: therefore this ought to be referred to images. Finally, so filthy are their unsavoury follies that it grieveth me to rehearse them.

15. When

Their arguments brought for proof that they might be worshipped.

15. When they talk of the worshipping: then are brought forth the worshipping of Pharaoh, and of the rod of Joseph, and of the pillar that Jacob set up. Although in this last example, they do not only deprave the meaning of the scripture, but also bring in that which is no where to be read. Then these places seem to them marvelous strong and meet proofs. Worship his footstool. Again, worship on his holy hill. Again, all the rich men of the people shall worship thy countenance. If a man would in scorn put the personage of a riding fool upon the patrons of images, could he gather together greater and grosser follies? But to put all out of doubt, Theodosius bishop of Mira, doth so earnestly confirm by the dreams of this Arch-deacon, that images ought to be worshipped, as if he had an oracle from heaven to shew for it. Now let the favourers of images go and press us with the decree of that synod. As though these reverend fathers do not altogether discredit themselves, in either so childish handling, or so ungodly and foully tearing the scriptures.

Honour, and the same honour given by that synod unto images which is due unto God himself.

16. Now come I to these monstrous impieties which it is strange they ever durst utter, and still more surprizing that they were not cried out against with detestation of all men. And it is good that this outragiously wicked madness be discovered, that at least the false colour of antiquity may be taken away, which the Papists pretend for the worshipping of images. Theodosius the bishop of Amorum pronounceth an anathema or curse against all those who will not have images worshipped. Another imputeth all the calamities of Greece and the Eastern parts to this, that images were not worshipped. What punishment then were the prophets the apostles and martyrs worthy to suffer in whose time there were no images? They add further. If the Emperor's image be met with perfume and incense, much more is this honour due to the images of saints. Constantius bishop of Constance in Cyprus, professeth that he reverently imbraceth images, and affirmeth that he will give to them the same honourable manner of worship that is due to the Trinity that giveth life. And whosoever refuseth so to do, he curseth him and sendeth him away with the Manichees and Marcionites. And, and that ye should not think that this was the private sentence of one man, they did all assent unto it. Yea, John the Legate of the Eastern parts being further transported with heat, said it were better to bring all brothel-houses into the city, than to deny the worshipping of images. At length by consent of them all it was decreed, that worse than all heretics are the Samaritans, and worse than the Samaritans are the enemies of images. And because the play should not be without his solemn farewel, this clause was added, let them be glad and rejoice that having the image of Christ do offer sacrifice unto it. Where is now the distinction of *latria* and *dulia*, worship and service, wherewith they are wont to seek to blind the eyes both of God and men? For the council without any exception doth give even as much unto images as unto the living God himself.

CHAP. XII.

That God is severally discerned from idols, that he may be only and wholly worshipped.

True religion cleaveth to one set frame of worshipping one God, and him alone. Superstition though it make that one God the chiefest, doth nevertheless divide his honour amongst many. Lib. 2. de nat. deorum.

WE said in the beginning, that the knowledge of God consists not in bare speculation, but includes in it the worshipping of him, and by the way we touched how he is rightly worshipped, which point shall be in other places more largely set forth. Now I do but shortly repeat, that so oft as the scripture affirmeth that there is but one God, it striveth not for the bare name of God, but withal commandeth this, that whatsoever belongeth to the Godhead, be not given to any other. Whereby also appeareth what pure religion doth differ from superstition, *eusebeia*, in Greek signifieth as much as true worship, because always even the blind themselves gropping in darkness, have found that this rule ought to be holden, that God be not unorderly worshipped. The name of religion, although Cicero truly and well deriveth from *relegere*, to record, or gather up together: yet is the reason that he assigneth forced and far fetched, that good worshippers did often record and diligently weigh what was the truth. I rather think that that name is set as a contrary to wandering liberty, because the greater part of the world unadvisedly taketh hold of that which they first meet withal, and fleeth about hither and thither:

but true godlineſs, to the end it may ſtand in ſtedfaſt ſtate, *relegit*, that is to ſay, doth gather up itſelf together within her bonds. Like as I think ſuperſtition to have her name hereof, that not being contented with the manner and order perſcribed, ſhe heapeth up together a ſuperfluous number of vain things. But to leave the words, it hath always been agreed by the conſent of all ages, that religion is with falſe errors corrupted and perverted. Whereupon we gather, that it is a very fond colour which the ſuperſtitious do pretend, when with undiſcreet zeal they give themſelves leave to do all things. And although this confeſſion found in the mouths of all men; yet herein a ſhameful ignorance bewrayeth itſelf, that neither they cleave to the one God, nor have any regard of order in the worſhipping of him, as we have already ſhewed. But God, to claim his own right unto himſelf, crieth out that he is jealous, and that he will be a ſevere revenger if he be mingled with any falſe gods. And then he ſetteth forth the lawful manner of worſhipping, to hold mankind in obedience. He containeth both theſe points in his law, when firſt he bindeth the faithful unto himſelf, that he only may be their law-maker: and then he preſcribeth a rule whereby to be worſhipped after his own mind. Of the law, becauſe the uſes and ends thereof are many, I will treat in place fit for it. Now I only touch this point, that thereby men are bridled that they run not out of the way to wrong worſhippings. Now, as I firſt ſaid, we muſt bear in mind, that if all that ever properly belongeth to the Deity do not reſt in God alone, he is ſpoiled of his honour, and his worſhip broken. And there muſt we ſomewhat heedfully mark with what ſubtilties ſuperſtition deceiveth. For it doth not ſo revolt unto ſtrange gods that it ſeemeth to forſake the higheſt God, or to bring him down into the number of other gods: but whilſt ſhe granteth unto him the higheſt place, ſhe ſetteth round about him a number of leſſer gods, among whom ſhe divideth his offices. And ſo (tho' covertly and craftily) the glory of the Godhead is cut in parts, that it remaineth not whole in him. So in the old time, as well they of the Jews as of the Gentiles did ſet beneath the Father and judge of gods, a great multitude of gods which would every one according to his degree in common have with the higheſt God the government of the heaven and earth. So the ſaints that in a few ages paſt departed this life, are advanced to the fellowſhip of God, to be worſhipped, called upon, and honoured inſtead of him. And yet with ſuch abominatlon we think that the majeſty of God is not ſo much as divided, when indeed it is in a great meaſure ſuppreſſed and extinguiſhed, ſaving that we retain ſtill a poor opinion of his ſupreme power: and in the mean time deceived with entangled ſubtilties, we are in a diſtracted manner drawn aſide to divers gods.

2. For this purpoſe alſo was intended the diſtinction of *latria* and *dulia*, as they term them, that is worſhip and ſervice, whereby they might freely ſeem to give away the honours of God to angels and dead men. For it is evident, that the worſhip which the Papiſts give unto ſaints, differeth nothing in deed from the worſhip of God. For all alike without diverſity they worſhip both God and them: ſaving that when they are charged with it, they wind away with this exception, that they keep ſtill for God the honour that is due unto him inviolate, becauſe they leave unto him the worſhip that they call *latria*. But ſince the queſtion ſtandeth upon the matter, and not the word, who would permit them ſo careleſsly to mock in a matter of all others the moſt weighty? But to let that alſo paſs, yet gain they nothing by this diſtinction, but to prove, that they give worſhip to one God, and ſervice to another. For *latria* in Greek ſignifieth as much as in Latin *cultus*, and in Engliſh worſhip. *Dulia*, properly ſignifies ſervice. And yet ſometimes in ſcripture this difference is confounded together without diverſity. But grant it be a perpetual difference, then muſt we ſearch what both the words may mean. *Dulia* is ſervice, *latria* is worſhip. Now no man doubteth that to ſerve, is more than to worſhip. For many times a man could hardly bear to ſerve him whom he would not ſtick to worſhip. So it is an unequal dealing, to give to the ſaints that which is the greater, and to leave God that which is the leſſer. But many of the ancient authors have uſed this diſtinction. What matters it, if all men do perceive ſuch a diſtinction to be not only improper but altogether fooliſh.

The diſtinction which Papiſts make between the honour they do unto God and unto ſaints is unfit and fooliſh.

3. Now leaving nice ſubtilties, let us conſider the matter itſelf. When Paul putteth the Galatians (Gal. iv. 8.) in remembrance what they were before that they were enlightned with the knowlege of God, he ſayeth that they gave *duliam* ſervice to thoſe that by nature were no gods. Although he names *latriam* or worſhip, is therefore their

Though civil honour may be done unto men, yet all religions not only worſhip but ſervice alſo, yea, and all dutiful acts of devotion

are ſo due unto God alone, that they cannot without impiety be made common unto any other.

their ſuperſtition excuſable? He doth nevertheleſs condemn their perverſe ſuperſtition, which he termeth by the name of *dulia* ſervice, than if he had expreſſed the name of *latria*, worſhip. And when Chriſt repulſeth the aſſaults of Satan with his buckler, that "it is written, "thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God," (Mat. iv. 10.) the name of *latria* was not brought in queſtion. Satan required but an adoration. Likewiſe when the angel reproved John, becauſe he fell down on his knees before him, (Rev. xix. 10.) we ought not to think that John was ſo mad that he would give unto the angel the honour that was due only to God. But becauſe it was not poſſible, but that all worſhip that is joined with religion ſavoureth ſomewhat as pertaining to God, therefore he could not adore the angel, but that he muſt take away ſomewhat from the glory of God. We read indeed often, that men have been honoured, but that was a civil honour, as I may ſo call it. But religion hath another rule, which ſo ſoon as it is joined with worſhip, bringeth with it a prophane abuſe of the honour of God. The ſame may we ſee in Cornelius, Acts x. 25. He not only ſlenderly profited in godlineſs, but that he had learned to give the ſovereign worſhip to God alone. Therefore, when he fell down before Peter, he did it not of this meaning, to worſhip him in the ſtead of God: and yet did Peter earneſtly forbid him to do that which he did. And why ſo? but becauſe men do never ſo narrowly put difference between the worſhip of God and of his creatures: but that without diverſity they give away that unto the creature, which belongeth unto God. Wherefore, if we have one God, we muſt remember, that nothing be it never ſo little, muſt be taken away from his glory; but that he keep ſtill that which is properly his. Therefore Zechariah when he preached of the reparing of the church, (Zech. xiv. 9.) in plain words expreſſeth: That there ſhall not only be one God, but alſo that there ſhall be one name of that God, to the end that he have nothing in common with idols. What manner of worſhip God requireth, we ſhall ſee in another place when it falleth in order. For it pleaſed him in his law to preſcribe unto men what is lawful and right, and ſo to bind them to a certain rule, that every man ſhould not give himſelf leave to deviſe what form of worſhip he pleaſes. But becauſe it is not expedient to load the readers with heaping many matters together, I will not touch that point yet. Only let it ſuffice for this time to keep in mind, that the giving any others any part of that worſhip which is due to God alone is downright ſacrilege, or a robbing of God. And firſt ſuperſtition deviſed to give divine honours to the ſun, or other ſtars or idols: then followed ambitious pride, which garniſhing mortal men with ſpoils taken from God, preſumed to prophane all that ever was holy. Although this principle remained among them, to honour the ſovereign Deity, yet grew it in uſe indifferently to offer ſacrifices to ſpirits, leſſer gods, or dead men of honour. So ſlippery is the way to ſlide into this fault, to make common to a number that which God ſeverely challengeth to himſelf alone.

CHAP. XIII.

That there is taught in the ſcriptures one eſſence of God from the very creation, which eſſence containeth in it three perſons.

The ſcripture teaching God to be an eſſence unmeaſureable and ſpiritual, doth not only ſtay men from meaſuring God by ſenſe and from imagining any earthly thing of him, but alſo by the one doth convince the Manichees, by the other the Anthropomorphites of madneſs.

THat which is taught in the ſcriptures concerning the incomprehenſible and ſpiritual eſſence of God, ought to ſuffice not only to overthrow the fooliſh errors of the common people, but alſo to confute the fine ſubtilties of prophane philoſophy. One of the old writers ſeemed to have ſaid very well, 'That God is all that we do ſee, and all that we do not ſee.' But by this means he hath imagined the Godhead to be diffus'd into all the parts of the world. Although God, to the intent to keep men in ſober mind, ſpeak but ſparingly of his own eſſence, yet by thoſe two names of addition that I have rehearſed, he doth both take away all groſs imaginations, and alſo repreſs the preſumptuous boldneſs of man's mind. For ſurely his immeaſurable greatneſs ought to make us afraid, that we attempt not to meaſure him with our ſenſe: and his ſpiritual nature forbiddeth us to imagine any thing earthly or fleſhly of him. For the ſame cauſe he often aſſigneth his dwelling place to be in heaven. For though, as he is incomprehenſible, he filleth the earth alſo: yet becauſe he ſeeth our minds by

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reaſon of their dulneſs to lie ſtill in the earth, for good cauſe he lifteth us up above the world, to ſhake off our ſloth and ſluggiſhneſs. And here falleth to ground the error of the Manichees, which in appointing two original beginnings, have made the devil in a manner equal with God. Surely, this was as much as to break the unity of God and reſtrain his unmeaſurableneſs. For where they have preſumed to abuſe certain teſtimonies: that ſheweth a foul ignorance, as their error itſelf ſheweth a deteſtable madneſs. And the Anthropomorphites are alſo eaſily confuted, who have imagined God to conſiſt of a body, becauſe oftentimes the ſcripture aſcribeth unto him a mouth, ears, eyes, hands, and feet. For what man, yea though he be ſlenderly witted, doth not underſtand that God doth ſo with us ſpeak as it were childiſhly, as nurſes do with their babes? therefore ſuch manner of ſpeeches do not ſo plainly expreſs what God is, as they do apply the underſtanding of him to our ſlender capacities. Which to do, it behoved of neceſſity that he deſcended a great way beneath his own height.

The ſcriptures teach one divine eſſence wherein there are three diſtinguiſhed, but not divided perſons ſubſiſting.

2. But he alſo ſetteth out himſelf by another ſpecial mark, whereby he may be more nearly known. For he ſo declareth himſelf to be but one, that he yet giveth himſelf diſtinctly to be conſidered in three perſons: which except we learn, a bare and empty name of God without any true God fleeth in our brain. And that no man ſhould think that he is a threefold God, or that the one eſſence of God is divided in three perſons, we muſt here ſeek a ſhort and eaſy definition to deliver us from all error. But becauſe many do make much about this word Perſon, as a thing invented by man: how juſtly they do ſo, it is beſt firſt to ſee. The apoſtle naming the Son the engraved form of the hypoſtaſis of his Father, he undoubtedly meaneth, that the Father hath ſome being, wherein he differeth from the Son. For to take it for eſſence (as ſome expoſitors have done, as if Chriſt like a piece of wax printed with a ſeal did repreſent the ſubſtance of the Father) were not only hard but alſo an abſurdity. For ſince the eſſence of God is ſingle or one and indiviſible, he that in himſelf containeth it all, and not by piece-meal, or by derivation, but in whole perfection, ſhould very improperly, yea, fooliſhly be called the engraved form of him. But becauſe the Father although he be in his own property diſtinct, hath expreſſed himſelf wholly in his Son, it is for good cauſe ſaid, that he hath given his hypoſtaſis to be ſeen in him. Wherewith aptly agreeth that which by and by followeth, that he is the brightneſs of his glory. Surely by the apoſtle's words we gather, that there is a certain proper hypoſtaſis in the Father, that ſhineth in the Son: whereby alſo again is eaſily perceived the hypoſtaſis of the Son that diſtinguiſheth him from the Father. The like order is in the holy Ghoſt. For we ſhall by and by prove him to be God, and yet he muſt needs be other than the Father. Yet this diſtinction is not of the eſſence, which it is unlawful to make manifold. Therefore if the apoſtle's teſtimony be credited, it followeth that there be in God three hypoſtaſis. This term ſeeing the Latins have expreſſed by the name of Perſon, it were too much pride and frowardneſs to wrangle about ſo clear a matter. But if we liſt word for word to tranſlate, we may call it ſubſiſtence. Many in the ſame ſenſe have called it ſubſtance. And the name of Perſon hath not been in uſe among the Latins only, but alſo the Grecians, perhaps to declare a conſent, have taught that there are three *Proſopa*, that is to ſay Perſons in God. But they, whether they be Greeks or Latins that differ one from another in the word, do very well agree in the ſum of the matter.

With the manner of Trinity and Perſon no man ſhould be offended.

3. Now howſoever the hereticks cry out againſt the name of Perſon, or ſome overmuch preciſe men do carp that they like not the word feigned by the device of men; ſince they cannot get of us to ſay, that there be three, whereof every one is wholly God, nor yet that there be many gods: what unreaſonableneſs is this, to diſlike words, which expreſs none other thing but that which is teſtified and approved by the ſcriptures? It were better (ſay they) to reſtrain not only our meanings but alſo our words within the bounds of ſcripture, than to deviſe ſtrange terms that may be the beginnings of diſagreement and brawling: ſo do we tire ourſelves with ſtrife about words: ſo the truth is loſt in contending: ſo charity is broken by odiouſly brawling together. If they call that a ſtrange word, which cannot be ſhewed in ſcripture, as it is written in number of ſyllables; then they bind us to a hard law, whereby is condemned all expoſition that is not pieced together, with bare laying together of texts of ſcripture. But if they mean that to be ſtrange, which being curiouſly deviſed, is ſuperſtitiouſly defended, which maketh more for contention than edification, which is either improperly, or to no profit uſed, which withdraweth from the ſimplicity of the word of God, then with all my heart

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I embrace their ſober mind. For I judge that we ought with no leſs devout reverence to talk of God than to think of him, for as much as whatſoever we do of ourſelves think of him, is fooliſh, and whatſoever we ſpeak is unſavoury. But there is a certain meaſure to be kept. We ought to learn out of the ſcriptures a rule both to think and ſpeak, whereby to examine all the thoughts of our mind, and words of our mouth. But what hindereth us, but that ſuch as in ſcripture are to our capacity doubtful and entangled, we may in plainer words expreſs them, being yet ſuch words as do reverently and faithfully ſerve the truth of the ſcripture, and be uſed ſparingly, modeſtly, and not without occaſion? Of which ſort there are examples enough. And whereas it ſhall by proof appear that the church of great neceſſity was forced to uſe the names of Trinity, and Perſons, if any ſhall then find fault with the newneſs of words, ſhall he not be juſtly thought to be grieved at the light of the truth, as he that blameth only this, that the truth is made ſo plain and clear to deſcern?

The crooked ſubtilties of heretics hath cauſed ſound believers to deviſe new words for plainer opening of that, under which their poiſon lurked, as, Conſubſtantial, againſt the Arians; Perſonal Trinity, againſt the Sabellians.

4. Such newneſs of words, if it be ſo called, cometh then chiefly in uſe, when the truth is to be defended againſt wranglers that do mock it out with cavils. Which thing we have at this day too much in experience, who have great buſineſs in vanquiſhing the enemies of true and ſound doctrine. With ſuch folding and crooked winding theſe ſlippery ſnakes do ſlide away, unleſs they be ſtrongly gripped and holden hard when they be taken. So the old fathers being troubled with contending againſt falſe doctrines, were compelled to ſhew their meanings in exquiſite plainneſs, leſt they ſhould leave any crooked byways to the wicked, to whom the doubtful conſtructions of words were hiding-holes of errors. Arius confeſſed Chriſt to be God, and the Son of God, becauſe he could not gainſay the evident words of God, and as if he had been ſo ſufficiently diſcharged, did feign a certain conſent with the reſt. But in the mean while he ceaſed not to ſcatter abroad that Chriſt was created, and had a beginning as other creatures. But to the end that they might draw forth his winding ſubtilty out of his den, the antient fathers went further, pronouncing Chriſt to be the eternal Son of the Father and conſubſtantial with the Father. Hereat wickedneſs began to boil, when the Arrians began to hate and deteſt the name *Omoouſion*, conſubſtantial. But if in the beginning they had ſincerely and with plain meaning confeſſed Chriſt to be God, they would not now have denied him to be conſubſtantial with the Father. Who dare now blame theſe good men as brawlers and contentious, becauſe for one little word's ſake, they were ſo keen in diſputation, and diſturbed the peace of the church? But that little word ſhewed the difference between the true believing Chriſtians, and the Arians who were robbers of God. Afterward roſe up Sabellius who accounted in a manner for nothing the names of the Father, the Son, and holy Ghoſt, ſaying in diſputation that they were not made to ſhew any manner of diſtinction, but only were ſeveral additions of God, of which ſort there are may. If he came to diſputation, he confeſſed that he believed the Father God, the Son God, the holy Ghoſt God. But afterwards he would readily ſlip away with ſaying, that he had in no otherwiſe ſpoken than as if he had named God, a powerful God, juſt God, and wiſe God: and ſo he ſung another ſong, that the Father is the Son, and the holy Ghoſt is the Father, without any order, without any diſtinction. The good doctors who then had care of godlineſs, to ſubdue his wickedneſs, cried out on the other ſide, that there ought to be acknowleged in one God three properties: and to the end to fence themſelves againſt the crooked winding ſubtilties with plain and ſimple truth, they affirmed, that there did truly ſubſiſt in one God, or (which is the ſame thing) that there did ſubſiſt in the unity of God a Trinity of Perſons.

5. If then the names have not been without cauſe invented, we ought to take heed, that in rejecting them we be not juſtly blamed of proud preſumptuoſneſs. I would to God they were buried indeed, ſo that this faith were agreed of all men, that the Father, and the Son, and the holy Ghoſt be one God: and yet that the Father is not the Son, nor the holy Ghoſt the Son, but diſtinctly by certain property. Yet I am not ſo preciſe, that I can find in my heart to ſtrive for bare words. For I obſerve, that the antient fathers, who otherwiſe ſpake very religiouſly of ſuch matters, did not every where agree one with another, nor every one with himſelf. For what forms of ſpeech uſed by the councils doth Hillary excuſe? To how great liberty doth Auguſtine ſometimes break forth?

The words which have been in this caſe deviſed for opening of the truth, ſo that the things themſelves be agreed upon, are neither over ſtiffly to be urged, nor too forwardly to be refuſed.

How unlike are the Greeks to the Latins? But of this disagreement one example shall suffice for this time. When the Latins wanted to express the word *Omoousion*, they called it *Consubstantial*, declaring the substance of the Father and the Son to be one, thus using the word substance for essence. Whereupon Hierom to Damasus saith, it is sacrilege to say, that there are three substances in God: and yet above a hundred times you shall find in Hillary, that there are three substances in God. In the word *hypostasis*, how is Hierom difficulted? for he suspecteth that there lurketh poison in naming three hypostasis in God. And if a man do use this word in a godly sense, yet he plainly saith that it is an improper speech, if he spake unfeignedly, and did not rather wittingly and willingly seek to charge the bishops of the East, whom he sought to charge with an unjust slander. Sure this one thing he speaketh not very truly, that in all prophane schools, *Ousia*, essence, is nothing else but hypostasis, which is proved false by the common and accustomed use. Augustine is more modest and gentle, who although he says, *De trint. li.* 5. *cap.* 8, 9. that the word hypostasis in that sense is strange to Latin ears, yet so far is it off, that he taketh from the Greeks their usual manner of speaking, that he also gently beareth with the Latins who had followed the Greek phrase. And that which Socrates writeth in the fifth book of the Tripartite history, tendeth to this end, as though he meant that he had by unskilful men been wrongfully applied unto this matter. Yea, and the same Hillary himself layeth it as a great fault to the heretics charge, *De trin. li.* 2. that by their frowardness he is compelled to put those things in peril of the speech of men, which ought to have been kept in religiousness of minds, plainly confessing that this is to do things unlawful, to speak what ought not to be spoken, to attempt things not licensed. A little after, he excuseth himself with many words, for that he was so bold to utter new names. For after he had used the natural names, Father, Son, and holy Ghost, he addeth that whatsoever is sought further, is beyond the compass of speech, beyond the reach of sense, and beyond the capacity of understanding. And in another place he saith, that happy are the bishops of Gallia, who had not received, nor knew any other confession, but that old and simple one, which from the time of the apostles was received in all churches. And much like is the excuse of Augustine, that this word was wrung out of necessity, by reason of the imperfection of mens language in so great a matter: not to express that which is, but that it should not be unspoken how the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghost are three. This modesty of the holy men ought to warn us, that we do not forthwith so severely, like censors, brand them with infamy who refuse to subscribe and swear to such words as we propound them: so that thay do not of pride, or frowardness, or of malicious craft. But let them again consider, by how great necessity we are driven to speak so, that by little and little they may be enured with that profitable manner of speech. Let them also learn to beware, lest since we must meet on the one side with the Arians, on the other side with the Sabellians, while they be offended that we cut off occasion from them both to cavil, they bring themselves in suspicion, that they be the disciples either of Arius or of Sabellius. Arius saith that Christ is God, but he muttereth that he was created, and had a beginning. He saith Christ is one with the Father, but secretly he whispereth in the ears of his disciples, that he was made one as the other faithful be, although by singular prerogative. Say once that Christ is consubstantial with his Father, then pluck you off his visor from the dissembler, and yet you add nothing to the scripture. Sabellius saith, that the several names, Father, Son, and holy Ghost, signify nothing in God severally distinct: say that they are three, and he will cry out that you name three gods. Say that there is in one essence a Trinity of persons, then shall you in one word both say what the scripture speaketh, and stop their vain babling. Now if any be holden with so curious superstition, that they cannot abide these names: yet is there no man, though he would never so fain, that can deny but that when we hear of one, we must understand an unity of substance: when we hear of three in one essence, that it is meant of the persons of the Trinity. Which thing being without fraud confessed, we stay no longer upon words. But I have long ago found, and that often, that whosoever do obstinately quarrel about words, do keep within them a secret poison: so that it is better willingly to provoke them, than for their pleasure to speak darkly.

6. But leaving disputation of words, I will now begin to speak of the matter itself. I call therefore a Person, a subsistance in the essence of God, which having relation to the other, is distinguished from them with uncommunicable property. By the name of the subsistance we mean another thing than the essence. For if the word

The essence of God is one simple and single thing, wherein there are three subsistances, each differing from the other, having some incommunicable property.

word had simply been God, and in the mean time had nothing severally proper to itself, John had said amiss that it was with God. (John i. 1.) Where he forthwith addeth, that God himself was the same word, he calleth us back again to the one single essence. But because it could not be with God, but that it must rest in the Father: hereof ariseth that subsistance, which though it be joined to the essence with an unseparable knot, yet hath it a special mark whereby it doth differ from it. So of the three subsistances, I say, that each having relation to other, is in property distinguished. Relation is here expressly mentioned. For when there is simple and indefinite mention made of God, this name belongeth no less to the Son and the holy Ghost, than to the Father. But when the Father is compared with the Son, the several properties of either doth distinguish him from the other. Thirdly, whatsoever is proper unto every of them is uncommunicable. For that which is given to the Father for a mark of difference, cannot agree with, nor be given to the Son. And I do not dislike the definition of Tertullian, *(Lib. contra praxeam.)* provided it be rightly understood, "That there is in God a certain dispostion, or distribution which yet changeth nothing of the unity of the essence."

The Word whereof in scripture it is said that the spirit was of it, the world made and sustained by it, that it was begotten of God before the worlds, that it worketh with the Father, that it is the cause of all things, is no sounding voice, but that essential word which is the Son of God, the true and very God himself.

7. But before I proceed any further, it is useful to prove the Godhead of the Son and of the holy Ghost. Then after we shall see, how they differ one from another. Surely when the word of God is spoken of in the scripture, it were a very great absurdity to imagine it only a fading and vanishing voice, which being sent into the air, proceeds from God himself, of which sort were the oracles given to the fathers, and all the prophecies: when rather the word is meant to be the perpetual wisdom abiding with the Father, from whence all the oracles and prophecies proceeded. For as Peter testifieth, no less did the old prophets speak with the spirit of Christ, than did the apostles and all they who after them did propagate the heavenly doctrine. But because Christ was not yet openly shewed, we must understand that the word was before all worlds begotten of the Father, And if the Spirit was of the word, whose instruments were the prophets, we do undoubtedly gather that he was true God. And this doth Moses teach plainly enough in the creation of the world, when he setteth the Word as the mean. For why doth he expressly tell, that God in creating all his works said, Be this done, or that done, but that the unsearchable glory of God may shiningly appear in his images? The subtle and babling men do easily mock out this, with saying that the name Word, is is there taken for his bidding or commandment. But better expositors are the apostles, (Heb. i. 2.) who teach that the worlds were made by the same, and that he sustaineth them all with his mighty Word. For here we see that the word is taken for the bidding or commandment of the Son, who is himself the eternal and essential Word to the Father. and to the wise and sober it is not dark that Solomon saith, (Eccl. xxiv. 14.) where he bringeth in Wisdom begotten of God before all worlds, and bearing rule in the creation of things, and in all the works of God. For to say that it was a certain commandment of God, serving but for a time, were very foolish and vain: whereas indeed it was God's pleasure at that time to shew forth his stedfast and eternal purpose, yea, and something more secret. To which intent also maketh that saying of Christ, John v. 17. "My Father and I do work even to this day." For in saying, That from the beginning of the world he was continually working with his Father, he doth more openly declare that which Moses had more shortly touched. We gather then, that the meaning of God's speaking was this, that the Word had his office in the doing of things, and so they both had a common working together. But most plainly of all doth John speak, when he sheweth that the same Word, who from the beginning was God with God, was together with God the Father the cause of all things, John i. 3. For he both giveth to the word a perfect and abiding essence, and also assigneth unto it something peculiar to itself, and plainly sheweth how God in speaking was the creator of the world. Therefore as all revelations proceeding from God do well bear the name of of the word of God, so ought we yet to set in the highest place the substantial Word, the fountain of all oracles, which being subject to no alteration, abideth always one and the self same with God, and is God himself.

The word in the beginning of things began to shew itself, but was before any

8. Here many dogs do bark against us, which when they dare not openly take from him his Godhead do secretly steal from him his eternity. For they say, that the word then began first to be, when

thing began, and was itſelf without beginning.

God in the creation of the world opened his holy mouth. But very undiſcreetly do they to imagine a certain innovation of the ſubſtance of God. For as thoſe names of God that have relation to his outward work, began to be given unto him after the beginning of his work, as for example, this that he is called the Creator of heaven and earth; ſo doth godlineſs know or admit no name that ſhould ſignify any new thing in himſelf to have chanced unto God. For if any ſhould come to him from elſewhere than in himſelf, then this ſaying of James ſhould fail, "that every good and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights, with whom is no variableneſs, neither ſhadow of turning." Therefore nothing is leſs to be ſuffered, than to feign a beginning of that word, which both always was God, and afterwards was Creator of the world. But full ſubtilly forſooth do they reaſon, that Moſes in ſaying that God then firſt ſpake, doth ſecretly ſhew, that there was no word in him before. Which is a moſt trifling argument. For it followeth not, becauſe a thing at ſome one certain time beginneth to be ſhewed openly, that therefore it had never any being before. But I conclude far otherwiſe and ſay: ſeeing that in the ſame moment that God ſaid, Let light be made, the power of the word appeared and ſhewed itſelf, Gen. i. 3. the ſame word was long before, but if a man aſk how long before he ſhall find no beginning. For he appointed no certain ſpace of time when himſelf ſaid: Father, glorify me with the glory which I had with thee before the world was, John xvii. 5. And this thing John alſo left not untouched, becauſe he firſt ſheweth that in the beginning the word was with God, before that he cometh to the creation of the world. We ſay therefore again, that the word which was conceived of God before any beginning of time, was continually remaining with him. Whereby both his eternity, true eſſence, and Godhead is proved.

The places of ſcripture which prove Chriſt to be God and the ſhifts which the Jews have to avoid them.

9. Although I do not yet touch the perſon of the Mediator, but do defer it to that place where we ſhall ſpecially treat of the redemption: yet becauſe it ought to be certainly holden without controverſy among all men, that Chriſt is the ſame word clad with fleſh, in this place will be very fit to recite all thoſe teſtimonies that prove Chriſt to be God. When it is ſaid in the fortieth and five Pſalm, "thy "throne O God, is forever and ever:" the Jews do cavil and ſay, that the name *Elohim* is alſo applyed to the angels and ſovereign powers. But in all the ſcripture there is not a like place, that raiſeth an eternal throne to any creature. For he is here not ſimply called God, but alſo the eternal Lord. Again this title is given to none but with an addition, as it is ſaid: that Moſes ſhall be for a god to Pharoah, Exod. vii. 1. Some read it in the Genetive caſe which is very fooliſh. I grant indeed that oftentimes a thing is called Divine or of God, that is notable by any ſingular excellence: but hereby the tenor of the text it appeareth, that ſuch a meaning were hard and forced, and will not agree. But if their ſtubbornneſs will not ſo yield, in Iſa. ix. 6. is very plainly brought in for all one both Chriſt and God, and he that is adorned with the ſovereign power, which is properly belonging to God alone. This (ſaith he) is the name whereby they ſhall call him, the mighty God, the Father of the world to come, *&c.* Here the Jews cavil again, and turn the text thus: "This is the name whereby the mighty "God the father of the world to come ſhall call "him:" ſo that they leave this only to the Son to be called the Prince of peace. But to what purpoſe ſhould ſo many names of addition in this place be heaped up to God the Father, ſeeing it is the purpoſe of the prophet to adorn Chriſt with ſuch ſpecial notes as may build our faith upon him? Wherefore it is out of doubt that he is here in like ſort called the mighty God, as he is a little before called Immanuel. But nothing can be found plainer than that place of Jeremiah where he ſaith, "that this ſhall be the name whereby the ſeed of David ſhall be called, JEHOVAH OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS, Jer. xxiii. 6. For where the Jews themſelves do teach, that all other names of God are but adjective names of addition, and that this only name JEHOVAH which they call unſpeakable is a ſubſtantive name to expreſs his eſſence: we gather that the Son is the only and eternal God who ſaith in another place that he will not give his glory to another, Iſa. xlii. 8. But here alſo they ſeek to eſcape away, becauſe that Moſes gave that name to the altar that he builded: and Ezekiel gave it to the new city Jeruſalem. But who doth not ſee that the altar was builded for a monument that God was the advancement of Moſes, and that Jeruſalem is not adorned with the name of God, but only to teſtify the preſence of God? For thus ſaith the prophet: The name of the city from that day ſhall be (JEHOVAH SHAMMAH) THE LORD IS THERE, Ezek. xlviii. 35. And Moſes ſaith thus: he builded an altar and called the name of it, (JEHOVAH-NISSI,) THE LORD MY BANNER, Exod. xvii. 15. But more buſineſs ariſeth by an other place of Jeremiah, where the ſame title is applied to Jeruſalem

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in theſe words: This is the name whereby they ſhall call her, JEHOVAH OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS, Jer. xxxiii. 16. But this teſtimony is ſo far from making againſt the truth which we defend, that it rather confirmeth it. For whereas he had before teſtifyed that Chriſt is the true Jehovah from whom floweth righteouſneſs, now he pronounceth that the church ſhall ſo verily feel the ſame, that ſhe may gloriouſly uſe the very name itſelf. And ſo in the firſt place is ſet the fountain and cauſe of righteouſneſs, in the other the effect.

The Word communicating itſelf with men, took the office & name of an angel, yet ſtill ſhewed itſelf to be the God of unſpeakable glory.

10. Now if this do not ſatisfy the Jews, that Jehovah is ſo often preſented in the perſon of an angel I ſee not with what cavillations they can mock it out. It is ſaid, that the angel appeared to the holy fathers: and the ſame angel challengeth to himſelf the name of the eternal God. If any take exception and ſay, that this is ſpoken in reſpect of the perſon that he repreſenteth: this knot is not thus looſed. For being a ſervant he would not ſuffer ſacrifice to be offered to him and take from God his due honour. But the angel refuſing to eat bread, commanded ſacrifice to be offered to Jehovah, Judges vi. 7. And then he proveth that himſelf indeed was the ſame Jehovah, and therefore Manoah and his wife by this token did gather, that they had ſeen not only an angel but God. And thence came it that he ſaid, we ſhall die becauſe we have ſeen God. And when his wife anſwereth, if Jehovah would have ſlain us, he would not have received ſacrifice at our hands: in this ſhe doth confeſs that he was God which before was called the angel. Beſide this, the anſwer of the angel himſelf taketh away all doubt of it, ſaying: Why doſt thou aſk me of my name, which is marvelous? So much the more deteſtable was the wickedneſs of Serveto, when he affirmed that God never appeared to Abraham and the other fathers, but that an angel was worſhipped in place of him. But truly and wiſely have the true teaching doctors of the church expounded, that the ſame principal angel was the word of God, who then as aforehand began to execute the office of mediator. For though he was not clothed with fleſh, yet he came down as a mean between God and men, to come more familiarly to the faithful. Therefore his near communicating of himſelf, made him to be called an angel: yet ſtill in the meantime he retained that which was his own, to be the God of unſpeable glory. The ſame thing meaneth Hoſea, who after he had recited the wreſtling of Jacob with the angel, ſaith; "Jehovah the God of hoſts, "Jehovah worthy of memory is his name, Hoſ. xii. "5." Here again Serveto carpeth, that God did bear the perſon of an angel. As though the prophet did not confirm that which Moſes had ſaid: why doeſt thou aſk of me thy name? And the confeſſion of the holy Patriarch doth ſufficiently declare that he was not a created angel, but one in whom the full Godhead reſided when he ſaid: I have ſeen God face to face, Gen. xxxii. 30. And for this cauſe Paul ſaith, that Chriſt was guide of the people in in the wilderneſs, 1 Cor. x. 4. For though the time was not yet come of his abaſement: yet that eternal word ſhewed a figure of that office to which he was appointed. Now if the ſecond chapter of Zechariah be weighed without contention, the angel that ſent another angel was by and by pronounced to be the God of hoſts, and to him is ſovereign power aſcribed. I omit innumerable teſtimonies on the which our faith ſafely reſteth, although they do not much move the Jews. For when it is ſaid in Iſaiah: "Behold, this is our God, this is Jehovah, we "ſhall wait upon him, and he ſhall ſave us, Iſa. xxv. "9." They that have eyes may ſee, that herein is meant God who raiſeth up for the ſalvation of his people. And theſe vehement demonſtrations twice repeated ſuffer it to be drawn no other where but to Chriſt. And yet plainer and fuller is the place of Malachi, where he promiſeth that he ſhall come, the Lord who was then deſired to his own temple, Mal. iii. 1. But to none but to the only ſovereign God was the temple dedicate, which temple yet the prophet doth claim for Chriſt. Whereupon followeth that Chriſt is the ſame God that was ever honoured among the Jews.

The Godhead of Chriſt plainly avouched in the New Teſtament.

11. As for the New Teſtament, it aboundeth with innumerable teſtimonies, therefore we muſt travel rather ſhortly to chuſe out few, than largely to heap up all. For though the apoſtles ſpeak of him ſince he was now become the Mediator in fleſh: yet all that I ſhall bring forth ſhall aptly ſerve to prove his Godhead. Firſt, this is worthy to be ſingularly marked, that thoſe things which were before ſpoken touching the eternal God, the apoſtles do ſhew that they are either already performed, or hereafter to be performed in Chriſt. For where Iſaiah prophecyeth that the Lord of hoſts ſhall be to the Jews and Iſraelites a ſtumbling ſtone and a rock to fall upon. Paul affirmeth that the ſame is fulfilled in Chriſt, Rom. ix. 24. Therefore he declareth him to be

the Lord of hosts. Likewise in another place, "We "must a (saith he) once be brought to appear be- "fore the judgment throne of Christ. For it is "written, to me shall all knees bow, and to me "shall all tongues swear, Rom. xiv. 10, 11." Seeing God in Isaiah speaketh this thing of himself, and Christ indeed performeth it in himself, it followeth that he is the self same God, whose glory may not be withdrawn to another, Isa. lv. 23. And that thing which writing to the Ephesians he allegeth out of the Psalms, is evident that it can be applyed to none but to God alone. Ascending on high he hath carried captivity captive, Psal. lxviii. 18. meaning that such ascending was in a shadow shewed, when God in notable victory against foreign nations did shew forth his power, but he declareth that in Christ it whas more fully performed. So John testifieth that it was the glory of the Son that was revealed to Isaiah by a vision, whereas indeed the prophet himself writeth that the majesty of God appeared unto him. And it is evident that those things which the apostle writing to the Hebrews applieth to the Son are the plain titles of God; as, "Thou Lord in the beginning didst lay the founda- "tions of heaven and earth, *&c.* Heb. i. 10." "A- "gain, Worship him all ye his angels, *ver.* 6." And yet he abuseth not those titles when he draweth them to Christ. For all those things that are spoken of in these Psalms, he himself alone hath fulfilled. For it was he that rose up and had mercy of Sion. It was he that claimed to himself the kingdom of all nations and lands. And why should John stick to apply the majesty of God to Christ, which in his preface had said that the word was always God? Why should Paul fear to set Christ in the judgment throne of God, having before with so open proclamation declared his Godhead, where he said that he was God blessed to the end of worlds? And to make appear, how well he agreeth in this point with himself, in another place he writeth that Christ is God openly shewed in the flesh. If he be God to be praised to the end of worlds, then he is the same, to whom in another place he affirmeth all glory and honour to be due. And this he hideth not, but plainly crieth out, that he would have counted it no robbery, if he had shewed himself equal with God, but that he willingly abased himself, Philip. ii. 6. And that the wicked should not carp that he is some made God, John goeth further and saith: "He is the true God and the eternal life," 1 John v. 20. Although it ought abundantly to satisfy us, that he is called God, especially of that witness which expresly affirmeth unto us, that there are no more Gods but one. That same witness is Paul, which saith thus: "How many soever be "called gods, either in heaven or in earth, to us "there is but one God of whom are all things, "1 Cor viii. 5, 6." When we hear of the same mouth, that God was manifested in the flesh, 1 Tim. iii. 16. that God with his own blood purchased the church unto himself, Acts xx. 28. Why should we imagine a second God which he himself acknowlegeth not? And it is no doubt that all the godly were of the same meaning. Likewise Thomas in protesting him to be his Lord and his God, doth profes that he is that only one God, whom he had always worshipped, John xx. 28.

His working with the Father, his governing of the world, his pardoning of sins, his perceiving the very thoughts of the heurts, proved him to be very God.

12. Now if we esteem his Godhead by the works that in the scripture are ascribed unto him, it shall thereby more evidently appear. For when he said that from the beginning he was thitherto working with his Father: the Jews who were most dull in understanding of all his other sayings, yet then perceived that he took upon him the power of God, And therefore as John telleth. "They sought the more to kill him, because de did "not only break the sabbath, but also did call God "his Father, making himself equal with God." John v. 17. How dull shall we be then, If we do not perceive that his Godhead is here plainly affirmed? And truly to order the world with providence and power, and to govern all things with the authority of his own might, which the apostle ascribeth unto him, belongeth to none but only the Creator, Heb. i. 3, And he not only shareth the government of the world with his Father, but also all other offices which cannot be made common to God with his creatures. The Lord crieth out by the prophet, "I "am he, I am he, that do away thine offences for "mine own sake." Isa. xliii. 25. According to the meaning of this sentence, when the Jews thought that wrong was done to God for that Christ did forgive sins, Christ not only affirmed in words, but also proved by miracle that this power belonged unto himself, Matth. ix. 4, 6. We see therefore that he hath, not the ministration, but the power of forgiveness of sins, which the Lord saith he will not suffer to pass away from himself to any. What shall we say of searching, and piercing into the secret thoughts of hearts? is it not the property of God alone? But the same had Christ: whereby it is gathered that he is God.

13. Now

That he wrought miracles by his own power, and gave power unto others to work: that he is the author of life and salvation: that he is goodnes and justice itself; that men are commanded to believe and trust in him: that his name is called upon, that we are taught to glory in the knowlege of him, that the same things are wished jointly from the Father and from him, these are proofs of his Godhead.

13. Now in his miracles how plainly and clearly doth he appear? And though I grant that as well the prophets as the apostles did equal and like miracles to those that he did: yet this great difference is there, that they by their ministration disposed the gifts of God, he shewed forth his own power. He used sometimes prayer, to the end to give glory unto his Father. But we see for the most part his own power shewed unto us. And how could it otherwise be but that he was the very author of miracles that by his own authority gave power to others to deal miracles abroad? For the Evangelist declareth, that he gave power to the apostles to raise up the dead, to heal the lerprous, to cast out devils, &c. Mat. x. 8. and they so used the ministration thereof, that they sufficiently shewed that this power came not from any but from Christ, Mark iii. 15. and vi. 7. "In the name of Jesus Christ (saith Peter) raise and walk," Acts iii. 6. It is therefore no wonder if Christ alleged his miracles to confound the unbelief of the Jews, John v. 36. and x. 37. and xiv. 11. forasmuch as they were such as being done by his own power, did give a most plain testimony of his Godhead. If elsewhere than in God there is no salvation, no righteousnes, no life: and Christ containeth all these things in him, surely he is thereby declared to be God. And no man can object against me and say, that life and salvation is poured into him by God: for it is not said that he received salvation, but that he is salvation himself. And if none be good but only God, Matth. xix. 17. how can he be only man, being I will not say good and just, but goodnes and justice itself? Yea, from the first beginning of the creation, as the Evangelist witnesseth, in him was life: and even then being life was the light of men, John i. 4. Wherefore being supported with such proofs, we are bold to repose our faith and hope in him: when yet we know that it is an ungodlines that robbeth God, for any man to fasten his confidence in creatures. Believe ye in God saith he, believe then also in me, John xiv. 1. And so doth Paul expound those two places of Isaiah, "Whosoever trusteth in him, shall not be put to "shame," Isa. xxvi. 16. Again, "Out of the root "of Jesse shall he come that shall rise to rule peoples, "in him shall the nations trust," Isa. xi. 10. And why should we seek out more testimonies of scripture in this matter, when we so often meet with this sentence? "He that believeth in me hath eternal "life," Rom. x. 11. and xv. 12. Moreover the invocation which hangeth upon faith belongeth also to him, which yet is proper to the majesty of God, if he have any thing at all proper to himself. For one prophet saith, "Whosoever calleth upon the name of Jehovah shall be saved," Jo. ii. 32. And another saith, "A most strong tower is the name of Jehovah," Prov. xxviii. 10. to it the righteous shall flee and he shall be saved, but the name of Christ is called upon for salvation: it followeth therefore that he is Jehovah. As for invocation, we have an example of it in Stephen, when he saith, Lord Jesus receive my spirit, Acts vii. 59. Again, in the whole church, as Ananias testifieth in the same book. Lord (saith he) thou knowest how great evils this man hath done to thy saints that call upon thy name. Acts ix. 13. And that it may be more plainly understood that the whole fulnes of the Godhead doth corporally dwell in Christ, the apostle doth confes that he brought no doctrine among the Corinthians but the knowlege of him, and that he preached no other thing but that knowlege, 1 Cor. ii. What, I pray you, and how great a thing is this, that the name of the Son only is preached unto us, whom he commandeth to glory in the knowlege of himself alone? Who dare say, that he is but a creature, of whom the only knowlege is our whole glory? Besides that, the salutations set before the epistles of Paul, wish the same benefits from the Son which they do from the Father: whereby we are taught not only that those things which the Father giveth us do come unto us by his intercession, but also by community of power, he is the author of them. Which knowlege by practice is without doubt more certain and perfect than any idle speculation. For there the godly mind doth behold God most present, and in manner handle him, where it feeleth itself to be quickened, enlightned, saved, justified and sanctified.

Reasons proving the Godhead of the holy Ghost, as it preserved the world in that original confusion, it regenerateth, it sent the prophets, it giveth life, the offices are attri-

14. Wherefore out of the same fountains we must fetch our means of proving the Godhead of the holy Ghost. Very plain is the testimony of Moses in the history of creation, that the Spirit of God was upon the depths, or upon the unfashionable heap, Gen. i. 2. because he sheweth that not only the beauty of the world that is now to be seen is preserved by the power

of

buted unto it which are proper unto God, as to ſearch the ſecrets of God, &c.

of the Spirit, but ere this beauty was added, the Spirit was then buſied in preſerving that confuſed lump of things. And that ſaying of Iſaiah cannot be cavilled againſt, Iſa. xlviii. 16. And now Jehovah and his Spirit hath ſent me. For he communicateth with the holy Ghoſt his chief power in ſending of prophets. Whereby appeareth the divine majeſty of the holy Ghoſt. But our beſt proof, I have ſaid, ſhall be by familiar uſe. For that which the ſcriptures impute unto it, is far from the property of creatures, and ſuch a thing as we ourſelves do learn by aſſured experience of godlineſs. For he it is that being every where diffuſed abroad, doth ſuſtain and give growing and life to all things in heaven and in earth. And by this point he is proved to be none of the number of creatures, for that he is not comprehended within any bounds: but by pouring his lively force into all things to breath into them life and motion, this is the very work of God. Moreover, if regeneration into an incorruptible life be better and more excellent than any preſent quickening: what ſhall we judge of him from whoſe power the ſame proceedeth? And that he is the author of regeneration, not by a borrowed, but by his own power, the ſcripture in many places teacheth: and not of that only, but alſo of the immortality to come. Finally, as unto the Son, ſo unto him alſo are applied all thoſe offices that are moſt of all properly belonging to the Godhead, 1 Cor. ii. 10. For he ſearcheth the deep ſecrets of God, wherewith none of all the creatures is of counſel, 1 Cor. xii. 10. He giveth wiſdom and ſkill to ſpeak, whereas the Lord pronounceth to Moſes that it belongs to him only to do it, Exod. iv. 11. So by him we come to a partaking of God, ſo that we may feel his power as it were working life in us. Our juſtification is his work. From him is power, ſanctification, truth, grace, and what good thing ſoever may be thought of, becauſe it is the holy Ghoſt only from whom proceedeth all kind of gifts. For that ſentence of Paul is right worthy to be noted. Although there be divers gifts, and manifold and ſundry is the deſtribution of them, yet is there but one holy Spirit: becauſe he maketh him not only the original and beginning, but alſo the author. Which a little after is more plainly expreſſed in theſe words. One and the ſame Spirit diſtributeth all things as he will, 1 Cor. xii. 11. For if he were not ſomething ſubſiſting in God, he would not attribute unto him choice of mind and will. Therefore moſt evidently doth Paul give to the holy Ghoſt divine power, and ſheweth that he is ſubſtantially reſident in God.

The holy Ghoſt in ſcripture plainly termed God.

15. And the ſcripture itſelf, when it ſpeaketh of him, forbeareth not the name of God. For Paul hereby gathereth that we are the temple of God, becauſe his ſpirit dwelleth in us: 1 Cor. iii. 17. and vi. 19. which thing is not lightly to be paſſed over. For whereas God ſo often promiſeth that he will chuſe us for a temple to himſelf, that promiſe is no other way fulfilled, but by his ſpirit dwelling in us. 2 Cor. vi. 16. Surely, as Auguſtine very well ſaith: *Auguſt. ad maximinum. Epi.* 66. if we were commanded to make unto the holy Ghoſt a temple of timber and ſtone becauſe ſuch worſhip is due to God only, it were a clear argument that he is God: now therefore how clearer is this, that we ought not to make a temple, but our ſelves to be a temple for him? And the apoſtle himſelf calleth us ſometimes the temple of God, ſometimes the temple of the holy Ghoſt, both in one meaning. And Peter reprehending Ananias for that he had lyed to the holy Ghoſt, ſaid that he lyed not unto men but unto God. Act. v. 3. And where Iſaiah bringeth in the Lord of hoſts ſpeaking, Iſai. vi. 9. Paul teacheth that it is the holy Ghoſt that ſpeaketh. Act. xxviii. 25. Yea, where commonly the prophets ſay, that the words which they utter are the words of the Lord of hoſts, Chriſt and the apoſtles do refer them to the holy Ghoſt. Whereby it followeth that he is the true Jehovah, that is, the chief author of prophecies. Again, where God complaineth that he was provoked to wrath by the ſtubbornneſs of his people, in ſtead of that Iſaiah ſaith that his holy Spirit was grieved. Iſa. xliii. 10. Laſt of all, if blaſphemy againſt the holy Ghoſt be not forgiven in this world nor in the world to come, whereas he may obtain pardon that hath blaſphemed againſt the Son: Mat. xii. 30. Mar. iii. 29. Luke. xii. 10. his divine majeſty is hereby plainly proved, the offence or diminiſhment whereof is an unpardonable crime. I do wittingly and of purpoſe omit many teſtimonies that the antient writers have uſed. They have thought it a marvelous meet place to allege out of David: Pſal. xxxiii. 6. "With the "word of the Lord the heavens were ſtabliſhed, and "all the power of them with the ſpirit of his mouth," to prove that the world was no leſs the work of the holy Ghoſt than of the Son. But foraſmuch as it is commonly uſed in the Pſalms to repeat one thing twice: and in Iſaiah, the ſpirit of his mouth is as much to ſay as his word, that reaſon is very weak, Iſai. xi. 4. Therefore I thought good to touch a few ſuch things as godly minds might ſoundly reſt upon.

16. And

In the Trinity of persons the unity of God is proved by this, that there is but one faith and one baptism.

16. And as God hath more plainly disclosed himself by the coming of Christ, so is he also in the three persons become more familiarly known. But of all the testimonies let this one suffice us for this present. Paul so joineth these three together, God, Faith, and Baptism, that he reasoneth from the one to the other in this manner. Because there is but one faith, he thereby sheweth that there is but one God. And because there is but one God, he thereby proveth there is but one faith. Eph. iv 5. Therefore if we be entered into the faith and religion of one God by baptism: we must needs think him the true God in whose name we are baptised: And it is not to be doubted, but that in this solemn protestation, Christ meant to testify that the perfect light of faith was already delivered, when he said: baptise them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the holy Ghost. Mat. xxviii. 19. For it is as much in effect as to be baptised in the name of one God, which with perfect brightness hath appeared in the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghost. Whereby is evident that in the essence of God abide three persons in which the one God is known. And surely, forasmuch as our faith ought not to look hither and thither nor diversely to wander about, but to have regard to the one God, to be applied to him, and to stick fast in him; it is hereby easily proved, that if there be divers kinds of faith, there must also be many gods. Now whereas baptism is a sacrament of faith: it proveth unto us the unity of God, because it is but one. And hereof also followeth, that it is not lawful to be baptised but into one God, because we embrace the faith of him, into whose name we are baptised. What meant Christ then, when he commanded to be baptised, in the name of the Father the Son, and the holy Ghost, but that we ought with one faith to believe in the Father, Son, and the holy Ghost? Therefore since this remaineth certain, that there is but one God, and not many, we determine that the Word and the Spirit are nothing else but the very self essence of God. And very foolishly did the Arians prat, who confessing the Godhead of the Son, did take from him the substance of God. And such a like rage vexed the Macedonians, who would have to be understood by the Spirit, only the gifts of grace that are poured forth into men. For as wisdom, understanding, prudence, fortitude, fear of God do proceed from him; so he only is the Spirit of wisdom, prudence, fortitude, and godliness. Yet is not he divided according to the distribution of his graces: but howsoever they be diversely dealt abroad, yet he remaineth one and the same, as the Apostle saith. 1 Cor. xii. 11.

The Son distinguished from the Father, and the Spirit from them both.

17. Again, there is shewed in the scriptures a certain distinction of the Father, from the Word, and of the Word from the Spirit. In discussing whereof, how great religiousness and sobriety we ought to use, the greatness of the mystery it self doth admonish us. And I very well like that saying of Gregory Nazianzene: *In sermone de sacro baptismo.* I cannot think upon the one, but by and by I am compassed about with the brightness of the three: And I cannot severally discern the three, but I am suddenly driven back to one. Wherefore let it not come in our minds once to imagine such a Trinity of persons as may hold our thought withdrawn into severalities, and do not forthwith bring us again to that unity. The names of Father, Son, and holy Ghost, do prove a true distinction, that no man should think them to be bare names of addition, whereby God according to his works is diversely entitled: but yet it is a distinction, not a division. The places that we have already cited, do shew that the Son hath a property distinct from the Father, because the Word had not been with God, if he had not been another thing than the Father: neither had he had his glory with the Father, but being distinct from him. Likewise he doth distinguish himself from the Father, when he saith, that there is another which beareth him witness. John v. 3. and viii. 16. And for this purpose maketh that which in another place is said, that the Father created all things by the Word, which he could not, but being after a certain manner distinct from him. Moreover, the Father came not down into the earth, but he that came out from the Father. The Father died not, nor rose again, but he that was sent by him. Neither yet did this distinction begin at the taking of flesh, but it is manifest that he was also before, the only begotten in the bosom of the Father, John i. 18. For who can abide to say, that then the Son entered into the bosom of the Father, when he descended from heaven to take manhood upon him? He was therefore before in the bosom of the Father, and enjoyed his glory with the Father, John xiv. 6. and xv. 26. As for the distinction of the holy Ghost from the Father, Christ speaketh of it when he saith, that it proceedeth from the Father. And how often doth he shew it to be another beside himself? as when he promiseth that he will send another comforter, and often in other places.

That the Father is of none, the Son is of the Father, and the Spirit is of both.

18. But to borrow ſimilitudes from matters of men, to expreſs the force of this diſtinction, I know not whether it be expedient. Indeed the antient fathers are wont ſo to do ſometimes: But withal they do confeſs, that whatſoever they bring forth for like, doth much differ. For which cauſe I am much afraid to be any way bold, leaſt if I bring forth any thing unfitly, it ſhould give occaſion either to the malicious to cavil, or to the unſkilful to be deceived. Yet ſuch diſtinction as we have marked to be ſet out in the ſcriptures, it is not good to have left unſpoken. And that is this, that to the Father is given the beginning of working, the fountain and ſpring of all things: to the Son wiſdom, counſel, and the very diſpoſition in the doing of things: to the holy Ghoſt is aſſigned power and effectual working. And although eternity belong unto the Father, and eternity to the Son, and to the holy Ghoſt alſo, foraſmuch as God could never have been without his wiſdom and power and in eternity is not to be ſought, which was firſt or laſt: yet this obſervation of order is not vain or ſuperfluous, wherein the Father is reckoned firſt, and then of him the Son, and after of them both the holy Ghoſt. For every man's mind of itſelf inclineth to this, firſt to conſider God, then the wiſdom riſing out of him, and laſt of all the power wherewith he putteth the decrees of his purpoſe in execution. In what ſort the Son is ſaid to be of the Father only, and the holy Ghoſt both of the Father and the Son, is ſhewed in many places, but no where more plainly than in the eight chapter to the Romans, where the ſame Spirit is without difference ſometimes called the Spirit of Chriſt, and ſometimes of him that raiſed up Chriſt from the dead: and that not without cauſe. For Peter doth alſo teſtify that that was the Spirit of Chriſt, wherewith the prophets did propheſy, whereas the ſcriptures ſo often teacheth, that it was the Spirit of God the Father.

That the Trinity of perſons is an argument to prove the unity of God: & in what ſenſe the Father is the beginning of the Son.

19. Now this diſtinction is ſo far off from ſtanding againſt the ſingle unity of God, that thereby we may prove that the Son is one God with the Father, becauſe he hath one Spirit with him, and that the holy Spirit is not a thing diverſe from the Father and the Son. For in each hypoſtaſis is underſtood the whole ſubſtance, with this, that every one hath his own property. The Father is whole in the Son, and the Son is whole in the Father, as himſelf affirmeth: "I am in the Father, "and the Father is in me, John xiv. 10." And the eccleſiaſtical writers do not grant the one to be ſeparated from the other by any difference of eſſence. By theſe names that betoken diſtinction (ſaith Auguſtin) that is meant whereby they have relation one to another, and not the very ſubſtance whereby they are all one, *Auguſt. hom. de. temp.* 38. By which meaning are the ſayings of the antient writers to be made agree, which otherwiſe would ſeem not a little to diſagree. For ſometimes they ſay that the Father is the beginning of the Son, and ſometimes that the Son hath both Godhead and eſſence of himſelf, and is all one beginning with the Father. The cauſe of this diverſity Auguſtin doth in another place well and plainly declare, when he ſaith: Chriſt having reſpect to himſelf, is called God, and to his Father is called the Son. And again, the Father as to himſelf is called God, as to his Son is called the Father, where having reſpect to the Son he is called the Father, he is not the Son: and whereas to the Father he is called the Son, he is not the Father: and where he is called as to himſelf the Father, and as to himſelf the Son: it is all one God. Therefore when we ſimply ſpeak of the Son: without having reſpect to the Father, we do well and properly ſay, that he is of himſelf: and therefore we call him but one beginning: but when we make mention of the relation between him and his Father, then we rightly make the Father the beginning of the Son. All the whole fifth book of Auguſtin concerning the Trinity doth nothing but ſet forth this matter. And much ſafer it is to reſt in that relation that he ſpeaketh of than, in too ſubtilly penetrating into the high myſtery, to wander abroad by many vain ſpeculations.

The diverſity of perſons, & the order of them ſtandeth well enough with one ſingle divine eſſence, whereunto we muſt have recourſe when the Father, the Son, or the Spirit ſeverally is called God and not imagine

20. Let them therefore that are pleaſed with ſoberneſs, and contented with meaſure of faith, ſhortly learn ſo much as is profitable to be known: that is, when we profeſs that we believe in one God, under the name of God, we underſtand the one only and ſingle eſſence in which we comprehend three perſons or hypoſtaſis. And therefore ſo oft as we do indefinitely ſpeak of the name of God, we mean no leſs the Son and the holy Ghoſt than the Father. But when

each to be a distinct God from the other.

when the Son is joined to the Father, then cometh in a relation, and so we make distinction between the persons. And because the properties in the persons being an order with them, so as the beginning and original is in the Father: so oft as mention is made of the Father and the Son, or the holy Ghost together, the name of God is peculiarly given to the Father. By this means is retained the unity of the essence, and regard is had to the order, which yet doth diminish nothing of the Godhead of the Son and of the holy Ghost. And whereas we have already seen that the apostles do affirm that the Son of God is he, whom Moses and the prophets do testify to be Jehovah the Lord, we must of necessity always come to the unity of the essence. Wherefore it is a detestable sacrilege for us to call the Son a distinct God from the Father, because the simple name of God, doth admit no relation, and God in respect of himself cannot be said to be this or that. Now, that the name of Jehovah the Lord, indefinitely taken, is applyed to Christ appeareth by the words of Paul, where he saith: Therefore I have thrice prayed the Lord, because that after he had received the answer of Christ, "My grace is sufficient for thee, 2 Cor. xii. 9.:" he saith by and by, that the power of Christ may dwell in me. It is certain that the name LORD is there set for JEHOVAH, and therefore to restrict it to the person of the Mediator were very fond and childish, for so much as it is an absolute sentence that compareth not the Father with the Son. And we know that after the accustomed manner of the Greeks, the apostles do commonly set the word KYRIOS, Lord, instead of JEHOVAH. And not to fetch an example far off, Paul did in no other sense pray to the Lord, than in the same sense that Peter citeth the place of Joel, Acts ii. 16. Joel ii. 28. Whosoever calleth upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. But where this name is peculiarly given to the Son, we shall see that there is another reason thereof, when we come to a place fit for it. Now it is enough to bear in mind when Paul had absolutely prayed to God, he by and by bringeth in the name of Christ. Even so is the whole God called by Christ himself the Spirit. For there is no cause against it, but that the whole essence of God may be spiritual, wherein the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghost are comprehended. Which is very plain from the scripture. For even as there we hear God to be made a Spirit: so we do hear the holy Ghost, for so much as it is an hypostasis of the whole essence, to be called both God, and proceeding from God.

With what sobriety we ought to dispute against heretics about the mystery of the Trinity.

21. But forasmuch as satan, to the end to root out our faith, hath always moved great contentions, partly concerning the divine essence of the Son, and of the holy Ghost, and partly concerning their distinction of persons: and as in a manner in all ages he hath stirred up wicked spirits to trouble the true teachers in this behalf; so at this day he strives out of the old embers to kindle a new fire: therefore here it is good to answer the perverse foolish errors of some. Hitherto it hath been our purpose, to lead as it were by the hand those that are willing to learn and not to strive hand to hand with the obstinate and contentious. But now the truth which we have already peaceable shewed, must be rescued from the cavils of the wicked: Altho' my chief labour shall yet be applyed to this end, that they who give gentle and open ears to the word of God, may have whereupon stedfastly to rest their foot. In this point, if any where at all in the secret mysteries of Scripture, we ought to dispute soberly, and with great moderation, and to take great heed that neither our thought nor our tongue proceed any further than the bounds of God's word do extend. For how may the mind of man by his capacity define the immeasurable essence of God, which never yet could certainly determine how great is the body of the sun which yet he daily seeth with his eyes? Yea, how may she by her own guiding attain to discuss the substance of God, that cannot reach to know her own substance? Wherefore let us willingly give over unto God the knowlege of himself. For he only, as Hillary saith, is a convenient witness to himself, who is not known but by himself, *Hilar. lib. pri. de. Trinitate.* We shall give it over unto him, if we shall both conceive him to be such as he hath revealed himself unto us, and shall not elsewhere search to know of him, than by his own word. There are to this end written five homilies of Chrysostom against the *Anomei.* Yet the boldness of sophisters could not be restrained by them from babling unbridledly. For they have behaved themselves in this matter no whit more modestly than they are wont to do in all other cases. By the unhappy success of which indiscretion, we ought to be warned to take care that we bend ourselves to labour in this question rather with tractable willingness to learn, than with sharpness of wit, and never have in our mind either to search for God any where else than in his holy word, or to speak any thing of him, but having his word going before to guid us, or to speak any thing but that which is taken out of the

ſame word. The diſtinction that is in the one Godhead of the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghoſt, as it is very hard to know, ſo doth it occaſion more labour and perplexity to ſome men's underſtandings than is expedient. Let them remember that the minds of men do enter into a maze when they follow their own curioſity, and ſo let them ſuffer themſelves to be ruled by the heavenly oracles, howſoever they cannot attain the height of the myſtery.

The monſtrous impiety of Servetus.

22. To make a regiſter of the errors, wherewith the pureneſs of faith in this point of doctrine hath in times paſt been corrupted, were too long and full of unprofitable tediouſneſs: and the moſt part of heretics have ſo attempted to overwhelm the glory of God with groſs doting errors, that they have thought it enough for them to ſhake and trouble the unſkilful. And from a few men have ſprung up many ſects, whereof ſome do tear in ſunder the eſſence of God, ſome do confound the diſtinction that is between the perſons. But if we hold faſt that which is already ſufficiently ſhewed by the ſcripture, that the eſſence of the one God which belongeth to the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghoſt, is ſingle and undivided: again, that the Father by a certain property differeth from the Son, and the Son from the holy Ghoſt: we ſhall ſtop up the gate not only againſt Arius and Sabellius, but alſo the other antient authors of errors. But becauſe in our time there are riſen up certain fanciful men, as Serveto and others of the ſame ſtamp, who have encumbred all things with new deceits: it is good in few words to diſcuſs their falſhoods. The name of the Trinity was ſo hateful, yea, ſo deteſtable to Serveto, that he ſaid, that all the Trinitaries, as he called them, were utterly godleſs. I omit the fooliſh words that he had deviſed to rail withal. But of his opinion this was the ſum. That God is made Tripartite, when it is ſaid, that there abideth three perſons in his eſſence, and that this Trinity is but a thing imagined, becauſe it diſagreeth with the unity of God. In the mean time the perſons he would have to be certain outward conceptions of form, which are not truly ſubſiſting in the eſſence of God, but do repreſent God unto us in this or that faſhion. And at the beginning that there was in God nothing diſtinct, becauſe once the Word and the Spirit were all one: but ſince that Chriſt aroſe God out of God, the holy Ghoſt ſprung alſo another God out of him. And though ſometimes he colour his follies with allegories, as when he ſaith, that the eternal Word of God was the Spirit of Chriſt with God, and the bright ſhining of his form: Again, that the holy Ghoſt was the ſhadow of the Godhead; yet afterwards he bringeth the Godhead of them both to nothing, affirming that after the rate of diſtribution, there is both in the Son and in the holy Spirit a part of God, even as the ſame ſpirit in us, and alſo in wood and ſtones, is ſubſtantially a portion of God. What he bableth of the perſon of the Mediator, we ſhall hereafter ſee in place convenient. But this monſtrous forged device, that a perſon is nothing elſe but a viſible form of the glory of God, needeth no long confutation. For whereas John pronounceth, that the Word was God before the world was yet created, John i. 1. he maketh it much differing from a conception of form. But if then alſo, yea, and from fartheſt eternity of time, that Word which was God was with the Father, and had his own proper glory with the Father, he could not be an outward or figurative ſhining: but it neceſſarily followeth that he was an hypoſtaſis that did inwardly abide in God. And although there be no mention made of the Spirit, but in the hiſtory of the creation of the world, yet he is not there brought in as a ſhadow, but an eſſential power of God, when Moſes ſheweth that the very unfaſhioned lump was ſuſtained in him. Gen. i. 2. Therefore it then appeared, that the eternal Spirit was always in God, when he preſerved and ſuſtained the confuſed matter of heaven and earth, until beauty and order were added unto it. Surely he could not yet be an image or repreſentation of God as Serveto dreameth. But in other points he is compelled more openly to diſcloſe his wickedneſs, in ſaying, that God by his eternal purpoſe appointing to himſelf a viſible Son, did by this means ſhew himſelf viſible. For if that be true, there is no other Godhead left unto Chriſt, but ſo far as he is by the eternal decree of God ordained his Son. Moreover, he ſo transformeth thoſe imagined ſhapes, that he ſticketh not to feign new accidents in God. But this of all other is moſt abominable, that he confuſedly mingleth as well the Son of God, as the holy Ghoſt, with all creatures. For he plainly affirmeth, that there be part, and partitions in the eſſence of God, of which every portion is God. And namely he ſaith, that the ſpirits of the faithful are coeternal and conſubſtantial with God: altho' in another place he aſſigneth the ſubſtantial Deity, not only to the ſoul of man, but alſo to other creatures.

That the eſſence of God doth not

23. Out of this ſink came forth another like monſter. For certain lewd men meaning to eſcape the hatred

belong to the Father only.

hatred and ſhame of the wickedneſs of Serveto, have indeed confeſſed, that there are three perſons, but adding a manner how: that the Father who truly and properly is the one only God, informing the Son and the holy Ghoſt, hath poured his Godhead into them. Yea, they forbear not this horrible manner of ſpeech, that the Father is by this mark diſtinguiſhed from the Son and the holy Ghoſt, that he is the only eſſentiator or maker of the eſſence. Firſt they pretend this colour, that Chriſt is every were called the Son of God: whereof they gather, that there is none other properly God but the Father. But they mark not, that though the name of God be alſo common to the Son, yet by reaſon of preeminence it is ſometimes given to the Father only, becauſe he is the fountain and original of the Deity, and that for this purpoſe, to make the ſingle unity of the eſſence to be thereby noted. They take exception and ſay, If he be truly the Son of God, it is inconvenient to have him reckoned the Son of a perſon. I anſwer that both are true: that is, that he is the Son of God, becauſe he is the Word begotten of the Father before all worlds (for we come not yet to ſpeak of the perſon of the Mediator) and yet for explication's ſake we ought to have regard to the perſon, that the name of God be not taken ſimply but for the Father only. For if we mean none to be God but the Father, we plainly throw down the Son from the degree of God. Therefore ſo often as mention is made of the Godhead, we muſt not admit of a compariſon between the Son and the Father, as though the name of God did belong only to the Father. For truly the God that appeared to Iſaiah was the true and only God, Iſa. vi. 1. and yet John affirmeth that the ſame was Chriſt, John xii. 41. And he that by the mouth of Iſaiah teſtified, That he ſhould be a ſtumbling ſtone to the Jews, Iſa. viii. 14. was the only God: and yet Paul pronounceth that the ſame was Chriſt, Rom. ix. 33. He that crieth out by Iſaiah, I live, and to me every knee ſhall bow, (Iſa. xlv. 23.) is the only God: and yet Paul expoundeth that the ſame was Chriſt, Rom. xiv. 11. For this purpoſe ſerve the teſtimonies that the apoſtle reciteth, Heb. i. 10. "Thou, O God, haſt laid the foundations of heaven and earth, Pſal. cii. 26." Again, "Let all the angels of God worſhip him, Pſal. xcvii. 7." which things belong to none, but to the only God. And yet he ſaith, that they are the proper titles of Chriſt. And this cavil is nothing worth, that that is given to Chriſt, which is proper to God, becauſe Chriſt is the ſhining brightneſs of his glory. For becauſe in each of theſe places is ſet the name of Jehovah, it followeth, that it is ſo ſaid in reſpect that he is God of himſelf. For if he be Jehovah, it cannot be denied that he is the ſame God that in another place crieth out by Iſaiah, "I, I am, and beſide me there is no God, Iſa. xliv. 6." It is good alſo to conſider that ſaying of Jeremiah, "The gods that have not made the heaven and earth, let them periſh out of the earth that is under heaven, Jer. x. 11." Whereas on the other ſide we muſt needs confeſs, that the Son of God is he, whoſe Godhead is often proved in Iſaiah by the creation of the world. And how can it be that the Creator, who giveth being to all things, ſhall not be of himſelf, but borrow his being of another? For whoſoever ſaith that the Son was eſſentiate or made to be of his Father, denieth that he is of himſelf. But the holy Ghoſt ſaith the contrary, naming him Jehovah. Now if we grant that the whole eſſence is in the Father only, either it muſt be made partable, or be taken from the Son, and ſo ſhall the Son be ſpoiled of his eſſence, and be a God only in name and title. The eſſence of God, if we believe theſe triflers, belongeth only to the Father, for as much as he is only God, and is the eſſence-maker of the Son. And ſo ſhall the Godhead of the Son be an abſtract from the eſſence of God, or a derivation of a part out of the whole. Now muſt they needs grant by their own principle, that the holy Ghoſt is the Spirit of the Father only. For if he be a derivation from the firſt eſſence, which is only proper to the Father, of right he cannot be accounted the Spirit of the Son: which is confuted by the teſtimony of Paul, where he maketh the Spirit common to Chriſt and the Father. Moreover, if the perſon of the Father be wiped out of the Trinity, wherein ſhall he differ from the Son and holy Ghoſt, but in this, that he only is God? They confeſs Chriſt to be God, and yet they ſay, he differeth from the Father. Again, there muſt be ſome mark of difference to make that the Father be not the Son. They who affirm that mark of difference to be in the eſſence, do manifeſtly bring the true Godhead of Chriſt to nothing, which cannot be without eſſence, yea, and that the whole eſſence. The Father differeth not from the Son, unleſs he have ſomething proper to himſelf that is not common to the Son. What now will they find wherein to make him different? If the difference be in the eſſence, let them anſwer if he have not communicated the ſame to the Son. But that could not be in part, for to ſay that he made half a God were impious. Beſide that by this means they do wickedly tear in ſunder the eſſence of God. It remaineth therefore that the eſ-

ſence is whole, and perfectly common to the Father and the Son. And if that be true, then as touching the eſſence there is no difference of the one from the other. If they ſay, that the Father in giving his eſſence, remaineth nevertheleſs the only God, with whom the eſſence abideth; then Chriſt ſhall be a figurative God, and a God only in ſhew and in name but not in deed: becauſe nothing is more proper to God than to be, according to this ſaying, "HE THAT IS hath ſent me unto you, Exod. v. 13."

The arguments anſwered which are brought to prove the Father to be the only true God.

24. It is eaſy by many places to prove that it is falſe which they hold, that ſo oft as there is in ſcripture mention made abſolutely of God, none is meant thereby but the Father. And in thoſe places that they themſelves do allege, they manifeſtly diſcover their own want of conſideration, becauſe there is alſo ſet the name of the Son. Whereby appeareth, that the name of God is there relatively taken, and therefore reſtrained to the perſon of the Father. And their objection where they ſay, If the Father were not only the true God, he ſhould himſelf be his own Father, is anſwered with one word. It is not inconvenient for degree and order's ſake, that he be peculiarly called God who hath not only of himſelf begotten his wiſdom, but alſo is the God of the Mediator, as in place fit for it, I will more largely declare. For ſince Chriſt was openly ſhewed in the fleſh, he is called the Son of God, not only in reſpect that he was the eternal word, before all worlds begotten of the Father, Matth, xix. 17. but alſo becauſe he took upon him the perſon and office of the Mediator to join us unto God. And becauſe they ſo boldly excluded the Son from the honour of God, I would fain know whether the Son when he pronounceth, that none is good but God, doth take goodneſs from himſelf? I do not ſpeak of his human nature, leſt perhaps they ſhould take exception, and ſay, that whatſoever goodneſs was in it, it came of free gift. I aſk whether the eternal Word of God be good or no? If they ſay no, then we hold their ungodlineſs ſufficiently convinced: in ſaying yea, they confound themſelves. But whereas at the firſt ſight, Chriſt ſeemeth to put from himſelf the name of Good, that doth the more confirm our meaning. For ſince it is the ſingular title of God alone, foraſmuch as he was after the common manner ſaluted by the name of Good, in refuſing falſe honour, he did admoniſh them, that the goodneſs wherein he excelled, was the goodneſs that God hath. I aſk alſo, where Paul affirmeth that only God is immortal, wiſe, and true, 1 Tim. i. 17. whether by theſe words Chriſt be brought into the number of mortal, fooliſh, and falſe? Shall not he then be immortal, that from the beginning was life to give immortality to angels? Shall not he be wiſe, who is the eternal wiſdom of God? Phil. ii. 10. Shall not the truth itſelf be true? I aſk furthermore, whether they think that Chriſt ought to be worſhipped or no? For he claimeth this unto himſelf, to have every knee bow before him: it followeth that he is God who did in the law forbid any other to be worſhipped but himſelf. If they will have that meant of the Father only which is ſpoken in Iſaiah, "I am, and none but I, Iſa. xliv. 6." this teſtimony I turn againſt themſelves, foraſmuch as we ſee, that whatſoever pertaineth to God is given to Chriſt. And their cavil hath no place, that Chriſt was exalted in the fleſh, wherein he had been abaſed, and that in reſpect of the fleſh, "all authority is given him in heaven and in earth, Phil. ii. 7." becauſe although the majeſty of king and judge extend to the whole perſon of the Mediator, yet if he had not been God openly ſhewed in fleſh, he could not have been advanced to ſuch height, but that God ſhould have diſagreed with himſelf. But this controverſy Paul doth well take away, teaching that he was equal with God before he did abaſe himſelf under the ſhape of a ſervant. Now how could this equality have ſtood together, unleſs he had been the ſame God whoſe name is JAH and JEHOVAH: that rideth upon the Cherubin, that is King of all the earth and Lord of the worlds? Now howſoever they bable againſt it, it cannot be taken from Chriſt which Iſaiah ſaith in another place, Iſa. xxv. 9. "He, he, is our God, for him we have waited," whereas in theſe words he deſcribeth the coming of God the Redeemer, not only that ſhould bring home the people from the exile of Babylon, but alſo fully in all points to reſtore the church. And with their other cavil they nothing prevail, in ſaying, that Chriſt was God in his Father. For though we confeſs that in reſpect of order and degree the beginning of the Godhead is in the Father, yet we affirm that it is a deteſtable invention to ſay, that the eſſence is only proper to the Father, as though he were the only God-maker of the Son. For by this means either he ſhould have more eſſences than one, or elſe they call Chriſt God only in title and imagination. If they grant that Chriſt is God, but next after the Father, then ſhall the eſſence be in him begotten and faſhioned, which in the Father is unbegotten and unfaſhioned. I know that many ſcornful men do laugh at this that we gather the diſtinction of

perſons

persons out of the words of Moses, where he bringeth in God speaking thus, "Let us make man after our image, Gen. i. 26." But yet the godly readers do see how vainly and foolishly Moses should bring in this as a conference of divers together, if there were not in God more persons than one. Now certain it is, that they whom the Father spake unto, were uncreated: but nothing is uncreated but God himself, yea the one only God. Now therefore unless they grant that the power of creating was common, and the authority of commanding common, to the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghost: it shall follow that God did not inwardly thus speak to himself, but directed his speech to other foreign workmen. Finally, one place shall easily answer two of their objections. For whereas Christ himself pronounceth that God is a Spirit, this were not convenient to be restrained to the Father only, as if the Word himself were not of spiritual nature. If then the name of Spirit doth as well agree with the Son as with the Father, I gather that the Son is also comprehended under the infinite name of God. But he addeth presently after that, That none are allowed for good worshippers of the Father, but they who worship him in spirit and truth: whereupon followed another thing, because Christ doth under a head execute the office of a teacher, he doth give the name of God to the Father, not to the intent to destroy his own Godhead, but by degrees to lift us up unto it.

There is one indivisible divine essence, which is unbegotten, absolutely of itself and without beginning.

25. But in this they are deceived, that they dream of certain undivided singular things, whereof each hath a part of the essence. But by the scriptures, we teach, that there is but one essential God, and therefore that the essence as well of the Son as of the holy Ghost is unbegotten. But for so much as the Father is in order first and hath of himself begotten his Wisdom, therefore rightfully as is abovesaid, he is counted the original and fountain of all the Godhead. So God indefinitely spoken, is unbegotten, and the Father also in respect of person is unbegotten. And foolishly they think that they gather, that by our meaning is made a quaternity, because they ascribe in a false and cavilling manner unto us an invention of their own brain, as though we did allege that by derivation there come three persons out of one essence: whereas it is evident by our writings, that we do not draw the persons out of the essence, but although they be abiding in the essence we make a distinction between them. If the persons were separated from the essence, then perhaps their reasons were like to be true. By that means it should be a Trinity of Gods and not of persons, which one God containeth in him. So is their fond question answered, whether the essence do meet to make up the Trinity, as though we did imagine that there descended three Gods out of it. And this other exception of theirs is equally foolish, where they say, That then the Trinity, should be without God. For though it meet not to make up the distinction as a part or member, yet neither are the persons without it, nor out of it. Because the Father if he were not God could not be the Father, and the Son is none otherwise the Son but because he is God. We say therefore, that the Godhead is absolutely of itself. Whereby we grant that the Son in so much as he is God, is of himself without respect of his person, but in so much as he is the Son, we say that he is of the Father. So his essence is without beginning, but the beginning of his person is God himself. And all orthodox writers who in old time have spoken of the Trinity, have only applied this name to the Persons, for so much as it were not only an absurd error but also a piece of manifest impiety, to comprehend the essence in the distinction. For they that will have these three to meet, the Essence, the Son, and the holy Ghost, it is plain that they do destroy the essence of the Son and the holy Ghost, for else the parts joined together would fall in sunder, which is a fault in every distinction. Finally, if the Father and the Son were synonimous or several names signifying one thing, so the Father should be the God-maker, and nothing should remain in the Son but a shadow, and the Trinity should be nothing else, but the joining of one God with two creatures.

Christ though the Son of God, yet properly God not by a certain derived Deity, but by the same Godhead whereby his Father is God.

26. Whereas they object, that if Christ be properly God, he is not rightfully called the Son: to that we have already answered, that because in such places there is a comparison made of the one person to the other, the name of God is not there indefinitely taken, but restrained to the Father only, in so much as he is the beginning of the Godhead, not in making of essence as these mad-men do fondly imagine, but in respect of order. In this meaning is construed that saying of Christ to the Father, "This is life eternal, that men believe in the one true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent, John xvii. 3." For speaking in the person of the Mediator, he keepeth the degree that is mean

between

between God and man: and yet is not his majesty thereby diminished. For though he abased himself, yet he left not with the Father his glory that was hidden before the world. So the apostle in the second chapter to the Hebrews, though he confesseth that Christ for a short time was abased beneath the angels, yet he scrupleth not to affirm withal, that he is the same eternal God that founded the earth. We must therefore hold, that so oft as Christ in the person of the Mediator speaketh to the Father, under this name of God is comprehended the Godhead which is his also. So when he said to the apostles, "It is profitable that I go up to the Father, because the Father is greater, John xvi. 17." He giveth not unto himself only the second degree of Godhead to be as touching his eternal essence inferior to the Father, but because having obtained the heavenly glory, he gathereth together the faithful to the partaking of it. He setteth his Father in the higher degree, insomuch as the glorious perfection of brightness that appeareth in heaven, differeth from that measure of glory that was seen in him being clothed with flesh. After like manner in another place Paul saith, "That Christ shall yield up the kingdom to God and his Father, that God may be all in all, 1 Cor. xv. 24." There is nothing more absurd than to take away eternal continuance from the Godhead of Christ. If he shall never cease to be the Son of God, but shall alway remain the same that he was from the beginning, it followeth that under the name of Father, is comprehended the one essence that is common to them both. And surely therefore did Christ descend unto us, that lifting us up unto his Father, he might also lift us up unto himself, in asmuch as he is all one with his Father. It is therefore neither lawful nor right so exclusively to restrain the name of God to the Father, as to take it from the Son. For, John doth for this cause affirm that he is true God, that no man should think that he resteth in a second degree of Godhead beneath his Father. And I wonder what these framers of new gods do mean, that while they confess Christ to be true God, yet they forthwith exclude him from the Godhead of his Father. As though there could any be a true God but he that is the one God: or as though the Godhead poured from one to another, be not a certain new forged imagination.

Irenæus far from thinking the Father only and not the Son to be properly eternal God.

27. Whereas they heap up many places out of Irenæus, where he affirmeth that the Father of Christ is the only and eternal God of Israel: that is either done from a shameful ignorance, or from extreme wickedness. For they ought to have considered, that then the holy man had to do in disputation with those frantic men who denied that the Father of Christ was the same God that in old time spake by Moses and the prophets, but that he was I know not what imagined thing brought out of the corruption of the world. Therefore he labours wholly in this point, to make it plain that there is no other God preached of in the scripture but the Father of Christ, and that it is wrong to imagine any other, and therefore it is no wonder if he so often conclude that there was no other God of Israel, but he that was spoken of by Christ and the apostles. And in like manner now, whereas we are to oppose another sort of error, we may truly say that the God which in old time appeareth to the Fathers, was no other but Christ. But if any man object that it was the Father, our answer is in readiness, that when we strive to defend the Godhead of the Son, we exclude not the Father. If the readers take heed to this purpose of Irenæus, all that contention shall cease. And also by the sixth Chapter of the third book, this whole strife is ended, where the good man insists strongly on this point, to prove that he who is in scripture absolutely and indefinitely called God, is verily the one only God, and that Christ is absolutely called God. Let us remember that this was the principal point whereupon stood all his disputation, as by the whole process thereof doth appear: and specially the lxvi. Chapter of the second book, that he is not called the Father by dark similitude or parable, who is not very God in deed. Moreover in another place he saith, *lib.* iii. *cap.* 9. that as well the Son as the Father were jointly called God by the prophets and apostles, *Cap.* 12. *ejusdem lib.* Afterwards he defineth how Christ, who is Lord of all, and King, and God, and Judge, received power from him who is the God of all, that is to say, in respect of his subjection, because he was humbled even to the death of the cross. And a little after *cap.* 16. *ejusdem lib.* he affirmeth, that the Son is the maker of heaven and earth, who gave the law by the hand of Moses, and appeared to the fathers. Now if any man do prat that with Irenæus only the Father is the God of Israel, I will turn again upon him that which the same writer plainly teacheth, *Ibi. ca.* 18. & 23. that Christ is all one and the same: and also he applieth unto him the prophecy of Habakkuk: "God shall come out of the south." To the same purpose serveth that which is read in the ninth chapter of the fourth book. Christ himself therefore with the Father is the God of the living. And in the twelfth chapter of the same book he expoundeth that

that Abraham believed God, becauſe Chriſt is the the maker of heaven and earth and the only God.

Tertullian as far from that opinion.

28. And with no more truth do they bring in Tertullian for their defender. For though he be rough ſometimes and crabbed in his manner of ſpeech, yet doth he plainly teach the ſum of that doctrine which we defend. That is to ſay, whereas he is the one God, yet by diſpoſition and order he is his word: that there is but one God in unity of ſubſtance, and yet that the ſame unity by myſtery of orderly diſtribution is diſpoſed into Trinity, that there are three, not in ſtate, but in degree, not in ſubſtance, but in form, not in power, but in order. He ſaith that he defendeth the Son to be a ſecond next to the Father, but he meaneth him to be none other than the Father; but by way of diſtinction. In ſome places he ſaith that the Son is viſible. But when he hath reaſoned on both parts he defineth that he is inviſible in ſo much as he is the word. Finally where he affirmeth, that the Father is determined in his own perſon, he proveth himſelf far from that error which we confute. And though he doth acknowlege no other God but the Father, yet in the next piece of his writing expounding himſelf, he ſaith, that he ſpeaketh not excluſively in reſpect of the Son, becauſe he denyeth that the Son is any other God beſide the Father and that their ſole government is not broken by diſtinction of perſon. And from the perpetual courſe of his purpoſe it is eaſy to gather the meaning of his words. For he diſputeth againſt Praxeas, that though God be diſtinguiſhed into three perſons, yet are there not made many gods nor the unity torn in ſunder. And becauſe according to the romantic notion of Praxeas Chriſt could not be God, but he muſt alſo be the Father, therefore he ſo much laboureth about the diſtinction. Whereas he calleth the word and the Spirit a portion of the whole, although it be a hard kind of ſpeech, yet is it excuſable, becauſe it is not referred to the ſubſtance, but only ſheweth the diſpoſition and order that belongeth only to the Perſons, as Tertullian himſelf witneſſeth. And on this depends that: How many perſons thinkeſt thou there are, O moſt froward Praxeas, but even ſo many as there be names? And ſo a little after that, they may believe the Father and the Son each in their names and Perſons. Hereby I think may be ſufficiently confuted their impudence, who ſeek to beguile the ſimple with colour of Tertullian's authority.

The antient fathers of the church with general conſent teach Chriſt to be the ſame God with the Father.

29. And ſurely whoſoever ſhall compare together the writings of the antient authors, ſhall find no other thing in Irenæus, than that which hath been taught by others that came after him. Juſtin is one of the antienteſt, and he in all things doth agree with us. Yet let them object that he, as the reſt do, calleth the Father of Chriſt the only God The ſame thing doth Hilary teach, yea, and ſpeaketh more hardly, that the eternity is in the Father. But doth he that to take away the eſſence of God from the Son? And yet does he ſtrenuouſly defend the ſame faith which we embrace. Yet are they not aſhamed to pick out certain mangled ſentences whereby they would perſuade, that Hilary is a patron of their error. Whereas they bring in Ignatius: if they will have that to be of any authority, let them prove that the apoſtles made a law for lent and ſuch like corruptions of religion, nothing is more unſavoury than thoſe fond trifles that are publiſhed under the name of Ignatius. Wherefore there impudence is ſo much leſs tolerable who put on ſuch masks in order to deceive. Moreover the conſent of the antient fathers is plainly perceived by this, that at the council of Nice, Arius never durſt allege for himſelf the authority of any on allowed writer. And none of the Greekes or Latins doth excuſe himſelf and ſay, that he diſſenteth from them that went before. It is needleſs to mention that Auguſtin, whom theſe baſe men do moſt hate, hath diligently ſearched the writings of them all, and how reverently he did embrace them. Truly even in matters of leaſt weight he uſeth to ſhew what compelleth him to diſſent from them. And in this matter, if he had read any thing doubtful or dark in others he hideth it not. But the doctrine that theſe men ſtrive againſt, he taketh it as confeſſed, that from the remoteſt time of antiquity it hath been without controverſy embraced. And by one word it appeareth that he was not ignorant what others had taught before him, where he ſaith, that in the Father is unity, *viz.* in the firſt book of Chriſtian doctrine; will they pratingly ſay, that he then forgot himſelf? But in another place he clears himſelf of ſuch reproach, where he calleth the Father the beginning of the whole Godhead, becauſe he is of none: conſidering indeed wiſely, that the name of God is eſpecially aſcribed to the Father, becauſe if the beginning ſhould not be reckoned at him, the ſingle unity of God cannot be conceived. From what has been already advanced, it is hoped the pious reader will perceive, that all the cavils, with which Satan hath hitherto endeavoured to corrupt or darken the pure doctrine of truth, are plain-

ly confuted. Finally, I truſt that the principal things relating to this point of doctrine, will appear to have been fully enough declared, provided the readers will ſet bounds to curioſity, and will not ſeek with more keenneſs than becomes them for troubleſome and perplexed diſputations. For it is not my intention to pleaſe thoſe who are immoderately fond of ſpeculation. Truly I have omitted nothing of ſubtle purpoſe that I thought to make againſt me. But while I ſtudy to edify the church, I thought it beſt to leave many things untouched which were both of ſmall avail, and would put the readers to pain with the ſuperfluous tediouſneſs thereof. For, to what purpoſe, for inſtance, were it to diſpute, whether the Father doth always beget? Forasmuch as it is folly to imagine a continual act of begetting, ſince it is evident that from eternity there have been three perſons in God.

CHAP. XIV.

That the ſcripture, even in the creation of the world and of all things, doth by certain marks put a difference between the true God and falſe gods.

The creation of the world taught by Moſes, that men might know the God who made it, and not enquire why he made it no ſooner.

ALTHOUGH Iſaiah (chap. xl. 21.) doth juſtly reproach the worſhippers of falſe gods with ſlothfulneſs, in that they have not learned by the very foundations of the earth, and round compaſs of the heavens, which is the true God: yet ſuch is the dulneſs and groſſneſs of our underſtanding, that leſt the faithful ſhould fall away to the inventions of the Gentiles, it was neceſſary to have God more expreſly painted out unto them. For whereas the ſaying, that God is the mind of the world, which is reckoned the moſt tolerable deſcription that is found among the philoſophers, is but vain, it behoveth us more familiarly to know him, leſt we always waver in doubtfulneſs. Therefore it was his pleaſure to have a hiſtory of the creation remaining, whereupon the faith of the church might reſt, and ſeek for none other God but him, whom Moſes hath declared to be the maker and builder of the world. There is firſt ſet forth the time that by continual proceeding of years the faithful might come to the firſt original of mankind, and of all things. Which knowlege is very neceſſary, not only to confute the monſtrous fables that ſometime were ſpread in Egypt and other parts of the world, but alſo, that the beginning of the world once being known, the eternity of God may more clearly ſhine forth and raviſh us in admiration of it. Neither ought we to be any thing moved with that ungodly taunt, that it is ſurpriſing why it came no ſooner in the mind of God to make the heaven and the earth, and why he ſitting idle did ſuffer ſo immeaſurable a ſpace to paſs away, ſince he might have make it many thouſand ages before: whereas the whole continuance of the world that now draweth to an end, is not yet come to ſix thouſand years. For what reaſon God ſo long deferred it, is neither lawful nor expedient for us to enquire. Becauſe if the human mind will ſtrive to attain thereunto, it ſhall fail an hundred times by the way, neither were it profitable for us to know what God himſelf, on purpoſe to try the modeſty of our faith, has thought fit to conceal from us. And well did that pious old man ſpeak, who when a wanton fellow did in ſcorn demand of him, what God had done before the creation of the world, anſwered, that he builded hell for curious fools. Let this grave and ſevere warning curb the wantonneſs that tickleth many, yea, and driveth them to evil and dangerous ſpeculations. Finally, let us remember that the ſame inviſible God whoſe wiſdom, power and juſtice is incomprehenſible, doth ſet before us the hiſtory of Moſes as a looking-glaſs, wherein his lively image appeareth. For as the eyes that either are grown dim with age, or dull with any diſeaſe, do not diſcern any thing plainly, unleſs they be aſſiſted with ſpectacles: in like manner, ſuch is our weakneſs, that unleſs the ſcripture direct us in ſeeking of God, we do inſtantly run out into vanity. And they who follow their own wantonneſs, becauſe they are now warned in vain, ſhall all too late feel to their own horrible deſtruction, how much it had been better for them reverently to receive the ſecret counſels of God, than to vomit out blaſphemies to obſcure the heavens withal. And juſtly doth Auguſtin (*Lib. de gen. contra Ma.*) complain, that wrong is done to God when further cauſe of things is ſought for than his only will. The ſame man in another place (*De civit. Dei, lib.* 40.) doth wiſely warn us, that it is no leſs evil to move queſtion of immeaſurable ſpaces of times than of places. For how broad ſoever the circuit of the heaven

heaven is, yet is there ſome meaſure of it. Now, if one ſhould quarrel with God for that the emptineſs wherein nothing is contained, is an hundred times more, ſhall not all the godly abhor ſuch wantonneſs? They run into the like madneſs who buſy themſelves about God's ſitting ſtill, becauſe at their appointment he made not the world innumerable ages ſooner. To ſatisfy their own greedineſs of mind, they deſire to paſs without the compaſs of the world, as though in ſo large a circuit of heaven and earth, they could not find things enough that with their ineſtimable brightneſs may overwhelm all our ſenſes: as though in ſix thouſand years, God hath not ſhewed examples, in continual conſideration whereof, our minds may be exerciſed. Let us therefore willingly abide encloſed within thoſe bounds wherewith it pleaſed God to encompaſs us, and as it were to penn up our minds, that they ſhould not ſtray abroad with liberty of wandering.

The dividing of the creation into ſix days, the order of creating, and the manner which Moſes uſed in ſpeaking of God, do ſhew what we ought eſpecially to learn by that hiſtory.

2. For the ſame reaſon it is that Moſes declareth, that the work of God was not ended in a moment, but in ſix days. For by this circumſtance we are withdrawn from forged inventions to the only one God, who divided his works into ſix days, that it ſhould not grieve us to be occupied all the time of our life in conſidering of it. For though our eyes, what way ſoever we turn them, are compelled to look upon the works of God, yet ſee we how fickle our head is, and if any good thoughts do touch us, how ſoon they paſs away. Here again man's reaſon murmureth, as though ſuch proceedings were diſagreeing with the power of God, until ſuch time as being made ſubject to the obedience of faith, ſhe learn to keep that reſt whereunto the hallowing of the ſeventh day calleth us. But in the very order of things, is diligently to be conſidered the fatherly love of God towards mankind, in this; that he did not create Adam until he had ſtored the world with all plenty of good things: for if he had placed him in the earth while it was yet barren and empty, if he had given him life before there was any light, he ſhould have ſeemed not ſo well to provide for his accommodation. But now, whereas he firſt diſpoſed the motions of the ſun and the planets for the uſe of man, and furniſhed the earth, the waters and the air with living creatures, and brought forth abundance of fruits to ſuffice for food, taking upon him the care of a diligent and provident houſholder, he ſhewed his marvellous goodneſs towards us. If a man do with great care reſolve in his own mind thoſe things which I do but ſhortly touch, it ſhall appear that Moſes was the ſure witneſs and publiſher of one God the creator of all things. I omit here that which I have already declared, that he ſpeaketh not there only of the bare eſſence of God, but alſo ſetteth forth unto us his eternal Wiſdom and Spirit, to the end we ſhould not dream that God is any other, than ſuch as he will be known by the image which he hath there expreſſed.

The creation of angels is a thing neceſſary to be known, both becauſe they are the moſt noble part of God's works, and alſo becauſe there are a variety of errors concerning angels, which cannot without ſuch knowlege be refuted.

3. But before I begin to ſpeak more at large of the nature of man, I muſt ſay ſomewhat of angels. Becauſe, though Moſes ſuiting himſelf to the rudeneſs of the common people, reciteth in his hiſtory of the creation no other works of God, but ſuch as are ſeen with our eyes. Yet whereas afterwards he bringeth in angels for miniſters of God, we may eaſily gather, that God was the creator of them in whoſe ſervice they employ their labour and offices. Though therefore Moſes ſpeaking according to the capacity of the people, doth not at the very beginning rehearſe the angels among the creatures of God, yet that is no cauſe to the contrary, but that we may plainly and expreſsly ſpeak thoſe things of them, which the ſcripture in other places commonly teacheth. Becauſe if we deſire to know God by his works, ſo noble and excellent an example is not to be omitted. Beſides that, this point of doctrine is very neceſſary for the confuting of many errors. The excellency of the nature of angels hath ſo dazled the minds of many, that they thought the angels had wrong offered them, if they ſhould be made ſubject to the authority of one God, and brought as it were in obedience. And hereupon were they feigned to be gods. There roſe up alſo one Manichæus with his ſect, who formed to themſelves two original beginnings of things, God and the Devil, and to God he aſcribed the origin of good, and to the Devil the origin of evil. If our minds ſhould be entangled with this error, God ſhould not keep whole his glory in the creation of the world. But whereas nothing is more proper to God than eternity and ſelf-exiſtence, as I may ſo

term it, they who give that unto the Devil, do they not in a manner give him the title of Godhead? Now what becomes of the omnipotence of God, if such power, be granted to the Devil, that he may put in execution what he will, though God say nay and withstand it? As for the only foundation that the Manichees have, that it is unlawful to ascribe unto God who is good, the creation of any thing that is evil; that nothing hurteth the true faith, which admitteth not that there is any thing naturally evil in the whole universe, because neither the frowardness and malice both of man and the Devil, nor the sins that proceed thereof, are of nature, but of the corruption of nature. Neither was there any thing from the beginning wherein God hath not shewed an example both of his wisdom and justice, Therefore to answer those perverse devices, it behoveth us to lift up our minds higher that our eyes can attain to see. For which cause it is likely, that where in the Nicene creed God is called the creator of all things, things invisible are expressed. Yet will we be careful to keep the measure that the rule of godliness appointeth, lest the readers with searching to understand further than is expedient, should wander abroad being led away from the simplicity of faith. And surely, forasmuch as the Holy Ghost teacheth us always what is for our profit, and since what is of small avail to edification, he doth either leave wholly unspoken, or but lightly, and as it were cursorily touch; it will be also our duty to be content to be ignorant of those things which do not profit us.

Superfluous speculations, and curious questions about angels, are to be rewarded.

4. That the angels, for as much as they are the ministers of God ordained to execute his commandments, are also his creatures, is a truth which ought certainly to be held undeniable. To move doubt of the time and order that they were created in, would it not rather be a sign of meddling perverseness than of diligence! Moses declareth that the earth was made, and the heavens were made, with all their host, Gen. i. 2. to what purpose then is it, curiously to search, what day the other more secret host of heaven beside the stars and planets first began to be? But, because I will not be tedious, let us, as in the whole doctrine of religion, so here also remember that we ought to keep one rule of modesty and sobriety, that of obscure things we neither speak, nor think, nor yet desire to know any other thing than what hath been taught us by the word of God: and another point, that in reading of scripture we continually rest upon the searching and studying of such things as are plain and certain to edification, and not give ourselves to curiosity or study of things which are unprofitable. And because it was God's pleasure to instruct us, not in trifling questions, but in sound godliness, fear of his name, true confidence, and duties of holiness; let us content ourselves with such knowlege. Wherefore, if we will be truly wise, we must abandon those vanities which idle men have taught without warrant from the word of God, concerning the nature, degree, and multitude of angels. I know that such matters as this, are by many more fondly embraced, and are more pleasant unto them than such things as are of practice daily. But if it grieve us not to be the scholars of Christ, let it not grieve us to follow that order of learning which he hath appointed. By this means it shall come to pass, that being contented with his doctrine, we shall not only forbear, but also abhor superfluous speculations, from which he calleth us away. No body can deny, that the same Dionysius, whatsoever man he was, hath disputed many things both subtilly and smartly in his hierarchy of heaven: but if a man examine it more nicely, he shall find that for the most part it is but mere babling. But the duty and business of a divine is, not to delight men's ears with prating, but to establish their minds in the faith, by teaching them things that are true, certain, and profitable. If one should read that book, he would think that the man were dropped down from heaven, and did tell of things not that he had learned by hearsay, but that he had seen with his eyes. But Paul who was ravished above the third heaven, hath uttered no such thing, but also protesteth, that it was not lawful for a man to speak the secrets which he had seen. Therefore bidding adieu to that trifling sort of wisdom, let us consider by the simple doctrine of the scripture, what the Lord would have us know concerning his angels.

Angels in scripture, termed armies, potentates, principalities, powers, dominions, thrones, gods.

5. It is commonly read in the scripture, that the angels are heavenly spirits, whose ministration and service God useth for executing those things which he hath decreed. For which reason that name is given them, because God useth them as messengers, to shew himself unto men. And upon like reason are derived the other names that they are called by. They are named armies, because they do like a guard surround their prince, and do adorn and set forth the honourable shew of his Majesty, and like

like ſoldiers they are always attending upon the enſign of their captain, and are ever ſo prepared and in readineſs to do his commandments, that as ſoon as he doth but beckon to them, they prepare themſelves to work, or rather are at their work already. Such an image of the throne of God to ſet out his royalty, the other prophets do deſcribe, but principally Daniel, where he ſaith, that when God ſeated himſelf on his throne of judgment, there ſtood before him thouſands of thouſands, and ten thouſand times ten thouſand of angels, Dan. vii. 10. And becauſe God doth by them marvellouſly ſhew forth and declare the might and ſtrength of his hand, therefore they are named (Col. i. 10.) potentates or ſtrengths, becauſe he exerciſeth and uſeth his authority in the world by them, therefore they are ſometimes called (Eph. i. 21.) principalities, ſometimes powers, ſometimes dominions. Finally, becauſe in them as it were ſitteth the glory of God, for this cauſe alſo they are called thrones: though of this laſt name I will not certainly ſay, becauſe another expoſition doth either as well or better agree with it. But (ſpeaking nothing of that name) the holy Ghoſt often uſeth thoſe other former names to advance the dignity of the miniſtry of angels. For it were not reaſon that thoſe inſtruments ſhould be let paſs without honour, by whom God doth remarkably ſhow forth the preſence of his majeſty. Yea, for that reaſon they are many times called gods, becauſe in their miniſtry, as in a looking-glaſs, they partly repreſent unto us the Godhead. Although indeed I am not diſpleaſed with this expoſition which ſome ancient writers give, That Chriſt was the angel, where the ſcripture ſaith, (Gen. xviii. 32.) That the angel of God appeared unto Abraham, Jacob, Moſes, and others, yet oft times where mention is made of all the angels, this name is given unto them. And this ought not to ſeem ſurpriſing. Becauſe if this honour be given to princes and governors, (Pſal. lxxxii. 6.) that in their office ſtand in the ſtead of God who is the ſovereign king and judge, much greater cauſe there is why it ſhould be given to angels, in whom the brightneſs of the glory of God much more abundantly ſhineth.

The ſervice which angels do unto men.

6. But the ſcripture inſiſts chiefly upon teaching us that which might moſt contribute to our comfort and to the confirmation of faith: that is to ſay that the angels are the diſpenſers and inſtruments of God's bounty towards us. And therefore the ſcripture reciteth, that they watch for our ſafety; they take upon them the defence of us, they direct our ways, they take care that no evil come nigh us. The ſentences are univerſal, which principally pertain to Chriſt the head of the church, and then to all the faithful. Pſal. xci. 11. "He hath given his angels "charge of thee to keep thee in all thy ways: they "ſhall bear thee up in their hands, leſt thou daſh "thy foot againſt a ſtone." Again, Pſal. xxxiv. 8. "The angel of the Lord encampeth round about "them that fear him, and he delivereth them." Whereby God ſheweth that he appointeth to his angels the defence of them, whom he hath taken in hand to keep. After this order the angel of the Lord, (Gen. xvi. 9.) doth comfort Agar, when ſhe fled away, and commandeth her to be reconciled to her miſtreſs. God promiſeth to Abraham his ſervant (Gen. xxiv. 7.) an angel to be the guide of his journey. Jacob in bleſſing of Ephraim and Manaſſes, (Gen. xlviii. 16.) prayeth, that the angel of the Lord, by whom he himſelf had been delivered from all evil, may make them proſper. So the angel was ſet (Exod. xiv. 19. and xxiii. 20.) to defend the tents of the people of Iſrael. And ſo oft as it pleaſed God to reſcue Iſrael out of the hands of their enemies, he raiſed up deliverers by the miniſtry of angels. So finally (to the end I need not rehearſe many more) the angels miniſtred to Chriſt (Matth. iv. 11.) and were ready aſſiſtants to him in all neceſſities. They brought tidings to the women of his reſurrection, Luke xxii. 43. and to the diſciples of his glorious coming. Acts i. 10. And ſo to fulfil their office of defending us, they fight againſt the devil and all enemies, and do execute the vengeance of God upon them that are bent againſt us. As we read that the angel of God to deliver Jeruſalem from a ſiege, ſlew in one night a hundred fourſcore and five thouſand in the camp of the king of Aſſyria. 2 Kings xix. 35.

Whether every man have his peculiar angel to attend upon him, is an idle and a needleſs queſtion.

7. But whether to every of the faithful be a ſeveral angel aſſigned for their defence, I dare not certainly affirm. Surely when Daniel bringeth in the angel of the Perſians, and the angel of the Grecians, he ſheweth that he meant, that there are to kingdoms and provinces certain angels appointed as governors. And when Chriſt ſaith that the angels of Children do always behold the face of the Father, he ſeems to mean, that there are certain angels to whom the preſervation of them is given in charge. But I cannot tell whether we ought from that to gather, that every one hath his angel ſet over him. But this is to be holden for certainty, that not one angel only hath

care of every one of us, but that they all by one conſent do watch for our ſafety. For it is ſpoken of all the angels together, Luke xv. 7. that they more rejoice of one ſinner converted to repentance, than of ninety and nine juſt perſons that have not departed from their righteouſneſs. And it is ſaid of more angels than one, Luke xvi. 23. that they conveyed the ſoul of Lazarus into the boſom of Abraham. And not without cauſe did Eliſeus (2 King xvi. 17.) ſhew to his ſervant ſo many fiery chariots that were peculiarly appointed for him. But one place there is that ſeemeth more plain than the reſt to prove this point. For when Peter being brought out of priſon knocked at the doors of the houſe where the brethren were aſſembled, when they could not imagine that it was he, they ſaid it was his angel. It ſhould ſeem that this came in their mind by the common opinion, that to every of the faithful are aſſigned their angels for governors. Although however it may be anſwered here, that it may well be, notwithſtanding any thing that there appeareth, that we may think it was any one angel, to whom God had given charge of Peter for that time, and yet not to be his continual keeper, Acts. xii. 15. as the common people do imagine that there are appointed to every one two angels, as it were divers ghoſts, a good angel and a bad. But it is not worth while, curiouſly to ſearch for that which doth not much concern us to know. For if this do not content a man, that all degrees of the heavenly hoſt do watch for his ſafety, I do not ſee what he can be the better, if he underſtand that there is one angel peculiarly appointed to keep him. And they who reſtrain unto one angel the care that God hath to every one of us, do great wrong to themſelves, and to all the members of the church: as if that power to ſuccour us had been vainly promiſed us, wherewith being encompaſſed and defended, we ſhould fight the more boldly.

The different degrees of honour amongſt Angels, & the certainty of their number are things unknown.

8. They that dare take upon them to define the multitude and degrees of Angels, let them look well what foundation they have. I grant Michael is called in Daniel, the Great Prince, and with Jude, the Archangel. And Paul ſaith, it ſhall be an Archangel that ſhall with ſound of trumpet call men to judgment. But who can thereby appoint the degrees of honours between Angels, or diſtinguiſh one from another by ſpecial marks, and appoint every one his place and ſtation? For the two names that are in ſcripture, Michael, and Gabriel; and if you pleaſe to add the third out of the hiſtory of Tobit, may by their ſignification ſeem to be given to the Angels, according to the capacity of our weakneſs, although I had rather leave that expoſition at large. As for the number of them, we hear from Chriſt's mouth of many legions, Mat. xxvi. 55. from Daniel of many companys of ten thouſands; Dan. vii. 10. the ſervant of Elizeus ſaw many chariots full: and this declareth that they are a great multitude, that it is ſaid, that do encamp round about them that fear God. Pſal. xxxiv 8. As for ſhape, it is certain, that ſpirits have none, and yet the ſcripture for the capacity of our underſtanding doth not in vain under Cherubin and Seraphin repreſent to us Angels with wings, to the intent we ſhould not doubt that they will be ever with incredible ſwiftneſs, ready to ſuccour us, ſo ſoon as need ſhall require, as if the lightning ſent from heaven ſhould flie unto us with ſuch ſwiftneſs as it is wont. Whatſoever more than this may be ſought of both theſe points, let us believe it to be of that ſort of myſteries, whereof the full revelation is deferred to the laſt day. Wherefore let us remember to take heed both of too much curioſity in ſearching and too much boldneſs in ſpeaking.

Againſt the opinion of the Sadducees, who denied that there are any ſuch ſpirits as we call angels.

9. But this one thing which many troubleſome men do call in queſtion, is to be holden for certainty, that angels are miniſtring ſpirits, whoſe ſervice God uſeth for the defence of his, and by whom he both diſtributeth his benefits among men, and alſo putteth his other works in execution. It was in the old time the opinion of the Sadducees, that by angels is meant nothing elſe, but either the motions that God doth inſpire in men, or the tokens that he ſheweth of his power. But againſt this error cry out ſo many teſtimonies of ſcripture, that it is ſurpriſing that ſo groſs ignorance could be allowed in that people. For to omit thoſe places that I have before alleged, where are recited thouſands of legions of angels; where joy is given unto them: where it is ſaid that they uphold the faithful with their hands, and carry their ſouls into reſt: that they ſee the face of the Father, and ſuch like: there are other places whereby it is clearly proved, that they are indeed ſpirits of a nature that hath ſubſtance. For whereas (Acts viii. 53.) Steven and (Gal. iii. 19.) that the law was given by the hand of angels; and Chriſt ſaith, that the elect after the reſurrection ſhall be like unto angels, Matth. xxii. 30. that the day of judgment is not known to the very

very angels, Luke ix. 26. that he ſhall then come with his holy angels; however they be wreſted yet muſt they be ſo underſtood. Likewiſe, when Paul chargeth Timothy (1 Tim. v. 21.) before Chriſt and his choſen angels, to keep his commandments, he meaneth not qualities or inſpirations without ſubſtance, but very ſpirits. And otherwiſe it is inconſiſtent what is written in the epiſtle to the Hebrews, (Heb. i. 4. and ii. 16.) that Chriſt is become more excellent than angels, that the world is not made ſubject unto them; that Chriſt took upon him not their nature, but the nature of man. If we mean not the bleſſed ſpirits to whom may theſe compariſons agree? And the author of the epiſtle expoundeth himſelf, (Heb. xii. 22.) where he placeth in the kingdom of heaven the ſouls of the faithful and the holy angels together. Alſo the ſame that we have already alleged, that the angels of children do always behold the face of God; that they do rejoice at our ſafety, that they wonder at the manifold grace of God in the church; that they are ſubject to Chriſt the head. To the ſame purpoſe ſerveth this, that they ſo oft appeared to the holy fathers in the form of men; that they talked with them, that they were lodged with them. And Chriſt himſelf for the principal pre-eminence that he hath in the perſon of the mediator, is called an angel. This I thought proper to touch by the way, to furniſh the ſimple with defence againſt the fooliſh and unreaſonable opinions, which many ages ago raiſed by Satan do now and then ſpring up again.

That which angels do for us, muſt not cauſe us to render the honour unto them that we owe to God.

10. Now it remains, that we ſeek to meet with that ſuperſtition which is commonly wont to creep in, where it is ſaid, that angels are the miniſters and diſpenſers of all good things unto us. For by and by man's reaſon falleth to this point, to think, that therefore all honour ought to be given them. So cometh it to paſs that thoſe things which belong only to God and Chriſt, are conveyed away to angels. By this means we ſee that in certain ages paſt, the glory of Chriſt hath been many ways obſcured, when angels, without warrant from God's word, were loaded with immeaſurable titles of honour. And of all the vices that we ſpeak againſt, there is almoſt none more antient than this. For it appeareth that Paul himſelf had much to do with ſome, who ſo advanced angels, that they in a manner would have brought Chriſt under ſubjection. And therefore he doth ſo carefully preſs this point in his epiſtle to the Coloſſians, that Chriſt is not only to be preferred before all angels, but that he is alſo the author of all the good things that they have: to the end we ſhould not forſake him and turn unto them, who cannot ſufficiently help themſelves, but are fain to draw out of the ſame fountain that we do. Surely foraſmuch as there ſhineth in them a certain brightneſs of the majeſty of God, there is nothing to which we are more prone, than with a certain admiration to fall down in worſhipping of them, and to give unto them all things that are due only to God. Which thing John in the Revelation confeſſeth to have happened to himſelf, but he addeth withal, that he received this anſwer; "See thou do it not; for I am thy fellow-ſervant. Worſhip God."

Our frailty is the cauſe why God who might do all things for us by himſelf, doth ſo many things by the miniſtry of his angels.

11. But this danger we ſhall well beware of, if we do conſider why God uſeth rather by them, than by himſelf without their ſervice to declare his power, to provide for the ſafety of the faithful, and to communicate the gifts of his goodneſs among them. Surely he doth not this of neceſſity, as though he could not act without them: for ſo oft as pleaſeth him, he letteth them alone, and bringeth his work to paſs only with a beck: ſo far is he from needing any aſſiſtance from them in order to facilitate his work. This therefore maketh for the comfort of our weakneſs, ſo that we want nothing that may avail our minds, either in raiſing them up in good hope, or confirming them in aſſurance. This one thing ought to be more than ſufficient for us, that the Lord declares that he himſelf is our protector. But while we ſee ourſelves beſet with ſo many dangers, with ſo many hurtful things, and with ſo many kinds of enemies, it may be (ſuch is our weakneſs and frailty) that we are ſometimes filled with trembling fear, or fall into deſpair, unleſs God, according to the proportion of our capacity, do make us to conceive his preſence with us. For this reaſon he not only promiſeth that he will take care of us himſelf, but alſo that he hath an innumerable guard of angels whom he hath charged to watch for our ſafety, and that ſo long as we are compaſſed with the garriſon and ſupport of them whatſoever danger happeneth, we are out of all reach of hurt. I grant we do wrong, when after this ſimple promiſe of the protection of God himſelf, we ſtill look about from whence other help may come unto us. But foraſmuch as it pleaſeth the Lord, of his infinite mercy and goodneſs, to help this our fault, there is no reaſon why we ſhould

neglect

neglect ſo great a benefit of his. An example thereof we have in the ſervant of Eliſeus, who when he ſaw the hill beſieged with the army of the Syrians, and that there was no way left to eſcape, was ſtruck down with fear, as if his maſter and he were then utterly deſtroyed. Then Eliſeus prayed to God to open his ſervant's eyes, and by and by he ſaw the hill covered with horſes and fiery chariots, that is, with a multitude of angels to keep him and the prophet ſafe. 2 Kings vi. 17. Encouraged with this viſion, he gathered up his heart again, and was able with an undaunted mind to look down upon his enemies, with a ſight of whom he was before in a manner driven out of his ſenſes.

That which God doth uſe to relieve our weakneſs, muſt not cauſe us to diminiſh his glory.

12. Wherefore whatſoever is ſaid of the miniſtry of angels, let us apply it to this end, that overcoming all diſtruſt, our hope may be the more ſtrongly fixed in God. For theſe ſuccours are therefore provided us of God, that we ſhould not be terrified with the multitude of enemies, as though they could prevail againſt his help, but ſhould flie unto that ſaying of Eliſeus, that there are more on our ſide than be againſt us. How much then is it againſt order of reaſon, that we ſhould be led away from God by angels, who are ordained for this purpoſe, to teſtify that his help is more preſent among us? But they do lead us away indeed, if they do not ſtraight lead us as it were by the hand to him, that we may have eye unto, call upon, and publiſh him for our only helper: if we conſider not them to be as his hands that move themſelves to no work but by his direction: if they do not hold us faſt in the one mediator Chriſt, ſo that we may depend wholly upon, lean all upon him, be carried to him and reſt in him. For that which is deſcribed in the viſion of Jacob, Gen. xxviii. 12. ought to ſtick and be faſtened in our minds, how angels deſcend down to the earth unto men, and from men do go up to heaven by a ladder, whereupon ſtandeth the Lord of hoſts. Whereby is meant, that by the only interceſſion of Chriſt it cometh to paſs, that the miniſteries of the angels do come unto us, as he himſelf affirmeth, ſaying: "Hereafter ye ſhall ſee the "heavens open and the angels deſcending upon "the Son of Man," John i. 51. Therefore the ſervant of Abraham being committed to the cuſtody of the angel, (Gen xxiv. 7.) doth not therefore call upon the angel to help him, but aſſiſted with that commendation, he prayeth to the Lord, and beſeecheth him to ſhew his mercy to Abraham. For as God doth not therefore make them miniſters of his power and goodneſs, to the intent to part his glory with them: ſo doth he not therefore promiſe us his aſſiſtance in their miniſtration, that we ſhould divide our confidence between him and them. Let us therefore forſake that Platonical philoſophy, *(Plato in Epynonide & Cratilo.)* to ſeek the way of God by angels, and to honour them for this purpoſe, that they may make God more propitious unto us, which ſuperſtitious and curious men have from the beginning gone about, and to this day do continue to bring into our religion.

That which the ſcripture hath concerning devils is to make us watchful, not to diſcourage us.

13. As for ſuch things as the ſcripture teacheth concerning devils, they tend in a manner alſo to this end, that we may be careful to beware aforehand of their ſnares and preparations, and furniſh ourſelves with ſuch weapons as are ſtrong and ſure enough to drive away even the ſtrongeſt enemies. For whereas Satan is called the God and prince of the world, whereas he is named the ſtrong armed man, the ſpirit that hath power of the air, and a roaring lyon: theſe deſcriptions ſerve to no other purpoſe, but to make us more wary and watchful, and readier to enter in battle with him. Which is alſo ſometimes ſet out in expreſs words. For Peter, after he had ſaid, that the devil goeth about like a roaring lyon, ſeeking whom he may devour, by and by addeth this exhortation, "Whom reſiſt, ſtedfaſt in the faith." And Paul, after he had given warning that we wreſtle not with fleſh and blood, but with the princes of the air, the powers of darkneſs, and ſpiritual wickedneſſes, by and by exhorteth us to put on ſuch armour as may ſerve for ſo great and dangerous a conflict. Wherefore let us alſo apply all to this end, that being warned how there doth continually approach upon us an enemy, yea, an enemy that is in courage moſt hardy, in ſtrength moſt mighty, in cunning devices moſt ſubtle, in diligence and ſpeed indefatigable, with all ſorts of engines plenteouſly furniſhed, in ſkill of war moſt ready, we ſuffer not ourſelves by ſloth and cowardice to be ſurpriſed, but on the other ſide with bold and hardy minds ſet our foot to reſiſt him (and becauſe this war is only ended by death) encourage ourſelves to continue. But ſpecially knowing our own weakneſs and unſkilfulneſs, let us call upon the help of God and undertake nothing but upon truſt of him, foraſmuch as it is in him only to give us wiſdom, ſtrength, courage and armour.

14. And

The reaſon why ſometimes many devils, and ſometimes only one is mentioned.

14. And that we ſhould be the more ſtirred up and enforced ſo to do, the ſcripture warneth us, that there are not one or two or a few enemies, but great armies that make war with us. For it is ſaid, that Mary Magdalene (Mark xvi. 9.) was delivered from ſeven devils, wherewith ſhe was poſſeſſed. And Chriſt ſaith, (Matth. xii. 42.) that it is the ordinary cuſtom, that if after a devil be once caſt out, a man make the place open again, he bringeth ſeven ſpirits worſe than himſelf, and returneth into his poſſeſſion, finding it empty. Yea, it is ſaid (Luke viii. 30.) that a whole legion beſieged one man. Hereby therefore we are taught, that we muſt fight with an infinite multitude of enemies, leſt deſpiſing the fewneſs of them, we ſhould be more ſlack to enter in battle, or thinking that we have ſome reſpite in the mean time granted, we ſhould give ourſelves to idleneſs. Whereas many times Satan or the devil is named in the ſingular number, thereby is meant that power of wickedneſs which ſtandeth againſt the kingdom of juſtice. For as the church and the fellowſhip of ſaints have Chriſt to their head, ſo the faction of the wicked is repreſented to us with their prince, who hath the principal authority among them. After which manner this is ſpoken, "Go, ye curſed, into everlaſting fire that "is prepared for the devil and his angels." Matth. xxv. 41.

The malice of Satan being ſuch as it is, we muſt have unappeaſable war with him.

15. Here alſo this ought to ſtir us up to a perpetual war with the devil, for that he is every where called the enemy of God and of us. For if we have a regard to God's glory, as it is meet we ſhould, then ought we with all our force to bend ourſelves againſt him, who goeth about to extinguiſh it. If we be diſpoſed to maintain the kingdom of Chriſt as we ought, then muſt we needs have an unappeaſable war with him who conſpireth the ruin thereof. Again, if any care of our own ſafety do touch us, then ought we to have neither peace nor truce with him who continually lieth in wait for the deſtruction of it. Such a one is he deſcribed in the third chapter of Geneſis where he leadeth man away from the obedience that he did owe to God, that he both robbeth God of his due honour, and throweth man himſelf headlong into deſtruction. Such a one alſo is he ſet forth in the Evangeliſts, where he is called an enemy, and is ſaid to ſcatter tares, to corrupt the ſeed of eternal life. Mat. xiii. 28. In ſhort, that which Chriſt teſtifieth of him, that from the beginning he was a murtherer, and a liar, John viii. 44. we find by experience in all his actions. For he corrupteth the truth of God with lies, obſcureth the light with darkneſs, entangleth the minds of men with errors, raiſeth up hatreds, kindleth contentions and ſtrifes, doth all things to this end to overthrow the kingdom of God, and drown men with himſelf in eternal perdition. Whereby appeareth, that he is of nature froward, ſpiteful and malicious. For needs muſt there be great frowardneſs in that wit, that is made to oppoſe the glory of God and ſalvation of men. And that doth John ſpeak of in his epiſtle, when he writeth that he ſinneth from the beginning. For he meaneth that he is the author, leader and principal perpetratrator of all malice and wickedneſs.

Satan being at the firſt created good, hath ſwerved out of his kind by falling voluntarily from God.

16. But foraſmuch as the devil was created by God, let us remember that this malice which we aſcribe to his nature, is not by creation, but by depravation. For whatſoever damnable thing he hath, he hath gotten to himſelf by his own apoſtacy and fall: Which the ſcripture therefore gives us warning of, leaſt thinking that he came out ſuch a one from God, we ſhould aſcribe that to God himſelf which is fartheſt from him. For this reaſon doth Chriſt ſay that ſatan ſpeaketh of his own when he ſpeaketh lies, and addeth a cauſe why, "becauſe he abode not in the truth." John viii. 44. Now when he ſaith that he abode not in the truth, he ſheweth that once he had been in the truth. And when he maketh him the father of lying, he taketh this from him, that he cannot lay that fault to God whereof he himſelf is cauſe to himſelf. Although theſe things be but ſhortly and not very plainly ſpoken, yet this is enough for this purpoſe, to deliver the majeſty of God from all ſlander, And what does it avail to know more or to any other purpoſe concerning devils? Many perhaps do grudge, that the ſcripture doth not orderly and diſtinctly in many places ſet forth the fall, and the cauſe, manner, time, and faſhion, thereof. But becauſe theſe things do not concern us, it was better, if not to be ſuppreſſed wholly, yet to be but lightly touched, and that partly, becauſe it was not beſeeming for the holy Ghoſt to feed curioſity with vain hiſtories without any fruit: and we ſee that it was the Lord's purpoſe to put nothing in his holy oracles but that which we ſhould learn to edification. Therefore, leſt we ourſelves

should tarry long upon things superfluous, let us be content shortly to know thus much concerning the natures of devils that at the first creation they were the angels of God; but by departing wholly from God and goodness they both destroyed themselves and are become instruments of destruction to others. Thus much, because it was profitable to be known, is plainly taught in Peter and Jude. God spared not (say they) his angels which had sinned, and kept not their first state, but had forsaken their dwelling place. 2 Pet. ii. 4. Jude i. 6. And Paul naming the elect angels, doth without doubt secretly by implication set the reprobate angels in comparison against them. 1 Tim. v. 20.

That Satan stubbornly resisteth God, it is by God's own permission: but the will of God disposeth the effects which come from Satan, and turneth them to good.

17. As for the discord and strife that we say is between God and Satan, we must so understand it that still we hold this for certain, that he can do nothing but by the will and permission of God. For we read in the history of Job, (Job i. 6. and ii. 1.) that he presented himself before God to receive his commandments, and durst not go forward to do any enterprise till he had obtained leave. So when Ahab was to be deceived (1 Kings xxii. 29.) he took upon him that he would be the spirit of lying in the mouth of all the prophets, and so being sent of God he performed it. For this reason is he called the evil spirit of the Lord that tormented Saul, 1 Sam. xvi. 14. and xviii. 10. because by him as with a scourge the sins of the wicked king were punished. And in another place it is written, (Psalm xxxiv.) that the plagues were laid upon the Egyptians by the evil angels. According to these particular examples Paul doth generally testify, that the blinding of the wicked is the work of God, whereas before he had called it the working of Satan. 2 Thess. ii. 9. It is evident therefore that Satan is under the power of God, and so governed by his authority that he is compelled to do him service. Now when we say that Satan resisteth God, that the works of Satan disagree with the works of God, we do therewithal affirm that this disagreement and strife depends on the permission of God. I speak not now of his will, nor of his endeavour, but of the effect only. For since the devil is wicked of nature, he is not inclined to obey the will of God, but is wholly carried to stubbornness and rebellion. This therefore he hath of himself and of his own wickedness, that of desire and purpose he opposeth God. And by this wickedness he is stirred up to the undertaking those things which he knoweth to be most against God. But because God holdeth him fast tied and restrained by the bridle of his power, he executeth only those things that are permitted him by God. And so doth he obey his creator whether he will or no, because he is constrained to apply his service whithersoever God compelleth him.

Satan beareth not full sway over the faithful, over the wicked he reigneth at pleasure.

18. Now because God boweth the unclean spirits hither and thither as he pleaseth, he so manages this government, that they exercise the faithful with battle, they set upon them out of ambushes, they assault them with invasions, they press them with fighting, and oftentimes weary them, trouble them, make them afraid, and sometimes wound them, but never overcome nor oppress them. But the wicked they subdue and draw away, they reign upon their souls and bodies, and abuse them as bond-slaves to all mischievous deeds. As for the faithful because they are disturbed by such enemies, therefore they hear these exhortations. Do not give place to the devil. Eph. iv. 27. The devil your enemy goeth about as a roaring lyon, seeking whom he may devour, whom resist ye being strong in faith, 1 Pet. v. 8. and such like. Paul confesseth (2 Cor. xii. 7.) that he himself was not free from this kind of strife, when he saith, that for a remedy to tame pride, the angel of Satan was given to him by whom he might be humbled. This exercise therefore is common to all the children of God. But because that same promise of the breaking of Satan's head, Gen. iii. 15. pertaineth generally to Christ, and to all his members, therefore, I say, that the faithful can never be overcome nor oppressed by him. They are many times struck down, but they are never so confounded withal, but that they recover themselves. They fall down many times with violence of strokes, but but they are afterwards raised up again: they are wounded, but not deadly. Finally, they so labour in all the course of their life that in the end they obtain the victory: but I speak not this concerning every action of theirs. For we know that by the just vengeance of God David was for a time given over to Satan, by his motion to number the people: 2 Sam. xxiv. 1. & not without cause Paul saith there is hope of pardon, although any have been entangled with the snares of the devil. Therefore in another place the same apostle saith, that the promise above alleged is begun in this life, wherein we must wrestle, and is performed after our wrestling is ended:

when

when he ſaith, Rom. xvi. 20. the God of peace ſhall ſhortly bruiſe Satan under you feet. This victory hath always fully been in our head Chriſt, becauſe the prince of the world had nothing in him, but in us that are his members it doth now partly appear, and ſhall be perfectted when being unclothed of our fleſh by which we are yet ſubject to weakneſs, we ſhall be full of the power of the holy Ghoſt: in this manner when the kingdom of Chriſt is raiſed up and advanced, Satan with his power falleth down, as the Lord himſelf ſaith, Luke x. 18. "I ſaw Satan fall as lightening from heaven." For by this anſwer he confirmeth that which the apoſtles had reported of the power of his preaching. Again, Luke xii. 21. "When the prince poſſeſſeth "his own palace, all things that he poſſeſſeth are "in peace, but when their cometh a ſtronger, he "is caſt out, *&c.*" And to this end Chriſt in dying overcame Satan who had the power of death, and triumphed upon all his armies, that they ſhould not hurt the church, for otherwiſe they would every moment an hundred times deſtroy it. For (conſidering what is our weakneſs, and what is his furious ſtrength) how could we ſtand, yea never ſo little time, againſt his manifold and continual aſſaults, but being ſupported by the victory of our captain? Therefore God ſuffereth not the devil to reign over the ſouls of the faithful, but only delivereth him the wicked and unbelieving to govern, whom God doth not vouchſafe to have reckoned in his flock. For it is ſaid, that he poſſeſſeth this world without controverſy till he be thruſt out by Chriſt. Again, 2 Cor. iv. 4. that he doth blind all them that believe not the goſpel. Again, that he performeth his work in the ſtubborn children, Eph. ii. 2. and deſervedly, for all the wicked are the veſſels of his wrath. Therefore, to whom ſhould they be rather ſubject than to the miniſter of God's vengeance? Finally, they are ſaid to be of their father the devil, John viii. 44. becauſe as the faithful are hereby known to be the children of God, 1 Joh. iii. 8. becauſe they bear his image: ſo they by the image of Satan into which they are wholly fallen, are properly diſcerned to be his children.

Devils are really ſubſiſting ſpirits, and not affections only, or perturbations of the mind.

19. As we have before confuted that trifling philoſophy concerning the holy angels, which teacheth that they are nothing elſe but good inſpirations or motions, which God ſtirreth up in the minds of men: ſo in this place muſt we confute them who fondly ſay, that devils are nothing elſe but evil affections or perturbations of the mind, that are thruſt into us by our fleſh. That may we ſhortly do, becauſe there are many teſtimonies of ſcripture, and thoſe plain enough upon this point. Firſt, where the unclean ſpirits are called angels, apoſtates, who have departed wholly from their original, the very names do ſufficiently expreſs, that they are not motions or affections of minds, but rather indeed, as they are called, minds or ſpirits endowed with ſenſe and underſtanding. Likewiſe, whereas both Chriſt and John do compare the children of God with the children of the devil: were it not an unfit compariſon, if the name of the devil ſignified nothing elſe but evil inſpirations? And John addeth ſomewhat more plainly, that the devil ſinneth from the beginning. Likewiſe when Jude bringeth in Michael the archangel fighting with the devil, doubtleſs he ſetteth againſt the good angel an evil and rebellious angel. With which agreeth that which is read in the hiſtory of Job, (Job i. 6.) that Satan appeared with the holy angels before God. But moſt plain of all are thoſe places which make mention of the puniſhment which they begin to feel by the judgment of God, and ſpecially ſhall feel at the reſurrection. Matth. viii. 29. "Son of David, "why art thou come before the time to torment "us?" Again, Matth. xxv. 41. "Go, ye curſed, "into everlaſting fire, prepared for the devil and "and his angels." Again, Jude 19. "If he ſpared "not his own angels that had ſinned, but caſt them "down into hell, and delivered them into chains "of darkneſs, to be kept unto damnation, *&c.*" How fond ſhould theſe ſpeeches be, that the devils are ordained to eternal judgment, that fire is prepared for them, that they are now already prepared, for them, that they are now already tormented and vexed by the glory of Chriſt, if there were no devils at all? But becauſe the matter needeth no diſputation among them who believe the word of the Lord, and little good is done with teſtimonies of ſcripture among thoſe vain ſtudents of ſpeculation, whom nothing pleaſeth but that which is new: I ſuppoſe I have performed that which I purpoſed, that is, that the godly minds ſhould be furniſhed againſt ſuch fond errors, wherewith unquiet men do trouble both themſelves and others who are more ſimple. But it was good to touch this, leſt any entangled with that error, while they think they have none to ſtand againſt them, ſhould wax more ſlow and unprovided to reſiſt.

20. In the mean time time let it not be wearifome unto us, in this ſo beautiful a ſtage to take

The conſideration of things which

God hath created is fruitful.

godly delight of the manifeſt and ordinary works of God. For, as I have elſewhere already ſaid, though this be not the chief, yet is it in order the firſt doctrine of faith, to remember, that what way ſoever we turn our eyes, all that we ſee are the works of God, and with godly conſideration to conſider for what end God did make them. Therefore that we may conceive by faith ſo much as behoveth us to know of God, it is good firſt of all to learn the hiſtory of the creation of the world, how it is ſhortly related by Moſes, and afterwards more largely ſet out by holy men, ſpecially by Baſil and Ambroſe. From thence we ſhall learn that God by the power of his Word and Spirit created the heavens and the earth out of nothing, and thence produced all living creatures, and things without life, with marvellous order diſpoſed the innumerable variety of things, to every thing he gave the proper nature, aſſigned their offices, appointed their places and habitations, and whereas all things are ſubject to corruption, yet hath he ſo provided, that of all ſorts ſome ſhall be preſerved to the laſt day, and therefore ſome he cheriſheth by ſecret means, and poureth now and then as it were a new livelineſs into them, and to ſome he hath given the power to increaſe by generation, that in their dying that whole kind ſhould not die together. So hath he marvellouſly garniſhed the heaven and the earth, with ſo abſolutely perfect plenty, variety and beauty of all things as poſſibly might be, as it were a large and gorgeous houſe furniſhed and ſtored with abundance of moſt finely choſen ſtuff; laſt of all, how in framing man and adorning him with ſo goodly beauty, and with ſo many and ſo great gifts, he hath ſhewed in him the moſt excellent example of all his works. But becauſe it is not my purpoſe at this preſent to ſet forth at large the creation of the world, let it ſuffice to have once again touched theſe few things by the way. For it is better, as I have already warned the readers, to draw a fuller underſtanding of this matter out of Moſes, and others that have faithfully and diligently conveyed the hiſtory of the world by writing to perpetual memory.

The firſt thing that we are to conſider attentively when we behold the heaven and the earth is, what attributes of God there are preſented to be ſeen in creatures.

21. It is to no purpoſe, to make much ado in diſputing, to what end the conſideration of the works of God ought to tend, or to what mark it ought to be applied: foraſmuch as in other places already a great part of this queſtion is declared, and ſo much as belongeth to our preſent purpoſe may in few words be determined. Truly if we had a mind to ſet out as it is worthy, how ineſtimable wiſdom, power, juſtice, and goodneſs of God appeareth in the framing of the world, no eloquence, no garniſhment of ſpeech could ſuffice the largeneſs of ſo great a matter. And no doubt it is God's pleaſure that we ſhould be continually occupied in ſo holy a meditation, that while we behold in his creatures as in looking glaſſes the infinite riches of his wiſdom, juſtice, bounty and power, we ſhould not run over them, as it were with a flying eye, or with a vain wandering look, as I may ſo call it, but that we ſhould with conſideration dwell long upon them, revolve them earneſtly and faithfully in our minds, and oft repeat them, with remembrance But becauſe we are now employed in that kind of writing that relates to order of teaching, it is proper we omit thoſe things that require long declamations. Therefore, to be ſhort, let the readers know that then they have conceived by faith, what this meaneth that God is the creator of heaven and earth, if they firſt follow this univerſal rule, diligently to attend to and perpetually to call to mind thoſe excellencies which God preſenteth to be ſeen in his works then, that they ſo learn to apply themſelves that they may therewith be throughly moved in their hearts. The firſt of thoſe we do when we conſider how excellent an artificer's work it was to place and aptly ſet in ſo well diſpoſed order the multitude of the ſtars that is in heaven, that nothing can be deviſed more beautiful to behold: to ſet and fix ſome of them in their ſtations ſo that they cannot move, and to other ſome, to grant a free courſe, but ſo that moving they wander not beyond their appointed ſpace, ſo to temper the motion of them all, that it may divide in meaſure the days and nights, months, years, and ſeaſons of the year, and to bring this inequality of days which we daily ſee to ſuch a tempered order, that it hath no confuſion. Likewiſe, when we obſerve his power in ſuſtaining ſo great a body, in governing the ſo ſwift whirling about of the engine of heaven, and ſuch like. For theſe few examples do ſufficiently declare what it is to record the power of God in the creation of the world. For elſe, if I ſhould labour as I ſaid, to expreſs it all in words, I ſhould never make an end, foraſmuch as there are ſo many miracles of the power of God, ſo many tokens of his goodneſs, ſo many examples of his wiſdom, as there are forms of things in the world, yea as there

are

are things either great or ſmall.

The effect of our conſidering the creatures of God muſt be the feeling of his goodneſs toward ourſelves, and our growing thereby in faith, hope and godlineſs.

22. Now remaineth the other part which cometh nearer to faith, that while we conſider that God hath ordained all things for our protection and ſafety, and therewithal do feel his power and grace in our ſelves, and in ſo great good things that he hath beſtowed upon us: we may thereby ſtir up ourſelves to the truſt, invocation, praiſe and love of him. Now, as I have before ſaid, God himſelf hath ſhewed in the very order of creation, that for man's ſake he created all things. For it is not without cauſe that he divided the making of the world into ſix days, whereas it had been as eaſy for him in one moment to have in all points accompliſhed his whole work, as it was by ſuch proceeding from piece to piece to come to the end of it. But then it pleaſed him to ſhew his providence and fatherly care towards us, that before he made man he prepared all that he foreſaw ſhould be profitable for him and fit for his preſervation. How great unthankfulneſs now ſhould it be to doubt, whether this good Father doth care for us, whom we ſee to have been careful for us ere that we were born? How wicked were it to tremble for diſtruſt leſt his goodneſs would at any time leave us deſtitute in neceſſity, which we ſee was diſplayed for us being not yet born, with great abundance of all good things? Beſide that we hear by Moſes that by his liberality all that ever is in the world is made ſubject to us. Gen. i. 26. and i. 29. Sure it is that he did it not to mock us with an empty name of gift. Therefore we ſhall never lack any thing, ſo far as it ſhall be available for our preſervation. Finally, to make an end, ſo oft as we name God the creator of heaven and earth let this come in our minds withal, that the diſpoſition of all things which he hath created, is in his hand and power, and that we are his children whom he hath taken into his own charge and keeping to nouriſh and bring up: that we may look for all good things at his hand, and aſſuredly, that he will never ſuffer us to want ſuch things as are needful for our ſafety, to the end our hope ſhould depend upon no other but himſelf: that whatſoever we deſire, our prayers may be directed to him: of what thing ſoever we receive profit, we may acknowlege it to be his benefit, and confeſs it with thankſgiving: that being allured with ſo great ſweetneſs of his goodneſs and liberality, we may ſtudy to love and honour him with all our heart.

CHAP. XV.

What a one man was created: wherein there is treated of the powers of the ſoul, of the image of God, of free-will, and of the firſt integrity of nature.

Man's firſt excellency doth ſtop their mouths who blame God with man's fall, and his being made ſo excellent out of the earth, doth both humble him, and commend his maker.

NOW muſt we ſpeak of the creation of man, not only becauſe he is among all the works of God the moſt noble and moſt excellent example of his juſtice, wiſdom and goodneſs: but alſo becauſe, as we have ſaid in the beginning, we cannot plainly and perfectly know God, unleſs we have withal a mutual knowlege of ourſelves. Although the ſame knowlege be of two ſorts, the one know what we were created at the firſt beginning, the other to know what our eſtate began to be after the fall of Adam (for it were but to ſmall profit for us to know our creation, unleſs we did alſo in this lamentable fall know what is the corruption and deformity of our nature;) yet at this time we will be content with a deſcription of our nature when it was pure. And before we deſcend to this miſerable eſtate whereunto man is now in thraldom, it is good to learn what a one he was created at the beginning. For we muſt take heed that in preciſely declaring only the natural evils of man, we ſeem not to impute them to the Author of nature. For ungodlineſs thinketh herſelf to have ſufficient defence in this colour, if it may lay for herſelf that whatſoever fault ſhe hath, the ſame did after a certain maner proceed from God, and ſticketh not if ſhe be accuſed, to quarrel with God, and to lay the fault upon him whereof ſhe is worthily accuſed. And they that would ſeem to ſpeak ſomewhat more reverently of the majeſty of God, yet do willingly ſeek to excuſe their own wickedneſs by nature, not conſidering that therein though not openly, they blame God alſo, to whoſe reproach, it ſhould fall if it were proved that

there is any fault in nature. Since then we see that our flesh casteth about for all the ways to escape, whereby she thinketh the blame of her own evils may any way be put off from her, we must diligently labour to meet with this mischief. Therefore we must so handle the calamity of mankind, that we cut off all excuse, and deliver the justice of God from all accusation. Afterward in place convenient we shall see how far men are now from that pureness that was given to Adam. And first, we must remember, that in this that man was taken out of earth and clay, a bridle was put upon his pride, for there is no greater absurdity, than for them to glory in their excellency, who do not only dwell in a cottage of clay, but also are themselves in part but earth and ashes. but forasmuch as God did not not only vouchsafe to give life unto an earthen vessel, but also it was his pleasure that it should be the dwelling house of an immortal spirit, Adam might justly glory in so great liberality of his maker.

The soul of man many ways proved to be a spiritual and immortal substance.

2. Now it is not to be doubted that man consisteth of soul and body, and by the name of soul I mean an immortal essence and yet created, which is the nobler part of him. Sometimes it is called the spirit. Although when these two names soul and spirit are joined together, they differ one from the other in signification, yet when spirit is set by itself, it meaneth as much as soul. As when Solomon, Eccl. xii. 7. speaking of death, saith that then the spirit returneth to him that gave it. And Christ commending his spirit to his father, Luke xxiii. 46. and Stephen his spirit to Christ, Acts vii. 59. do both mean none other thing, but that when the soul is delivered from the prison of the flesh, God is the perpetual keeper of it. As for them who imagine that the soul is therefore called a spirit, because it is a breath or a power by God inspired or poured into bodies which yet hath no essence: but the thing itself, and all the scripture sheweth, that they do grosly err. True it is, that while men are fastened to the earth more than they ought to be, they wax dull, yea, because they are estranged from the Father of lights they are blinded with darkness, so that they do not think upon this, that they shall remain alive after death. And yet is not the light so quenched in darkness, but that they are touched with some feeling of immortality. Surely the conscience which discerning between good and evil, answereth the judgment of God, is an undoubted sign of an immortal Spirit. For how could a motion without essence attain to come to the judgment seat of God, and throw it self into fear by finding her own guiltiness? For the body is not moved with fear of a spiritual pain, but that falleth only upon the soul. Whereby it followeth, that the soul hath an essence. Moreover the very knowlege of God doth prove that the souls which ascend up above the world are immortal; for a vanishing liveliness were not able to attain to the fountain of life. Finally, forasmuch as so many excellent gifts wherewith man's mind is endowed, doth proclaim that there is some divine thing engraven in it, there are even so many testimonies of an immortal essence. For that sense which is in brute beasts, goeth not out of the body, or at least extendeth no further than to things presently before it. But the nimbleness of the mind of man which vieweth the heaven and earth and secrets of nature, and comprehending all ages in understanding and memory, digesteth every thing in order, and gathereth things to come by things past, doth plainly shew that there lieth hidden in man a certain thing distinct from the body. We conceive by understanding the invisible God and angels, which the body cannot do. We know things that are right, just, and honest, which are hidden from the bodily senses. Therefore it must needs be that the spirit is the seat of this understanding. Yea, and our sleep itself, which astonishes a man and seemeth to take life away from him, is a plain proof of immortality, forasmuch as it doth not only minister unto us, thoughts of those things that never were done, but also the foreknowlege of future events. I touch these things shortly, which even profane writers do excellently set out with greater embellishment of words; but with the godly readers a simple putting in mind of them shall be sufficient. Now if the soul were not a certain thing by itself distinct from the body, the scripture would not teach that we dwell in houses of clay, that by death we remove out of the tabernacle of the flesh, that we do put off that which is corruptible, finally at the last day we may receive reward every man as he hath behaved himself in his body. For these places and others that we do every where commonly light upon, do not only manifestly distinguish the soul from the body, but also in giving to the soul the name of man do shew that it is the principal part. Now whereas Paul doth exhort the faithful, 1 Cor. vii. 1. to cleanse themselves from all filthiness of the flesh and the spirit, he maketh two parts of man, in which abideth the filthiness of sin. And Peter, where (1 Pet. ii. 25.)

ii. 25.) he calleth Chriſt the ſhepherd and biſhop of ſouls, ſhould have ſpoken fondly if there were no ſouls about whom he might execute that office. Neither would that conveniently ſtand together which he ſaith (1 Pet. i. 9.) of the eternal ſalvation of ſouls, and where he biddeth to cleanſe our ſouls, 1 Pet. i. 3. and where he ſaith that evil deſires do fight againſt the ſoul, and where the author of the epiſtle to the Hebrews, (Heb. xiii. 16.) ſaith, that the paſtors do watch that they may yield account for our ſouls, unleſs it were true that ſouls had a proper eſſence. To the ſame purpoſe ſerveth it that Paul calleth God for witneſs to his own ſoul, becauſe it could not be called in judgment before God unleſs it were ſubject to puniſhment. And this is alſo more plainly expreſſed in the words of Chriſt, Luke xii. 5. when he biddeth us to fear him, who after that he hath killed the body, can caſt the ſoul into hell fire. Now where the auther of the epiſtle to the Hebrews doth diſtinguiſh the fathers of our fleſh from God, who is the only Father of ſpirits, he would not otherwiſe more plainly affirm the eſſence of ſouls. Moreover, if the ſouls remained not alive being delivered from the priſons of their bodies, Chriſt ſhould very fondly have brought in the ſoul of Lazarus joying in the boſom of Abraham, and again, the ſoul of the rich man ſubject to horrible torments, Luke xvi. 22. The ſame thing doth Paul confirm, when he teacheth, that we wander abroad from God, ſo long as we dwell in the fleſh, and that we enjoy his preſence being out of the fleſh. 2 Cor. v. But, becauſe I will not be long in a matter that is not obſcure, I will add only this out of Luke, (Acts xxiii. 8.) that it is reckoned among the errors of the Sadducees, that they did not believe that there were any ſpirits and angels.

Man was created like to God, not in the faſhion of his body, nor becauſe he was framed at the firſt according to the ſhape which the Son of God ſhould afterwards take upon him: nor becauſe he was like unto Chriſt, who is properly God's Image, but becauſe in his firſt integrity he reſembled the excellency of his creator.

3. Alſo a ſtrong proof hereof may be gathered of this, where it is ſaid, that man is created like to the image of God. For altho' the glory of God do appear in the outward ſhape of man, yet it is no doubt that the proper ſeat of the image of God is in the Soul. I do not deny that as concerning our outward ſhape, inaſmuch as the ſame doth diſtinguiſh and ſeparate us from brute beaſts, we do alſo therein more nearly approach to God than they: neither will I much ſtand againſt them who think that this is to be accounted of the image of God, that where all other living creatures do in a grovelling manner behold the ground, to man is given an upright face, and he is commanded to look upon the heaven, and to raiſe his countenance toward the ſtars: ſo that this remains certain, that the image of God which appeareth or ſhineth in theſe outward ſigns, is ſpritual. For Oſiander (whom his writings declare to have been in fickle imaginations fondly witty) referring the image of God without difference, as well to the body as to the Soul, mingleth heaven and earth together. For he ſaith, that the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghoſt did ſettle their image in man, becauſe though Adam had ſtood without falling yet ſhould Chriſt have become man. And ſo by their opinion the body that was appointed for Chriſt, was but an example or figure of that bodily ſhape which then was formed. But where ſhall we find that Chriſt is the image of the ſpirit? I grant indeed that in the perſon of the mediator ſhineth the glory of the whole Godhead. But how ſhall the eternal Word be called the image of the Spirit, whom he goeth before in order? Finally, it overthroweth the diſtinction between the Son and holy Ghoſt, if he do here call him his image. Moreover, I would fain learn of him how Chriſt doth reſemble the holy Ghoſt in the fleſh that he took upon him, and by what marks and features he doth expreſs the likeneſs of him. And whereas the ſaying, Let us make man after our image, Gen. i. 16. doth alſo belong to the perſon of the Son, it followeth, that he muſt be the image of himſelf, which is againſt all reaſon. Beſide that if Oſiander's invention be believed, man was faſhioned only after the figure and pattern of Chriſt in that he was man, and ſo that form out of which Adam was taken was Chriſt, in that that he was to be clothed with fleſh, whereas the ſcripture in a far other meaning teacheth, that he was made after the image of God. But their ſubtle invention is more colourable who do thus expound it, that Adam was created in the image of God, becauſe he was faſhioned like unto Chriſt, who is the only image of God. But that expoſition alſo is not ſound. Alſo ſome interpreters make a great diſputation about image and likeneſs, while they ſeek a difference between thoſe two words, where is no difference at all, ſaying that this word likeneſs is added to expound the other. Firſt, we know that among the Hebrews ſuch repetitions are common where they expreſs one thing twice: and in the thing itſelf there is no doubt, bnt that man is therefore called the image

mage of God, becauſe he is like to God, Whereby appeareth that they are to be laughed at, who do ſo ſubtilly argue about the words, whether they appoint *Zelem*, that is to ſay, image, in the ſubſtance of the ſoul, or *Demuth*, that is to ſay, likeneſs in the qualities, or what other thing ſoever it be that they teach. For whereas God determined to create man after his own image, this being ſomewhat darkly ſpoken, he doth as by way of explication repeat it in this ſaying, After his likeneſs: as if he would have ſaid, that he would make man, in whom he would repreſent himſelf as in an image, becauſe of the marks of likeneſs graven in him. And therefore Moſes a little after reciting the ſame thing, doth repeat the image of God twice, leaving out the name of likeneſs. And it is a trifling objection that Oſiander maketh, that not a part of man, or the ſoul only with the gifts thereof, is called the image of God, but the whole Adam who had his name given him of the earth, from whence he was taken. Trifling I ſay, will all readers that have their ſound judgment reckon this an objection. Forwhere whole man is called mortal, yet is not the ſoul thereby made ſubject to mortality. Again, where he is called a living creature endowed with reaſon, it is not thereby meant, that the body hath reaſon and underſtanding. Although therefore the ſoul is not the whole man, yet it is not inconvenient, that man in reſpect of the ſoul be called the image of God, although I hold ſtill that principle which I have before eſtabliſhed, that the image of God extendeth to the whole excellency, whereby the nature of man hath pre-eminence among all kind of living creatures. Therefore in that word is noted the integrity that man had when he was endowed with right underſtanding, when he had his affection framed according to reaſon, and all his ſenſes governed in right order, and when in excellent gifts he did truly reſemble the excellency of his creator. And though the principal ſeat of the image of God were in the mind and heart, or in the ſoul and the powers thereof, yet was there no part of man, not ſo much as the body, wherein did not ſome ſparks thereof appear. Certain it is that alſo in all the parts of the world, there do ſhine ſome reſemblance of the glory of God: whereby we may gather that where it is ſaid, that his image is in man, there is in ſo ſaying a certain ſecret compariſon, that advanceth man above all other creatures, and doth as it were diſtinguiſh him from the common ſort. Neither is it to be denied, that the angels were made after the likeneſs of God; ſince (as Chriſt himſelf teſtifieth, Matth. xxii. 30.) our chief perfection ſhall be to become like unto them. But not without cauſe doth Moſes by that peculiar title ſet forth the grace of God toward us, ſpecially, where he compareth only viſible creatures with men.

4. But yet it ſeemeth that there is not given a full definition of the image of God, unleſs it more clearly appear in what qualities man excelleth: and whereby he ought to be counted a glaſs, reſembling the glory of God. But that can be by no other thing better known, than by the repairing of man's corrupted nature. Firſt, It is doubtleſs, that when Adam fell from his eſtate, he was by that departure eſtranged from God. Wherefore altho, we grant that the image of God was not altogether defaced and blotted out in him, yet was it ſo corrupted, that all that remaineth, is but ugly deformity. Therefore the beginning of recovery of ſafety for us, is in that reſtoring which we obtain by Chriſt, who is alſo for the ſame cauſe called the ſecond Adam, 1 Cor. xv. 14. becauſe he reſtored us unto true and perfect integrity. For altho' where Paul doth in compariſon ſet the quickening Spirit that Chriſt giveth to the faithful, againſt the living ſoul wherein Adam was created, he ſetteth forth the more abundant meaſure of grace in the regeneration: yet doth he not take away this other principal point, that this is the end of our regeneration, that Chriſt ſhould new-faſhion us to the image of God. Therefore in another place he teacheth, Col. iii. 10. that the new man is renewed according to the image of him that created him. Wherewith agreeth this ſaying: Put on the new man who is created according to God, Eph. iv. 24. Now it is to be ſeen what Paul doth principally comprehend under this renewing. Firſt, He ſpeaketh of knowlege, and after of pure righteouſneſs and holineſs. Whereby we gather that the image of God was firſt of all to be ſeen in the light of the mind, in the uprightneſs of the heart, and ſoundneſs of all the parts. For altho' I grant that this is a figurative phraſe of ſpeech to ſet the part for the whole: yet cannot this principle be overthrown, that that thing which is the chief in the renewing image of God, was alſo the principal in the creation of him. And for the ſame purpoſe maketh it that in another place he teacheth, 2 Cor. iii. 18. That we, beholding the glory of God with open face, are transformed into the ſame image. Now do we ſee how Chriſt is the moſt perfect image of God, according to which we being faſhioned

The excellency wherein man reſembleth God, conſiſteth in knowlege, and holineſs, not in the number of the faculties of his mind, nor in the power which God gave him over other creatures.

faſhioned are ſo reſtored, that in true godlineſs, righteouſneſs, pureneſs, and underſtanding, we bear the image of God. Which principle being eſtabliſhed, Oſiander's imagination of the ſhape of our body doth eaſily vaniſh away of itſelf. Whereas the man alone is in Paul called the image and glory of God, 1 Cor. xi. 7. and the woman is excluded from that degree of honour, it appeareth by the reſt of the text, that the ſame is to be applyed only to civil order of policy. But that under the name of image, whereof we ſpeak, is comprehended all that belongeth to the ſpiritual and eternal life, I think is already ſufficiently proved. And the ſame thing doth John, (John i. 4.) confirm in other words; ſaying, that the light which was from the beginning in the eternal Word of God was the light of men. For where his purpoſe was to praiſe the ſingular grace of God, whereby man excelleth all living creatures, to diſtinguiſh him from the common ſort, becauſe he hath attained no common life, but joined with the light of underſtanding, he therewithal ſheweth how he was made after the image of God. Therefore ſince the image of God is the uncorrupted excellency of the nature of the nature of man, which ſhined in Adam before his fall, and afterward was ſo corrupted and almoſt defaced, that nothing remaineth ſince that ruin, but what is diſordered, mangled, and filthily ſpotted: yet the ſame doth in ſome part appear in the elect, in ſo much as they are regenerate, and ſhall obtain its full brightneſs in heaven. But that we may know on what parts it conſiſteth, it will be proper to treat of the powers of the ſoul. For that ſpeculative device of Auguſtine (*lib. de tri.* 10. *de civi. dei.* 11.) is not found, where he ſaith, that the ſoul is a glaſs of the Trinity, becauſe that there are in it underſtanding, will, and memory. Neither is their opinion to be approved, who ſet the image of God in the power of dominion given unto him, as if he reſembled God only in this mark, that he is appointed Lord and poſſeſſor of all things, whereas indeed the image of God is properly to be ſought within him, and not without him, and is an inward good gift of the ſoul.

Man was not made in the likeneſs of God becauſe his ſoul was a portion of the Godhead, or becauſe the eſſential juſtice of God was poured into him.

5. But before I go any further, it is needful that I meet with the doting error of the Manichees, which Servetus hath attempted to bring in again in this age. Where it is ſaid, that God breathed the breath of life into the face of man, Gen. ii. 7. They thought that the ſoul did convey into man the ſubſtance of God, as if ſome portion of the immeaſurable God were come into man. But it is eaſy even ſhortly to ſhow how many groſs and foul abſurdities this deviliſh error draweth with it. For if the ſoul be by derivation part of the eſſence of God, it ſhall follow that the nature of God is ſubject, not only to change and paſſions, but alſo to ignorance, evil luſts, weakneſs, and all kinds of vices. Nothing is more inconſtant than man, becauſe contrary motions do toſs and diverſly drown his ſoul, oftentimes he is blinded by ignorance, frequently he yieldeth as vanquiſhed even to ſmall temptations, and we know that the ſoul itſelf is the ſink and receiver of all filthineſs, all which things we muſt aſcribe to the nature of God, if we grant that the ſoul is of the eſſence of God, or a ſecret inflowing of Godhead. Who would not abhor this monſtrous device? Truly indeed doth Paul alledge out of Aratus, Acts xvii. 28. that we are the offſpring of God, but in quality and not in ſubſtance, inaſmuch as he hath garniſhed us with godly gifts. But in the mean time, to tear in ſunder the eſſence of the Creator, as to ſay, that every man doth poſſeſs a part of it, is too much madneſs. Therefore we muſt certainly hold, that the ſouls, altho' the image of God be graven in them, were no leſs created than the angels were. And creation is not a pouring out of one ſubſtance into another, but a beginning of eſſence made of nothing. And altho' the ſpirit of man came from God, and in departing out of the fleſh returneth to God, yet is not forthwith to be ſaid, that it was taken out of his ſubſtance. And in this point alſo Oſiander, while he glorieth in his illuſions, hath entangled himſelf with an ungodly error, not acknowleging the image of God to be in man without his eſſential juſtice, as tho' God by the ineſtimable power of his holy Spirit could not make us like unto himſelf, unleſs Chriſt ſhould ſubſtantially pour himſelf into us. With whatſoever colour many do go about to diſguiſe theſe deceits, yet ſhall they never ſo beguile the eyes of the readers, that are in their right wits, but that they will eaſily ſee that theſe things ſavour of the Manichees error. And where ſaint Paul treateth of the reſtoring of this image, it may be readily gathered out of his words, that man was made of like form to God, not by inflowing of his ſubſtance, but by grace and power of his Spirit. For he ſaith, 2 Cor. iii. 18. That in beholding the glory of Chriſt, we are transformed into the ſame image, as by the Spirit of God, which ſurely ſo worketh in us, that it maketh us not of one ſubſtance with God.

6. It were but folly to borrow of the philoſophers a definition of the ſoul, of whom almoſt none, except

The doctrine of philoſophers con-

cerning the nature and powers of the ſoul.

except Plato, hath perfectly affirmed it to be an immortal ſubſtance. Indeed ſome other alſo, that is, the Socratics, do touch it, but ſo as none doth plainly teach that to other, which himſelf was not perſuaded. But therefore is Plato of the better judgment, becauſe he doth in the ſoul conſider the image of God. Some other do ſo bind the powers and virtues of the ſoul to this preſent life, that being out of the body they leave to it nothing. Now we have already taught from the Scripture, that it is an incorporeal ſubſtance: now muſt we add that altho' properly it is not comprehended in place, yet it is ſet in the body, and doth there dwell as in a houſe, not only to miniſter life to all the parts of the body, and to make the inſtruments thereof meet and fitly ſerving for the actions that they are appointed for, but alſo to bear the chief office in governing the life of man, and that not only about the duties in this earthly life, but alſo to ſtir us up to the ſervice of God. Altho' this latter point in this corruption is not plainly perceived, yet even in the vices themſelves there remain imprinted ſome leavings thereof. For whence cometh it but of ſhame, that men have ſo great care what be reported of them? And whence cometh ſhame, but of regard of honeſty? Whereof the beginning and cauſe is, that they underſtand that they are naturally born to obſerve juſtice, in which perſuaſion is incloſed the ſeed of religion. For as without all controverſy man was made to meditation of the heavenly life: ſo is it certain, that the knowlege thereof was engraven in his ſoul. And ſurely man ſhould want the principal uſe of his underſtanding, if he ſhould be ignorant of his own felicity, whereof the perfection is, that he be joined with God, and therefore it is the chief action of the ſoul to aſpire thereunto. And ſo the more that every man ſtudieth to approach unto God, the more he thereby proveth himſelf to be endued with reaſon. As for them who would have divers ſouls in man, that is, a feeling ſoul, and a reaſonable ſoul, altho' they ſeem to ſay ſomewhat by reaſon proveable, yet becauſe there is no ſtedfaſt certainty in their reaſons, we muſt reject them, unleſs we had a mind to vex ourſelves in things trifling and unprofitable. A great diſagreement ſay they, there is between the inſtrumental motions and the part of the ſoul endued with reaſon. As tho' reaſon itſelf did not alſo diſſent from itſelf, and ſome devices of it do ſtrive with other ſome, as they were armies of enemies. But foraſmuch as that troubleſomeneſs proceedeth of the corruption of nature, it were amiſs to gather thereby, that there are two ſouls, becauſe the powers of the ſoul do not agree together, in ſuch well-framed order as they ought. But as for more ſubtile diſputation of the powers themſelves, I leave that to the philoſophers. A ſimple definition ſhall ſuffice us for edification of godlineſs. I grant that the things that they teach are true, and not only pleaſant but alſo profitable to be known, and well gathered of them, and I forbid not ſuch as are deſirous to learn to ſtudy them. Firſt therefore, I admit that there are five ſenſes, which Plato *(in Theæteto)* choſe to call inſtruments, whereby all objects are poured into common ſenſe, as into a place of receipt: then followeth phantaſy, which judgeth thoſe things one from other that common ſenſe hath conceived: next is reaſon, to which belongeth the univerſal judgment of things: laſt, is the underſtanding mind, which with earneſtly bent and quiet viewing beholdeth all thoſe things, that reaſon is wont to diſcourſe upon, and conſider. And to the underſtanding mind, reaſon and fancy, which are the three powers of the ſoul, that reſt in knowlege; *(Ariſt. Ethicorum lib. 1. ca. ult. Item lib. 6. ca. 2.)* there do anſwer three other that do reſt in appetite, that is to ſay, will, the parts whereof are to covet thoſe things that the underſtanding mind and reaſon do lay before it: the power of anger, which catcheth thoſe things that reaſon and fancy do miniſter unto it. The power of deſiring, which taketh hold of theſe things that fancy and ſenſe preſenteth it. Altho' theſe things be true, or at the leaſt likely to be true, yet becauſe I fear that they ſhall more entangle us with obſcureneſs, than further us, I think it beſt to paſs them over. If any man, chuſe otherwiſe to divide the powers of the ſoul, and to call the one the power of appetite, which altho' it be without reaſon itſelf, yet doth obey reaſon, if it be by other mean directed, and to call the other the power of underſtanding, which is by itſelf partaker of reaſon, I am not much againſt it, neither will I confute this opinion, that there are three beginnings of doing: that is to ſay, ſenſe, underſtanding, and appetite. But let us rather chuſe a diviſion, that is within the capacity of all men, which cannot be had of the philoſophers. For they, when they mean to ſpeak moſt plainly, do divide the ſoul into appetite and underſtanding, but either of theſe they make of two ſorts. Underſtanding, they ſay, *(Themiſt. de anima lib. 2. ca. 49. De duplici intel. de finib. lib. 3.)* is ſometimes contemplative, which being contented with only knowlege, hath no moving of action, which thing Cicero thinketh to be expreſſed by this word *ingenium*, wit. Sometimes they ſay it is practical, which by conceiving of good or evil doth diverſly move

the will. And appetite they do divide into will and luſt. Will they call that, when appetite which they call *horme* obeyeth reaſon, and luſt they call that, when the appetite, ſhaking off the yoke of reaſon, runneth out to intemperance. So always they imagine reaſon to be that in man, whereby man may rightly govern himſelf.

Two principal parts of the ſoul, underſtanding & will.

7. But we are conſtrained ſomewhat to depart from this manner of teaching, becauſe the philoſophers who knew not the corruption of man's nature, which came for puniſhment of his fall, do wrongfully confound the two very divers ſtates of man. Let us therefore thus think of it, that there are in the ſoul of man two parts, which ſhall ſerve at this time for our preſent purpoſe, that is to ſay, underſtanding and will. And let it be the office of underſtanding, to diſcern between objects, or things ſet before it, as each of them ſhall ſeem worthy to be liked or diſliked: and the office of will, to chuſe and follow that which underſtanding pronounceth good, and to reject and avoid that which underſtanding ſhall diſapprove. Let us not here be ſtopt at all with the nice ſubtilties of Ariſtotle, (*Eth. lib. cap.* 2.) That the mind hath of itſelf no moving, but that it is choice which moveth it, which choice he calleth the deſiring underſtanding. But to the end we be not intangled with ſuperfluous queſtions, let this ſuffice us, that the underſtanding is as it were the guide and governor of the ſoul, and that will hath always regard to the appointment of underſtanding, and followeth the judgment thereof, in her deſires. Agreeably to which, Ariſtotle himſelf hath juſtly ſaid, that avoiding or following is in appetite ſuch a ſimilar thing, as in the underſtanding mind affirming and denying is. Now, how certain the government of underſtanding is to direct the will: that we will conſider in another place. Here we mean only to ſhow that there can be found no power in the ſoul but that may well be ſaid to belong to the one of theſe two members. And in this ſort under the power of underſtanding we comprehend ſenſe, which others do ſo diſtinguiſh, that they ſay ſenſe is inclined to pleaſure, for which underſtanding followeth that which is good: and that ſo it cometh to paſs, that the appetite of ſenſe is concupiſcence and luſt, the affection of underſtanding is will. Again, inſtead of the name of appetite, which they better like, I place the name of will, which is more commonly uſed.

The perfection of man's underſtanding and will in his firſt creation.

8. God therefore hath furniſhed the ſoul of man with an underſtading mind, whereby he might diſcern good from evil, and right from wrong; and having the light of reaſon going before him, might ſee what is to be purſued or avoided. For which reaſon the philoſophers have called this directing part the Guider. To this he hath adjoined will, to which belongeth choice. With theſe noble gifts the firſt ſtate of man excelled, ſo that he not only had enough of reaſon, underſtanding, wiſdom, and judgment, for the government of this earthly life, but alſo to climb up even to God and to eternal felicity. Then to have choice added unto it, which might direct the appetites, and order all the inſtrumental motions, and that ſo the will might be altogether agreeable to the government of reaſon. In this integrity, man had free-will, whereby, if he would, he might have attained eternal life. For here it is out of place to move queſtion of the ſecret predeſtination of God: becauſe we are not now about to diſcuſs what might have chanced or not, but what at that time was the nature of man. Adam therefore might have ſtood if he pleaſed, becauſe he fell not but by his own will. But becauſe his will was pliable to either ſide, and there was not given him conſtancy to continue, therefore he ſo eaſily fell. Yet his choice of good and evil was free. And not that only, but alſo in his underſtanding mind, and in his will was moſt great uprightneſs, and all his inſtrumental parts orderly framed to obedience, until by deſtroying himſelf he corrupted the good things that were in him. From hence cometh it that all the philoſophers were ſo blinded, becauſe that in a ruin they ſought for an upright building, and for ſtrong joints in an unjointed overthrow. This principle they held, that man could not be a living creature, endued with reaſon, unleſs there were in him a free choice of good and evil: and they conſidered, that otherwiſe all the difference ſhould be taken away between virtues and vices, unleſs man did order his own life by his own advice. Thus far had they ſaid well if there had been no change in man, which change becauſe they knew not of, it is no wonder tho' they confound heaven and earth together. But as for them who profeſſing themſelves to be the diſciples of Chriſt, do yet ſeek for free-will in man, that hath been loſt and drowned in ſpiritual deſtruction, they in going mean between the philoſophers opinions and heavenly doctrine are plainly deceived, ſo that they touch neither heaven nor earth. But of theſe things we ſhall better ſpeak in place fit for them: now only this we have to bear in mind, that man at his firſt creation was far other than his poſterity

ſterity ever ſince, who taking their beginning from him being corrupted, hath from him received an infection derived to them as it were by inheritance. For then all the parts of his ſoul were framed to right order, then ſtood ſafe the ſoundneſs of his underſtanding mind, and his will free to chuſe the good. If any do object that it ſtood but in ſlippery ſtate, becauſe his power was but weak, I anſwer that that ſtate was yet ſuch as ſufficed to take from him all excuſe, neither was it reaſonable to reſtrain God to this point, to make man ſuch a one as either could not or would not ſin at all. I grant ſuch a nature had been better, but therefore preciſely to quarrel with God, (*Auguſt. Gen. lib.* 11. *cap.* 7, 8, 9.) as tho' it had been his duty to have given that unto man, is too much unjuſtice, foraſmuch as it was in his own choice to give how much pleaſed him. But why he did not uphold him with the ſtrength of ſtedfaſt continuance, that reſteth hidden in his own ſecret counſel: it is our part only to be ſo far wiſe as with ſobriety we may. Man received indeed to be able if he would, but he had not to will that he might be able. (*De correp. et grat. ad Valentin. ca.* 12.) For of this will ſhould have followed ſtedfaſt continuance. Yet he is not excuſable, who received ſo much that of his own will he hath wrought his own deſtruction. And there was no neceſſity to compel God to give him any other than a mean will and a frail will, that of man's fall he might gather matter for his own glory.

CHAP. XVI.

That God by his power doth nouriſh and maintain the world, which himſelf hath created, and by his providence doth govern all the parts thereof.

Men naturally by ſenſe are brought to confeſs God the creator, we by faith acknowlege him to be the governor, not in general of the world, but of every particular thing in the world.

BUT it were very fond and inſipid to make God a creator for a moment, who doth nothing ſince he hath once made an end of his work. And in this point principally ought we to differ from the prophane men, that the preſence of the power of God may ſhine unto us no leſs in the continual ſtate of the world, than in the firſt beginning of it. For though the minds of the very wicked in only beholding of the heaven and earth, are compelled to riſe up unto the creator, yet hath faith a certain peculiar manner by itſelf, whereby it giveth to God the whole praiſe of creation. And therefore ſerveth that ſaying of the apoſtle, which we before alleged, that we do not underſtand but by faith, that the world was made by the word of God. For unleſs we paſs forward even unto his providencc, we do not yet rightly conceive what this meaneth, that God is the creator, howſoever we do ſeem to comprehend it in our minds, and confeſs it with our lips. When the ſenſe of the fleſh hath once ſet before it the power of God in the very creation, it reſteth there, and when it proceedeth furtheſt of all, it doth nothing but ponder and conſider the wiſdom, power, and goodneſs of the workman in making ſuch a piece of work (which things do of themſelves offer and thruſt themſelves in ſight of men whether they will or no) and a certain general doing in preſerving and governing the ſame, upon which dependeth the power of moving. Finally, it thinketh that the lively energy at the beginning put into all things by God, doth ſuffice to ſuſtain them. But faith ought to pierce deeper, that is to ſay, whom he hath learned to be the creator of all things, by and by to gather that the ſame is the perpetual governor and preſerver of them: and that not by ſtirring with an univerſal motion as well the whole frame of the world, as all the parts thereof, but by ſuſtaining, cheriſhing and caring for, with ſingular providence every one of thoſe things that he hath created, even to the leaſt ſparrow. So David, Pſal. xxxiii. 6. after he had firſt ſaid, that the world was created by God, by and by deſcendeth to the continual courſe of his providence. "By the word of the Lord, ſaith he, were the heavens made, and all the hoſt of them by the breath of his mouth." Soon after: "The Lord looked down upon the ſons of men," and ſo the reſt that he ſaith farther to the ſame effect. For altho' they do not all reaſon ſo orderly, yet becauſe it were not likely to be believed, that God had care of human affairs, unleſs he were the maker of the world, nor any man doth earneſtly believe that God made the world, unleſs he be perſuaded that God hath alſo care of his works: therefore not without cauſe David doth by good order convey us from the one to the other. Generally indeed both the philoſophers do teach, and mens minds do conceive that all parts of the world are enlivened with the ſecret inſpiration of God. But yet they attain not ſo far as David both himſelf proceedeth and carrieth all the godly

godly with him, saying, "All things wait upon "thee, that thou mayst give them their meat "in due season, that thou givest them they gather. "thou openest thine hand, they are filled with "good. But if thou hide thy face, they are trou- "bled. If thou take away their breath, they die, "and return to their dust. Again, if thou send "forth thy spirit, they are created, and thou renew- "est the face of the earth." Psal civ. 27. Yea, although they agree to the saying of Paul, Acts xvii. 28. that we have our being and are moved, and do live in God, yet they are far from that earnest feeling of grace which he commendeth unto us: because they taste not of God's special care whereby alone his fatherly favour is known.

We do injury unto God when we ascribe the works of his providence unto fortune, as also when we speak of nature working without the hand of God guiding her in every work.

2. That this difference may the better appear, it is to be known, that the providence of God, such as it is taught in the scripture, is in comparison set as contrary to fortune and chances that happen by adventure. Now forasmuch as it hath been commonly believed in all ages, and the same opinion is at this day also in a manner in all men, that all things happen by fortune, it is certain, that that which ought to have been believed concerning providence, is by that wrong opinion not only darkened but also in manner buried. If a man light among thieves or wild beasts; if by wind suddenly rising he suffer shipwreck on the sea, if he be killed with the fall of a horse or of a tree, if another wandering in desert places find remedy for his poverty, if having been tossed with the waves, he attain to the shore, if miraculously he escape but a finger breadth from death, all these chances as well of prosperity as adversity the reason of the flesh doth ascribe to fortune. But whosoever is taught by the mouth of Christ, Matth. x. 28. that all the hairs of his head are numbered, will seek for a cause further off, and will firmly believe that all chances are governed by the secret counsel of God. And as concerning things without life, this is to be thought, that although every one of them have its own property naturally put into it, yet do they not put forth their power but only so far as they be directed by the present hand of God. They are therefore nothing else but instruments, whereby God continually poureth in so much effect as pleaseth him, and at his will inclineth and turneth them to this or that action. Of no creature is the power more marvellous or more glorious than of the sun. For besides that it giveth light to the whole world with his brightness, how great a thing is this that he cherisheth and quickeneth all living creatures with his heat? thathe breatheth fruitfulness into the earth with his beams? that out of seeds warmed in the bosom of the ground, he draweth a budding greenness, and sustaining the same with new nourishments doth increase and strengthen it till it rise up in stalks? that he feedeth it with continual vapour, till it grow to a flower, and from a flower to fruit? That then also with baking it, he bringeth it to ripeness? That trees likewise and vines being warmed by him, do first bud and shoot forth branches, and after send out a a flower, and of a flower do engender fruit? But the Lord, because he would claim the whole glory of all these things to himself, made the light first to be, Gen. i. 3. and the earth to be furnished with all kinds of herbs and fruits before that he created the sun. A godly man therefore will not make the sun to be either a principal or a necessary cause of those things which were before the creation of the sun, but only an instrument which God useth, because it so pleaseth him, whereas he might leave it and do all things as easily himself. Then when we read that the sun stood still two days in one degree at the prayer of Joshua, Josh. x. 13. and that the shadow thereof went back ten degrees for Hezekiah's sake 2 Kings xx. 11. by those few miracles God hath declared, that the sun doth not daily so rise and go down by blind instinct of nature, but that he to renew the remembrance of his fatherly favour towards us, doth govern the course thereof. Nothing is more natural than spring tide to come immediately after winter, summer after spring, and harvest in course after summer. But in this orderly course is plainly seen so great and so unequal diversity, that it may easily appear that every year, month and day, is governed by a new and special providence of God.

They who do not acknowlege that God directeth the working of every particular thing do not only rob him of his honour but themselves of a double benefit, hope of good things, and deliverance from fear of evil.

3. And truly God doth claim and will have us ascribe unto him an almightiness, not such as the sophisters do imagine, vain, idle, and as it were sleeping, but waking, effectual, working and busied in continual doing. Nor such a one as is only a general beginning of a confused motion, as if he would command a river to flow by his appointed channels, but such a one as is bent and ready at all his particular movings. For he is therefore called almighty, not because he can

do and yet ſitteth ſtill and doth nothing, or by general inſtinct only continueth the order of nature that he hath before appointed: but becauſe he governing both heaven and earth by his providence ſo ordereth all things that nothing chanceth but by his adviſed purpoſe. For whereas it is ſaid in the Pſalms, Pſal. cxv. 3. that he doth whatſoever he will, therein is meant his certain and determined will. For it were very fond to expound the prophet's words after the philoſopher's manner, that God is the firſt agent or doer, becauſe he is the beginning and and cauſe of all moving: Whereas the faithful ought rather in adverſity to eaſe themſelves with this comfort, that they ſuffer nothing but by the ordinance and commandment of God, becauſe they are under his hand. If then the government of God do ſo extend to all his works, it is a very childiſh cavil to circumſcribe it within the influence of nature. And yet they do not only defraud God of his glory but deprive themſelves of a moſt profitable doctrine, whoſoever do reſtrain the providence of God within ſo narrow bounds, as if he ſuffered all things to be carried with an ungoverned courſe, according to a perpetual law of nature. For nothing were more miſerable than man if he ſhould be left ſubject to every motion of the heaven, the air, the earth, and the waters. Beſide that by that mean the ſingular goodneſs of God towards every man is too much diſhonourably diminiſhed. David crieth out (Pſal. viii. 2.) that babes yet hanging on their mothers breaſts are eloquent enough to magnify the glory of God, becauſe even ſo ſoon as they be come out of the womb, they find food prepared for them by his heavenly care. This is indeed generally true, ſo that yet our eyes and ſenſes do not paſs over that unnoticed which experience plainly ſheweth, that ſome mothers have full and plentiful breaſts, ſome others almoſt dry, as it pleaſeth God to feed one more liberally, and another more ſcarcely. But they who give the due praiſe to the almightineſs of God, do receive double profit thereby, the one, that he hath ſufficiently large ability to do them good, in whoſe poſſeſſion are both heaven and earth, and to whoſe beck all creatures do attend upon, to yield themſelves to his obedience: the other, that they may ſafely reſt in his protection, to whoſe will are ſubject all theſe hurtful things that may any way be feared, by whoſe authority as with a bridle Satan is reſtrained with all his furies and all his preparation, upon whoſe beck doth hang all that ever is againſt our ſafety. And no other way but this can the immeaſurable and ſuperſtitious fears be corrected or appeaſed, which we oftentimes conceive by dangers happening unto us. Superſtitiouſly fearful I ſay we be if where creatures do threaten us or give us any cauſe of fear, we be ſo afraid thereof, as if they had of themſelves any force or power to do us harm, or did unforeſeen, or by chance hurt us, or as if againſt the hurts that they do, there were not ſufficient help in God. As for example, The prophet forbiddeth the children of God that they ſhould not Jer. x. 2. fear the ſtars and ſigns of the heaven, as the unbelievers are wont to do. He condemneth not every kind of fear. But when the unbelievers to give away the government of the world from God unto Planets, do feign that their felicity or miſery doth hang on the decrees and predictions of the ſtars and not of the will of God, ſo cometh it to paſs, that their fear is withdrawn away from that only one, whom they ought to have regarded, unto the ſtars and comets. Whoſo therefore will beware of this unfaithfulneſs, let him keep always in remembrance that there is not in creatures a wandering power, working or motion, but that they are governed by the ſecret counſel of God, ſo that nothing can happen but that which is decreed by him both knowing and willing it ſo ſo be.

That God doth not only behold what is done, but order and diſpoſe the doing of things both above and beneath.

4. Firſt therefore let the readers learn, that providence is called that, not wherewith God idly beholdeth from heaven what is done in the world, but wherewith as guiding the ſtern he ſetteth and ordereth all things that come to paſs. So doth it no leſs belong to his hands than to his eyes. For when Abraham ſaid unto his ſon, Gen. xx. 8. God ſhall provide, he meant not only, that God did foreknow the ſucceſs then to come, but that he did caſt the care of a thing to him unknown upon the will of God, who is accuſtomed to bring things doubtful and confuſed to a certain end. Whereby followeth, that providence conſiſteth in doing: for too much fondly do many trifle in talking of bare foreknowlege. Their error is not altogether ſo groſs who give unto God a government but diſordered, and without adviſed choice, (as I have before ſaid,) that is to ſay, ſuch as whirleth and driveth about with a general motion the frame of the world with all the parts thereof, but doth not peculiarly direct the doing of every creature. Yet is this error not tolerable. For as they teach, it may be (notwithſtanding this providence which they call univerſal) that all creatures may be moved by chance, or man may turn himſelf hither or thither by free choice of his will. And ſo do they divide

divide the government between God and man, that God by his powe inſpireth into man a motion whereby he may act according to the nature planted in him, and man regulates his own actions by his own voluntary advice: briefly they mean that the world, the affairs of mankind, and mankind themſelves are governed by the power, but not by the appointment of God. I ſpeak not of the Epicureans (which peſtilence the world hath always been filled with) who dream of an idle and ſlothful God: and others as mad as they, who in old time imagined that God did ſo rule about the middle region of the air that he left things beneath to fortune: for againſt ſo evident madneſs, the dumb creatures themſelves do ſufficiently cry out. For, now my purpoſe is to confute that opinion which is in a manner commonly believed, which giving to God a certain blind, and I know not what uncertain motion, taketh from him the principal thing, that is, by his incomprehenſible wiſdom to direct and diſpoſe all things to their end: and ſo in name only and not indeed it maketh God ruler of the world, beeauſe it taketh from him the government of it. For what (I beſeech you) is it elſe to govern, but ſo to be over them that are under thee, that thou mayeſt rule them by appointed order? Yet do I not altogether reject that which is ſpoken of the univerſal providence: ſo that they will again grant me this, that the world is ruled by God, not only becauſe he maintaineth the order of nature which himſelf hath ſet, but alſo becauſe he hath a peculiar care of every one of his works. True it is, that all ſorts of things are moved by a ſecret inſtinct of nature, as if they did obey the eternal command of God, and that which God hath once determined doth of it ſelf proceed forward. And to this may that be applied which Chriſt ſaith, that he and his Father were even from the beginning always working. And that which Paul teacheth, Acts xvii. 28. that in him we live, move and have our being, and that which the Author of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, meaning to prove the Godhead of Chriſt, ſaith, Heb i. 3. that by the word of his power all things are upheld. But they do wrong who by this colour do hide and darken the ſpecial providence, which is confirmed by ſo certain and plain teſtimonies of ſcripture, that it is ſurprizing that any man could doubt of it. And ſurely they themſelves who draw the ſame veil which I ſpeak of to hid it, are compelled by way of correction to add, that many things are done by the peculiar care of God, but then they do wrongfully reſtrict the ſame only to peculiar actions. Wherefore we muſt prove that God doth ſo attend to the ordering of all events, and that they do ſo proceed from his determinate counſel, that nothing happeneth by chance.

5. If we grant that the beginning of motion belongeth to God but that all things are either of themſelves or by chance carried whither the inclination of nature driveth them, the mutual ſucceſſion by turns of days and nights, of winter and ſummer, ſhall be the work of God, in ſo much as he appointing to every one their duties, hath ſet them a certain law, that is, That they ſhould always keep one meaſure in equal proportion, as well the days that come after the nights, the months after, and years after years. But when ſometimes immoderate heats with dryneſs do burn up all the grain, ſometimes unſeaſonable rains do mar the corn, when ſudden harm cometh by hail and tempeſts: that ſhall not be the work of God, unleſs perhaps it be becauſe the clouds or fair weather, or cold or heat have their beginning of the meeting of the planets or other natural cauſes. But by this mean is there no room left, neither for the fatherly favour, nor for the judgments of God. If they ſay that God is abundantly good to mankind becauſe he poureth into the heaven and earth an ordinary power, whereby they do afford him nouriſhment: that is too vain and prophane an invention, as though the fruitfulneſs of one year were not the ſingular bleſſing of God, and dearth and famine were not his curſe and vengeance? But becauſe it were too long to gather together all the reaſons that ſerve for this purpoſe, let the authority of God himſelf ſuffice us. In the law and in the prophets he doth oftentimes pronounce, that ſo oft as he watereth the earth with dew and rain, he declareth his favour; and that when by his comandment the heaven is hardened like iron, when corn is conſumed with blaſting and other harms, when the fields are ſtruck with hail and tempeſts, it is a token of his certain and ſpecial vengeance. If we grant theſe things, then is it manifeſt that there falleth not a drop of rain but by the certain commandment of God. Pſal. clxvii. 9. David praiſeth the general providence of God, that he giveth meat to the young ravens birds which call upon him: but when God himſelf threatneth famine to living creatures, doth he not ſufficiently declare that he feedeth every thing that lives ſometimes with a ſmall, ſometimes with a larger portion as he thinketh good? It is a childiſh thing

The particular appoinntment of God appeareth in the divers alteration of things natural and extendeth to every drop of rain to every accident whichbefalleth the leaſt bird.

thing, as I ſaid before to limit this to particular actions, whereas Chriſt ſpeaketh without exception, Matth. x. 29. that not a ſparow of never ſo ſmall a price doth fall to the ground without the will of his Father. Surely, if the flying of birds be ruled by the purpoſe of God, then muſt we needs confeſs with the prophet, Pſal. cxiii. 5, 6. that he ſo dwelleth on high, yet he humbleth himſelf to look upon all thing that happen in heaven and earth.

The providence of God in diſpoſing the conditions of men.

6. But becauſe we know that the world was made principally for mankinds ſake, we muſt therefore conſider this end in the government of man. The prophet Jeremiah crieth out, Jer. x. 23. "O Lord, I know that the way of man is not "in himſelf: it is not in man that walketh to di-"rect his ſteps." And Solomon ſaith, Prov. xx. 24. "Man's goings are of the Lord, how can a "man then underſtand his own way?" Now let them ſay that man is moved by God according to the inclination of his own nature, but that man himſelf doth turn that motion whitherſoever he pleaſes. But if that were truly ſaid, then ſhould man have the free choice of his own ways. Perhaps they will deny that, becauſe he can do nothing without the power of God. But ſeeing it is certain that the prophet and Solomon do aſcribe unto God, not only power, but alſo choice and appointment, they cannot ſo eſcape away. But Solomon in another place, Prov. xvi. 1. doth finely rebuke this raſhneſs of men, who preſcribe unto themſelves another end without reſpect of God, as though they were not led by his hand. "The preparations "(ſaith he) of the heart are in man, but the an-"ſwer of the tongue is from the Lord." It is a fond madneſs that men will take upon them to do things without God, who cannot ſo much as ſpeak but what he will. And the ſcripture, to expreſs more plainly that nothing at all is done in the world but by God's appointment, ſheweth that thoſe things which ſeem moſt fortuitous and accidental, are ſubject to God, and under his direction. For what can you more aſcribe to chance, than when a broken bough falling from a tree killeth a wayfaring man paſſing by it? But the Lord ſaith far otherwiſe, Exod. xxi. 12. who confeſſeth that he hath delivered him into the hand of the ſlayer. Likewiſe, who doth not leave the happening of lots to the blindneſs of fortune? But the Lord ſuffereth it not, who claimeth the judgment of them to himſelf; for he ſaith, that it cometh not to paſs by a man's own power that ſtones are caſt into the lap, and drawn out again, but that thing which only might be ſaid to come of chance, he teſtifieth to come from himſelf. For the ſame purpoſe maketh that ſaying of Solomon, Prov. xvi. 33. "The poor "man and the uſurer meet together, God lighten-"eth both their eyes." For although poor men and rich be mingled together in the world, while every one hath his ſtate aſſigned him from God, he admoniſheth that God who giveth light unto all men is not blind, and ſo he exhorteth the poor to patience, becauſe whoſoever are not contented with their own ſtate, they ſeek to ſhake off the burthen that God hath laid upon them. So another prophet rebuketh the ungodly men who aſcribe to the diligence of men or to fortune, that ſome lie in miſery and ſome riſe up to honour. Pſal. lxxv. 7. "Pro-"motion cometh neither from the eaſt, nor from "the weſt, nor from the ſouth; but God is the "judge, he putteth down one, and ſetteth up ano-"ther." Becauſe God cannot put off the office of a judge, thereupon the prophet proveth that by his ſecret purpoſe, ſome are in honour, and others remain in contempt.

The common events which are ſeen in the world come from the ſpecial providence of God.

7. And likewiſe I affirm that particular wants are generally witneſſes of Gods ſingular providence Exod. xix. 13. God raiſed in the deſart a ſouth wind to bring the people plenty of fowls: When his pleaſure was to have, Jonah i. 4. Jonah thrown into the ſea, he ſent out a wind to raiſe up a tempeſt. But they who maintain that God governeth not the world, will ſay that this happened beſide common uſe: but thereby I do gather that never any wind doth riſe or increaſe but by the ſpecial commandment of God. For otherwiſe it ſhould not be true, that he maketh the winds his meſſengers, and firey flames his miniſters, that he maketh the clouds his chariots, and rideth upon the wings of the wind, Pſal. civ. 4. unleſs he did by his will drive about the clouds and winds, and ſhew in them the ſingular preſence of his power. So in another place we are taught that ſo oft as the ſea ſwelleth with blaſts of winds, thoſe violences do teſtify a ſingular preſence of God. Pſal. cvii. 25. He commandeth and raiſeth up the ſtormy winds which lifteth up the waves thereof, and then he maketh the ſtorm a calm, ſo that the waves thereof are ſtill. As in another place he ſaith, that he ſcourged the people with burning winds. So, whereas the power of engendring is naturally given to men, yet God will have it imputed to his ſpecial grace, that he leaveth ſome in barreneſs, and vouch-

vouchſafeth to grant iſſue to other ſome; the fruit of the womb is his gift. Therefore ſaid Jacob to his wife, Gen. xxx 2. am I as God that can give you children? But to make an end: there is nothing more ordinary in nature than that we be fed with bread. But the holy Ghoſt pronounceth, Iſa. iii. 1. that not only the growing of the fruits of the earth is the ſpecial gift of God, but alſo that men live not by bread alone, becauſe it is not the very full feeding that nouriſheth, but the ſecret bleſſing of God: as on the other ſide he threateneth, that he will break the ſtay of bread. Neither could we earneſtly pray for our daily bread, unleſs God did give us food with his fatherly hand. Therefore the prophet, to perſuade the faithful that God in feeding them doth fulfil the office of a good father of a family, doth put them in mind, that he giveth meat to all fleſh. Pſal. cxlvi. and xxxiv. 16, 17. Finally when we have on the one ſide; The eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous, and his ears bent to their prayers: on the other ſide: The eye of the Lord is upon the the ungodly to deſtroy the memory of them out of the earth: Let us know that all creatures both above and beneath are ready to obedience, that he may apply them to what uſe ſoever he will; whereupon is gathered, that not only his general providence remaineth in his creatures to continue the order of nature, but alſo by his marvellous counſel is applied to a certain and proper end.

The doctrine concerning God's providence, doth not eſtabliſh Stoical deſtiny, but excludeth Heatheniſh fortune and chance.

8. They who would render this doctrine odious, do cavil that this is the learning that the Stoicks teach of fate or deſtiny, which alſo was once laid for reproach to Auguſtin. (*Lib. 2. ad Bon. cap. 6.*) As for us, altho' we are loth to ſtrive about words, yet we allow not this word *fate*, both becauſe it is one of thoſe whoſe profane novelties ſaint Paul teacheth us to fly, and becauſe ſome men do go about with the odiouſneſs thereof to bring God's truth in hatred. As for the very opinion of the Stoicks, it is wrongfully laid to our charge. For we do not as the Stoicks do, imagine a neceſſity by a certain perpetual knot and intangled order of cauſes which is contained in nature: but we make God the judge and governor of all things, who according to his wiſdom hath even from the furtheſt end of eternity decreed what he would do, and now by his power putteth in execution that which he hath decreed. Whereupon we affirm that not only the heaven and earth and other creatures without life, but alſo the purpoſes and inclinations of men are ſo governed by his providence, that they are directly carried to the end that it appointeth. What then? will one ſay, doth nothing happen by fortune or by chance? I anſwer, That Baſilius Magnus hath truly ſaid that fortune and chance are expreſſions of the Heathens, with the ſignification of which the minds of the godly ought not to be occupied. For if every good ſucceſs be the bleſſing of God, and every calamity and adverſity be his curſe, then is there, with reſpect to the affairs of mankind, no place left for fortune or chance. We ought alſo to be moved with this ſaying of Auguſtin: In his book againſt the Academics, (*Retr. lib. 1. cap. 1.*) he ſaith: "It doth diſpleaſe me that I have ſo often "named fortune, altho' my meaning was not to have "any goddeſs underſtood thereby, but only a caſual "happening in outward things either good or evil. "Of which word fortune are derived thoſe words "which no religion forbiddeth us to uſe *forte, forſan, forſitan, fortaſſe, fortuito*, that is, perhaps, "peradventure, by fortune, and by chance, which "yet muſt all be applied to the providence of God. "And that did I not leave unſpoken when I ſaid, for "perchance even the ſame that is commonly called "*fortune* is alſo ruled by ſecret order. And we call "chance in things nothing elſe, but that whereof "the reaſon and cauſe is unknown. I ſaid this in"deed, but it repenteth me that I did there ſo name "fortune. Foraſmuch as I ſee that men have a ve"ry evil cuſtom, that where they ought to ſay, thus "it pleaſed God, they ſay, thus it pleaſed fortune." Finally, he doth commonly in his books teach, That the world ſhould be unorderly whirled about, if any thing were left to fortune. And altho' in another place he determineth that all things are done partly by the free-will of man, and partly by the providence of God, yet doth he a little after ſufficiently ſhew that men are ſubject unto and ruled by providence, taking this for a principle, That nothing is more oppoſite to reaſon, than to ſay, That any thing happeneth but by the ordinance of God, for elſe it ſhould happen without cauſe or order, by which reaſon he alſo excludeth that happening which depends upon the will of man: and ſoon after he ſays, in plainer terms, that we ought not to ſeek a cauſe of the will of God. And ſo oft as he maketh mention of permiſſion, (*Quæſt. lib. 83. de tri. lib. 3. cap. 4.*) how that is to be underſtood, ſhall very well appear from one place where he proveth, That the Divine will is the ſupreme and firſt cauſe of all things, becauſe nothing happeneth but by his commandment or permiſſion. Surely he does not imagine God ſits ſtill idle in a watch-tower, when it is his pleaſure to

ſuffer any thing, whereas he uſeth an actual will (as I may ſo call it) which otherwiſe could not be called a cauſe.

A thing may be termed accidentally, and be ſaid to happen by fortune in reſpect of us who ſee not the cauſe, when in reſpect of God who hath appointed it, it is neceſſary, and tho' not in its own nature, yet by reaſon of his appointment inevitable.

9. But for as much as the dulneſs of our underſtanding cannot by a great way attain to the height of God's providence, we muſt uſe a diſtinction to help to lift it up. I ſay therefore, howſoever all things are ordained by the purpoſe and certain diſpoſition of God, yet to us they are accidental; not that we think that fortune ruleth the world and men, and unadviſedly toſſeth all things up and down (for ſuch beaſtlineſs ought to be far from a Chriſtian heart) but becauſe the order, mean, end, and neceſſity of thoſe things that happen, doth for the moſt part ly ſecret in the purpoſe of God, and is not comprehended with opinion of man, therefore thoſe things are as it were fortuitous, which yet it is certain to come to paſs by the will of God: For they ſeem no otherwiſe, whether we conſider them in their own nature, or whether we eſteem them according to our knowlege and judgment. As for example, let us put the caſe, that a merchant being entered into a wood in company of true men, doth unwiſely ſtray away from his fellows, and in his wandering chanceth upon a den of robbers, lighteth among thieves, and is killed, his death was not only foreſeen with God's eye, but alſo determined by his decree. For it is not ſaid that he did foreſee how far each man's life ſhould extend, but that he hath ſet and appointed bounds which cannot be paſſed, John xiv. 5. And yet ſo far as the capacity of our mind conceiveth, all things herein ſeem to happen by chance. What ſhall a Chriſtian here think? even this, whatſoever happened in ſuch a death, he will think it in nature happening by fortune as it is indeed, but yet he will not doubt that the providence of God did govern to direct fortune to her end. The ſame holds true with regard to all future contingencies. For as all things that are to come are uncertain unto us, ſo we hang them in ſuſpence, as if they might fall on either part, yet this remaineth ſettled in our hearts, that nothing ſhall happen but that which God hath already foreſeen. In this meaning is the name of chance oft repeated in Eccleſiaſtes, becauſe, at the firſt ſight, men do not attain to ſee the firſt cauſe which is far hidden from them. And yet that which is declared in the Scriptures concerning the ſecret providence of God, was never ſo blotted out of the hearts of men, but that even in the darkneſs there always ſhined ſome ſparks thereof. So the ſoothſayers of the Philiſtines, altho' they waver in doubtfulneſs, yet they aſcribe adverſity partly to God, partly to fortune. If (ſay they) the ark go that way, we ſhall know that it is God that hath ſmote us; but if it go the other way, then a chance hath happened to us. Indeed they did fooliſhly, when their ſkill in ſoothſaying deceived them, (1 Sam. vi. 9.) to flee to fortune, but in the mean time we ſee them conſtrained, ſo that they dare not think that the calamity which befel them was owing to fortune. But how God, with the bridle of his providence, turneth all ſucceſſes whither it pleaſeth him, may appear from one remarkable example: Behold, even at one moment of time, when David was found out, and near taken in the deſart of Mahon, 1 Sam. xxiii. 26. even when the Philiſtines invaded the land, and Saul was compelled to depart. If God, meaning to provide for the ſafety of his ſervant, did throw this obſtacle in Saul's way, ſurely, altho' the Philiſtines their taking up arms, was a ſudden thing, and contrary to the expectation of men, yet we ought not to ſay, that it happened by chance. But thoſe things which appear to us to happen by chance, faith will acknowlege to have been owing to a ſecret impulſe of God. I grant there doth not always appear the like reaſon, but doubtleſs we ought to believe, that whatſoever changes of things are ſeen in the world, are brought about by the direction and influence of God's inviſible hand. But that which God purpoſeth is ſo of neceſſity to come to paſs, that yet it is not of neceſſity preciſely nor by the nature of itſelf. Of this we have a familiar example in the bones of Chriſt. Foraſmuch as he had put on a body like unto ours, no wiſe man will deny that his bones were naturally capable of being broken, yet was it impoſſible that they ſhould be broken: whereby we ſee again, that not without cauſe the ſchoolmen invented the diſtinctions of neceſſity in reſpect, and neceſſity abſolute, of conſequent and conſequence, whereas God had ſubject to brittleneſs the bones of his Son, which he had exempted from being able to be broken, and ſo brought to neceſſity by reaſon of his own purpoſe, that that thing could not be, which naturally might have been.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Whereto and to what end this doctrine is to be applied, that we may be certain of the profit thereof.

Four things in considering the providence of God do make the consideration thereof sweet and comfortable, that it serveth for things to come, as well as past: that it worketh by, with, and without means: that it respecteth principally the church of God: & that it worketh even when the course of things doth seem to persuade the contrary.

NOW forasmuch as the inward thoughts of men are inclined to vain curious subtilties, it is scarcely possible but they shall encumber themselves with entangled doubts whosoever do not know the true and right use of this doctrine. Therefore, it will be expedient here to touch shortly, to what end the Scripture teacheth, That all things are ordered by God. And first of all it is to be observed, That the providence of God ought to be considered as regarding the time to come, as well as the time past. Secondly, That the same is in such sort the governor of all things, that sometimes he worketh by means, sometimes without means, and sometimes against all means. Last of all, That it tendeth to this end, that God may shew that he takes care of all mankind, but especially that he watches and rules over his church, which he condescends more nearly to look into. And this is also to be added, that altho' either the paternal favour and beneficence of God, or oftentimes the severity of his judgment do brightly appear in the whole course of his providence: yet sometimes the causes of those things that happen are secret, so that this thought insinuates itself into our minds, that the affairs of mankind are turned and whirled about by the blind direction of fortune, or so that the flesh excites us to murmur, as if God did to make himself pastime, toss them like tennis balls. True it is, that if we were with quiet and still minds ready to learn, the very success itself would at length plainly shew, that God hath an assured good reason of his purpose, either to train those who are his own people unto patience, or to correct their evil affections and tame their wantonness, or to bring them down to the renouncing of themselves, or to awake their drowsiness: on the other side to overthrow the proud, to disappoint the subtilty of the wicked, to confound their devices. But howsoever the causes be secret and unknown to us; we must assuredly hold that they are laid up in hidden store with him, and therefore we ought to cry out with David, God, thou hast made thy wonderful works so many, that none can count in order to thee thy thoughts toward us. I would declare and speak of them, but they are more than I am able to express, Psal. xl. 5. For altho' always in our miseries we ought to think upon our sins, that the very punishment may excite us to repentance, yet do we see how Christ giveth more power to the secret purpose of his Father, than to punish every one according to his desert. For of him that was born blind he saith, Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents; but that the glory of God may be shewed in him, John ix. 3. For here natural sense murmureth, when calamity cometh even before birth, as if God did unmercifully so to punish the silly innocent, that had not deserved it. But Christ doth testify, that in this Looking-glass the glory of his Father doth shine to our sight, if we have clear eyes to behold it. But we must keep modesty, that we draw not God to yield cause of his doings, but let us so reverence his secret judgments, that his will be unto us, a most just cause of all things. When thick clouds do cover the heaven, and a violent tempest ariseth, then because both a heavysome mistiness is cast before our eyes, and the thunder troubleth our ears, and all our senses are amazed with terror, we think that all things are confounded and troubled together: and yet all the while there remaineth in the heaven the same quietness and calmness that was before. So must we think that while the troublesome state of things in the world taketh from us ability to judge, God, by the pure light of his righteousness and wisdom, doth in well framed order govern and dispose even those very troublesome motions themselves to a right end. And surely very monstrous is the rage of many in this behalf, who dare more boldly call the works of God to account and examine his secret intentions, and to give unadvised sentence of things unknown, than they will do of the deeds of mortal men. For what is more preposterous than to use such modesty towards our equals, that we had rather suspend our judgment than to incur the blame of rashness, and on the other side proudly to triumph upon the dark judgments of God, which it became us to regard with reverence?

As we are to yield obedience to the known revealed

2. Therefore, no man shall duly and profitably consider the providence of God, but he that con-

will of his law, ſo reverence is due to the ſecret Will, according to which he ruleth by providence.

conſidering that he hath to do with his Creator and the Maker of the world, doth with ſuch humility as he ought ſubmit himſelf to fear and reverence. Hereby it cometh to paſs, that ſo many dogs at this day, do with venomed bitings, or at leaſt barking, attack this doctrine, becauſe they will have no more to be lawful for God, than their own reaſon informeth them. And alſo they rail at us with all the ſpitefulneſs that they are able, for that not contented with the commandments of the law, wherein the will of God is comprehended, we do further ſay, That the world is ruled by his ſecret counſels. As tho' the things that we teach were an invention of our own brain, and as tho' it were not true that the Holy Ghoſt doth everywhere expreſly ſay the ſame, and repeateth it with innumerable forms of ſpeech. But becauſe ſome ſhame reſtraineth them, that they dare not vomit out their blaſphemies againſt the heaven; they pretend that they contend with us, to the end they may the more freely play the madmen. But if they do not grant that whatſoever happeneth in the world, is governed by the incomprehenſible purpoſe of God, let them anſwer, to what end the Scripture ſaith, that his judgments are a deep bottomleſs depth, Pſal. xxxvi. 7. For, whereas Moſes crieth out that the will of God is not to be ſought afar off in the clouds, or in the depths, becauſe it is familiarly ſet forth in the law: it followeth, that his other hidden will is compared to a bottomleſs depth. Of the which Paul alſo ſaith; "O the depth of the riches both of the wiſdom and "knowlege of God! how unſearchable are his judg-"ments, and his ways paſt finding out? For who "hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath "been his counſellor?" Rom. xi. 33, 34. And it is indeed true, that in the goſpel and in the law are contained myſteries which are far above the capacity of our ſenſe: but foraſmuch as God for the comprehending of theſe myſteries which he hath vouchſafed to reveal by his word, doth enlighten the minds of them that are his, with the ſpirit of underſtanding: now is there no bottomleſs depth, but a way wherein we may walk in ſafety, and a lamp, to guide our feet, and the light of life, and the ſchool of certain and plainly diſcernable truth. But his marvellous order of governing the world, is juſtly called a bottomleſs depth: becauſe, while it is concealed from us, we ought reverently to worſhip it. Admirably well hath Moſes expreſſed both theſe in few words. "Secret things (ſaith he, Deut. xxix. 29.) "belong to the Lord our God: but things revealed "belong to us and to our children for ever." We ſee how he biddeth us not only to ſtudy in meditation of the law, but alſo reverently to look up unto the ſecret providence of God. And in the book of Job, (chap. xxvi. 14.) is rehearſed one title of this depth, that it humbleth our minds. For, after that the author of that book in ſurveying up and down the frame of the world, had honourably treated of the works of God, at length he addeth: "Lo, theſe "are parts of his ways, but how little a portion is "heard of him?" For which reaſon in another place he maketh difference between the wiſdom that remaineth with God, and the meaſure of wiſdom that he hath appointed for men. For after he hath diſcourſed of the ſecrets of nature, he ſaith, That wiſdom is known to God only, and is concealed from the eyes of all living creatures. But ſoon after, he ſaith further, That it is publiſhed to the end it ſhould be ſearched out: becauſe it is ſaid unto man, "Be-"hold, the fear of God is wiſdom," Job xxviii. 28. For this purpoſe maketh the ſaying of Auguſtin: *(Lib. 83. quæſt. cap. 23.)* Becauſe we know not all things which God doth concerning us in moſt good order; that therefore in only good will we do according to the law, becauſe his providence is an unchangeable law. Therefore, ſince God doth claim unto himſelf the power of governing the world, which is to us unknown, let this be to us a law of ſoberneſs and modeſty, quietly to obey his ſovereign authority, that his will may be to us the only rule of juſtice, and the moſt juſt cauſe of all things. I mean not that abſolute will, of which the Sophiſters do babble, ſeparating by wicked and profane diſagreement his juſtice from his power, but I mean that providence which governs all things; from which proceedeth nothing but what is right: altho' the cauſes thereof are kept out of our view.

The leud inferences which wicked men draw from the doctrine of God's providence becauſe they do not rightly and ſoberly diſcern it.

3. Whoſoever ſhall be framed to this modeſty, they neither for the time paſt will murmur againſt God for their adverſities, nor lay upon him the blame of wicked actions, as Agamemnon in Homer did, ſaying, "I am not the cauſe "but Jupiter and *fate*;" nor yet again, as carried away with deſtinies, will they by deſpair throw themſelves into deſtruction, as that young man in Plautus, who ſaid, "Unſtable is the chance of things: "the Fates drive men at their pleaſure, I will get "me to ſome rock there to make an end of my goods "and life together." Neither yet (as another did) will they pretend the name of God to palliate and cover

cover their own miſchievous actions; for ſo ſaith Lyconides in another comedy: God was the mover: I believe it was the will of the gods: for if it had not been their will, I know it ſhould not ſo come to paſs. But rather they will ſearch and learn out of the ſcripture what pleaſeth God, that by the guidance of the holy Ghoſt, they may ſtrive to attain to that. And alſo being ready to follow God, whitherſoever he calleth, they ſhew indeed that nothing is more profitable than the knowlege of his doctrine. Very fooliſhly do profane men make a noiſe with their ſilly tales, ſo that they in manner confound heaven and earth together as the ſaying is: If God (ſay they) have marked the point of our death, we cannot eſcape it: then it is labour vainly loſt in taking heed to ourſelves. Therefore, whereas one man dareth not venture to go the way that he heareth to be dangerous, leſt he be murthered of thieves: another ſendeth for phyſicians, and wearieth himſelf with medicines to ſuccour his life: another forbeareth groſs meats for fear of impairing his feeble health: another dreadeth to dwell in a ruinous houſe. Finally, whereas men deviſe always and endeavour with all diligence of mind whereby they may attain that which they deſire: either all theſe remedies are vain, which are ſought, as to alter the will of God, or elſe life and death, health and ſickneſs, peace and war, and other things, which men as they covet or hate them, do by their efforts endeavour to obtain or eſcape, are not determined by his certain decree. And further they gather, that the prayers of the faithful are prepoſterous or at leaſt ſuperfluous, wherein petition is made that it will pleaſe the Lord to provide for thoſe things which he hath already decreed from eternity. To be ſhort, they deſtroy all counſels that men do take for time to come as things againſt the providence of God, which hath determined what he would have done, without calling them to account. And then whatſoever has already happened, they ſo impute it to the providence of God, that they wink at the man whom they know to have done it. Thus hath a ruffian ſlain an honeſt citizen? he hath executed (ſay they) the purpoſe of God. Hath one ſtolen, or committed fornication? In either of theſe caſes, becauſe he hath done what was foreſeen and ordained by the Lord, he acts as a miniſter of his providence. Hath the ſon careleſly, neglecting all remedies waited for the death of his father? he could not reſiſt God who had fore-ordained this ſo to happen from eternity. So all miſchievous actions they call virtues, becauſe they obey the ordinance of God.

The providence of God doth not aboliſh but eſtabliſh the means by leaving the end certain only to itſelf, to us uncertain, that we might take the ways which are likely to bring unto that end which we ſhould purpoſe to ourſelves.

4. But with regard to things to come, Solomon doth eaſily reconcile the purpoſes of men with the providence of God. For as he laugheth to ſcorn their folly, who boldly do undertake any thing without the Lord, as tho' they were not ruled by his hand: ſo in another place he ſpeaketh in this manner: "The heart of "man purpoſeth his way, but "the Lord doth direct his ſteps," meaning that we are not hindered by the eternal decrees of God, but that under his will we may both provide for ourſelves, and diſpoſe all things belonging to us. And that is not without a manifeſt reaſon. For he who hath limited our life within appointed bounds, hath therewithal left with us the care thereof, hath furniſhed us with means and helps to preſerve it, hath made us to have knowlege before hand of dangers, and that they ſhould not oppreſs us unawares, he hath given us proviſions and remedies. Now it is plain to ſee what is our duty, that is to ſay: If God hath committed to us our own life to defend, our duty is to defend it. If he offer us helps, our duty is to uſe them. If he ſhew us dangers before hand, our duty is not to run raſhly into them. If he miniſter us remedies, our duty is not to neglect them. But no danger ſhall hurt unleſs it be fatal, which by all remedies cannot be overcome. But what if dangers be therefore not fatal, becauſe God hath aſſigned the remedies to repulſe and overcome them? See how thy manner of reaſoning agreeth with the order of God's diſpoſition. Thou gathereſt that danger is not to be taken heed of, becauſe foraſmuch as it is not fatal, we ſhall eſcape it without taking heed at all: but the Lord doth therefore enjoin thee to take heed of it, becauſe he will not have it fatal unto thee. Theſe mad men do not conſider that which is plain before their eyes, that the ſkill of taking counſel and heed is inſpired into men by God, whereby they may ſerve his providence in preſerving of their own life: as on the other ſide by negligence and ſloth they procure to themſelves theſe evils which he hath appointed for them. For how cometh it to paſs, that a circumſpect man while he provideth for himſelf, doth wind himſelf out of

evils that hang over him, and the fool periſheth by unadviſed raſhneſs, but becauſe both folly and wiſdom are the inſtruments of God's diſpoſition on both parts? Therefore it pleaſed God to hide from us all things to come, to this end that we ſhould meet with them as things doubtful, and not ceaſe to ſet prepared remedies againſt them, till either they be overcome, or be paſt all help of care. And for this cauſe I have before admoniſhed, that the providence of God doth not alway ſhew itſelf naked, but as God by uſing of means doth in a certain manner clothe it.

The providence of God doth not prove evil doers unworthy of puniſhment.

5. The ſame men do raſhly and inconſiderately draw the chances of time paſt to the naked providence of God. For becauſe upon it depends whatſoever comes to paſs, therefore (ſay they) neither robberies, nor adulteries, nor man-ſlaughters, are committed without the will of God. Why then, ſay they, ſhall a thief be puniſhed, becauſe he hath ſpoiled him whom the Lord's will was to puniſh with poverty? Why ſhall the murderer be puniſhed who hath ſlain him whoſe life the Lord had ended? If all ſuch men do ſerve the will of God, why ſhall they be puniſhed? But I deny that they ſerve the will of God. For we may not ſay, that he who is carried with an evil mind doth ſervice unto God as commander of it, where indeed he doth but obey his own wicked luſt. He obeyeth God, who being informed of his will, doth labour to that end, to which God's will calleth him. But whereby are we informed of his will, but by his word? Therefore in doing of things we muſt ſee that ſame will of God, which he declareth in his word. God requireth of us only that which he commandeth. If we do any thing againſt his commandment, it is not obedience, but obſtinacy and tranſgreſſion. But unleſs he would, we ſhould not do it. Be it ſo. But do we evil things to this end, to obey him? But he doth not command us to do them, but rather we ruſh on headlong, not minding what he willeth, but ſo raging with the intemperance of our own luſt, that of ſet purpoſe we bend our efforts againſt him. And by theſe means in evil doing we ſerve his juſt ordinance, becauſe according to the infinite greatneſs of his wiſdom he hath good ſkill to uſe evil inſtruments to do good. And ſee how fooliſh is their manner of arguing? They would have the doers unpuniſhed for miſchievous acts, becauſe they are not committed but by the diſpoſition of God. I grant more: that thieves and murderers and other evil doers are the inſtruments of God's providence, whom the Lord doth uſe to execute thoſe judgments which he hath with himſelf determined. But I deny that their evil doings ought to have any excuſe thereby. For why? ſhall they either entangle God in the ſame wickedneſs with them, or ſhall they cover their naughtineſs with his righteouſneſs? They can do neither of theſe. Becauſe they ſhould not be able to excuſe themſelves, they are accuſed by their own conſcience. And becauſe they ſhould not be able to blame God, they find all the evil in themſelves, and in him nothing but a lawful uſe of their wickedneſs. But he worketh by them. And whence I pray you cometh the ſtink in a dead carrion, which hath been both rotted and diſcloſed by heat of the ſun? All men do ſee that it is raiſed by the beams of the ſun. Yet no man doth therefore ſay, that the ſun beams do ſtink. So when there reſteth in an evil man the matter and guiltineſs of evil, what cauſe is there why it ſhould be thought that God is any thing defiled with it, if he uſe their ſervice at his pleaſure? Away therefore with this doggiſh frowardneſs, which may indeed afar off bark at the juſtice of God, but cannot touch it.

The ſweet and ſober meditation which a chriſtian ought to have of God's providence.

6. But theſe cavils, or rather doting errors of frantic men, ſhall eaſily be ſhaken away, by godly and holy meditation of the providence, which the rule of godlineſs teacheth us, ſo that thereof may grow unto us, a good and moſt pleaſant fruit. Therefore a chriſtian heart when it is moſt aſſuredly perſuaded that all things come to paſs by the diſpoſition of God, and that nothing happeneth by chance, will always bend his eyes to him as to the principal cauſe of things, and yet will conſider the inferior cauſes in their place. Then he will not doubt that the ſingular providence of God doth watch for his preſervation, which providence will ſuffer nothing to happen, but that which ſhall turn to his good and ſalvation. And becauſe he hath to do firſt of all with men, and then with the other creatures, he will aſſure himſelf that God's providence doth reign in both. As touching men, whether they be good or evil, he will acknowlege that all their counſels, wills, enterpriſes and powers are under the direction of God, ſo that it is in God's will to turn them whitherſoever he pleaſes and to reſtrain them ſo oft as pleaſeth him. That the ſingular providence of God doth keep watch for the ſafety of the faithful, there are many and moſt evident promiſes to witneſs. Pſal. lv. 22. Caſt thy burden upon the Lord

Lord, and he ſhall ſuſtain thee, and ſhall not ſuffer the righteous to fall for ever, Pſal. xci. 1. becauſe he careth for us. Zach. ii. 8. He that dweleth in the ſecret place of the Moſt High, ſhall abide under the ſhadow of the Almighty. He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of mine eye. Zech. ii. 8. I will be thy ſhield, a brazen wall, I will be an enemy to thy enemies. Although the mother forget her children, yet will I not forget thee. Iſa. xlv. 22. And alſo this is the principal intent in the hiſtories of the Bible, to teach that the Lord doth with ſuch diligence keep the ways of ſaints, that they do not ſo much as ſtumble againſt a ſtone, Therefore as a little before we have rightfully rejected their opinion, who do imagine an univerſal providence of God, that ſtoopeth not ſpecially to the care of every creature: yet principally it ſhall be good to recognize the ſame ſpecial care toward ourſelves. Whereupon Chriſt after he had affirmed (Matth.x. 29.) that not a ſparrow of the leaſt value, doth fall to the ground without the will of the Father, doth by and by apply it to this end, that we ſhould conſider, that how much we are more worth than ſparrows, with ſo much near care doth God provide for us, and he extendeth that care ſo far, that we may be bold to truſt that the hairs of our head are numbered. What can we wiſh ourſelves more, if not ſo much as a hair can fall from our head, but by his will? I ſpeak not only of all mankind, but becauſe God hath choſen his church for a dwelling houſe for himſelf, it is no doubt but that he doth by ſingular examples ſhew his care in governing of it.

The comfort which riſeth from the conſideration of God's diſpoſing both evil and good.

7. The ſervant of God being ſtrengthened with both promiſes and examples, will join with them the teſtimonies which teach that all men are under God's power, whither it be to incline their minds to good will, or to reſtrain their malice from doing hurt. For it is the Lord who giveth us favour not only with them that wiſh us well, but alſo in the ſight of the Egyptians, Exod. iii. 21. and as for the maliciouſneſs of our enemies, he knoweth how by divers ways to ſubdue it. For ſometimes he taketh away their wits from them, ſo that they can conceive no ſound or ſober advice, like as he ſent forth Satan to fill the mouths of all the prophets with lying to deceive Achab, 1 Kings xxii. 22. He made Rehoboam mad by the young mens counſel, that he might be ſpoiled of his kingdom by his own folly, 1 Kings xii. 10. Many times when he granteth them wit, yet he maketh them ſo afraid and aſtoniſhed, that they have neither inclination nor power to go about that which they have conceived. Sometimes alſo when he hath permitted them to attempt that which luſt and rage did counſel them to, he doth in convenient time break off their violent motions, and ſuffereth them not to arrive at the end they had deſigned. So did he before the time bring to nought the counſel of Achitophel 2 Sam. xvii. 7. that ſhould have been to David's deſtruction. So alſo he taketh care to govern all his creatures for the benefit and ſafety of them that are his, yea, and to govern the devil himſelf, who as we ſee durſt enterpriſe nothing againſt Job, Job i. 12. without God's permiſſion and commandment. Of this knowlege the neceſſary conſequence to a good chriſtian is, Thankfulneſs of mind in proſperity and alſo patience in adverſity, and an incredible aſſuredneſs againſt the time to come. Whatſoever therefore ſhall happen to ſuch a man proſperouſly and according to his hearts deſire, all that he will aſcribe unto God, whether he feel the bounty of God by the miniſtry of men, or be aſſiſted by lifeleſs creatures. For thus he will think in his mind: "Surely it is "the Lord who hath inclined their minds to me, "who hath joined them unto me, to be inſtruments "of his goodneſs towards me." In plenty of the fruits of the earth, thus he will think, that it is the Lord who heareth the heaven, that the heaven may hear the earth, that the earth alſo may bear her fruits. In other things he will not doubt that it is only the bleſſing of the Lord, by which things proſper, and put in mind by ſo many cauſes he will not abide to be unthankful.

To behold the hand of God in all things which we ſuffer, maketh us both patient and penitent.

8. If any adverſity befal him he will immediately therein alſo lift up his mind to God, whoſe hand availeth much to imprint in us a patience and quiet moderation of heart. If Joſeph had ſtill continued in recording the falſhoods of his brethren, he could never have taken a brotherly mind towards them. But becauſe he bowed his mind to the Lord, he forgat the injury, and inclined to meekneſs and clemency inſomuch that of his own accord comforted his brethren and ſaid: Gen. xlv. 8. "It is not you that "ſold me into Egypt, but by the will of God I "was ſent before you to ſave your lives. You in-"deed thought evil of me, but the Lord turned it "to good." If Job had had reſpect to the Chaldees by whom he was troubled, he would forthwith have been kindled to revenge. But becauſe he did therewithal acknowlege it to be the work of God; he

he comforted himſelf with this moſt excellent ſaying: Job. i. 21. "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath "taken away; bleſſed be the name of the Lord." So David when Shimei had railed and caſt ſtones at him, if he had looked upon man, he would have encouraged his ſoldiers to return the injury. But becauſe he underſtood that Shimei did it not without the moving of the Lord, he rather appeaſed them. 2 Sam. xvi. 10. "Let him alone (ſaid he) "for the Lord hath commanded him to curſe." With the ſame bridle in another place doth he reſtrain the intemperance of ſorrow. "I held my peace (ſaith "he) and became as dumb, becauſe thou, O Lord, "didſt it." If there be more effectual remedy againſt wrath and impatience; ſurely he hath not a little profited who hath learned in this behalf to think upon the providence of God, that he may always call back his mind to this point. It is the Lord's will, therefore it muſt be ſuffered, not only becauſe it is not lawful to ſtrive againſt it, but alſo becauſe he willeth nothing but that which is both juſt and expedient. In ſum this is the end, that being wrongfully hurt by men, we leaving their malice (which would do nothing but urge us to ſorrow, and whet our minds to revenge) ſhould remember to climb up unto God, and learn to believe aſſuredly, that whatſoever our enemy hath miſchievouſly done againſt us, was both ſuffered and ſent by God's diſpoſition. Paul, to reſtrain us from requitting of injuries, doth wiſely put us in mind, Eph. vi. 12. that we are not to wreſtle with fleſh and blood, but with the ſpiritual enemy the devil, that we may prepare ourſelves to ſtrive with him. But this is the moſt profitable leſſon for the appeaſing of all rages of wrath, that God doth arm as well the devil as all wicked men to ſtrive with us, and that he ſitteth as judge to exerciſe our patience. But if the misfortunes and miſeries that oppreſs us, do happen without the work of men, let us remember the doctrine of the law: whatſoever is proſperous floweth from the fountain of God's bleſſing, and that all adverſities are his curſings: and let that moſt terrible warning make us afraid: Deut. xxviii. "If ye walk ſtubbornly againſt me, I will alſo "walk ſtubbornly againſt you." In which is rebuked our ſluggiſhneſs, when according to the common ſenſe of the fleſh accounting all to be but chance that happeneth of both ſorts, we are neither encouraged by the benefits of God to worſhip him, nor urged forward with his ſcourges to repentance. This ſame is the reaſon, why Jeremiah (Lam. iii. 38.) and Amos (Amos iii. 6.) did ſo ſharply rebuke the Jews, becauſe they thought that things as well good as evil came to paſs without the commandment of God. To the ſame purpoſe ſerveth that ſpeech of Iſaiah, Iſ. xlv. 6. "I the Lord form the light, and create "darkneſs: I make peace, and create evil: I the "Lord do all theſe things."

The way to conſider wiſely of inferior and ſecond cauſes, whether they be of things paſt, or things to come.

9. And yet in the mean time a godly man will not wink at the inferior cauſes. Neither will he, becauſe he thinketh them the miniſters of God's goodneſs: by whom he hath received benefit, therefore let them paſs unconſidered, as though they had deſerved no thanks by their gentleneſs: but he will heartily think himſelf bound unto them, and will willingly own his obligation, and labour as he ſhall be able, and as occaſion ſhall ſerve, to recompence it. Finally, in benefits received he will reverence and praiſe God as the principal author, but he will honour men as the miniſters, and as the truth is indeed he will underſtand that he is by the will of God bound to them, by whoſe hand it was God's will to be beneficial unto him. If he ſuffer any loſs by negligence or want of foreſight, he will determine in his mind, that the ſame was done indeed with the will of God, but he will impute it alſo to himſelf. If any man be dead through ſickneſs whom he hath negligently handled, whereas of duty he ſhould have taken good heed unto him, although he be not ignorant, that the man was come unto his appointed time beyond which he could not paſs, yet will he not thereby leſſen his offence, but becauſe he had not faithfully diſcharged his duty toward him, he will ſo take it as if he had periſhed by fault of his negligence. Much leſs when there is uſed any fraud, and conceived malice of mind, in committing either murther or theft, will he excuſe it under pretence of God's providence, but he will in the ſelf ſame evil act ſeverally behold both the righteouſneſs of God and the wickedneſs of man, as both do manifeſtly ſhew themſelves. But principally in things to come he will have conſideration of ſuch inferior cauſes. For he will reckon it among the bleſſings of God if he be not diſappointed of the helps of men which he may uſe for his ſafety. And ſo he neither will be negligent in taking of counſel, nor ſlothful in craving their help whom he ſeeth to have ſufficient whereof he may be ſuccoured: but thinking that whatſoever creatures can any way profit him, the ſame are offered into his hand by God, he will apply them to his uſe as the lawful inſtruments of God's providence. And becauſe he doth not certainly know what ſucceſs the

buſineſs

buſineſs will have that he goeth about, (ſaving that in all things he knoweth that the Lord will provide for his benefit) he will carefully purſue that which he ſhall think expedient for himſelf, ſo far as he can conceive in mind and underſtanding. And yet in taking of counſels he will not be carried on by his own wit, but will commit and yield himſelf to the wiſdom of God, that by the guiding thereof he may be directed to the right end. But his confidence ſhall not ſo ſtay upon outward helps, that if he have them he will careleſly reſt upon them, or if he want them he will be afraid as left deſtitute, for he will have his mind alway fixed upon the providence of God, neither will he ſuffer himſelf to be drawn away from theſtedfaſt beholding thereof by conſideration of preſent things. So though Joab acknowleged that the ſucceſs of battel is in the will and hand of God, yet he gave not himſelf to ſlothfulneſs, but did diligently execute that which belonged to his calling, but he leaveth it unto the Lord to govern the end. 2 Sam. x. 12. "We will ſtand valiant (ſaith "he) for our nation, and for the cities of our God: "but the Lord do what is good in his eyes." This knowlege ſhall ſtrip us of raſhneſs and wrongful confidence, and ſhall drive us to continual calling upon God: and alſo ſhall uphold our minds with good hope, ſo as we may not doubt aſſuredly and boldly to depiſe thoſe dangers that compaſs us about.

The fears which every moment of our life bringeth, if our minds be not ſettled in the knowlege of God's providence.

10. In this point doth the ineſtimable felicity of a godly mind ſhew forth itſelf. Innumerable are the evils that do beſet man's life, and do threaten him ſo many deaths. As, not to go further than ourſelves: foraſmuch as our body is a receptacle of a thouſands diſeaſes, yea, hath encloſed and doth nouriſh within it the cauſes of diſeaſes; man cannot carry himſelf but he muſt needs alſo carry about with him many forms of his own deſtruction, and draw forth a life as it were entangled with death. For what may it elſe be called, where he neither is cold, nor ſweateth without peril? Now whitherſoever thou turn thee, all things that are about thee are not only untruſty friends to thee. but do in a manner openly threaten and ſeem to ſhew thee preſent death. Go into a ſhip, there is but a foot thickeſs between thee and death. Sit on horſeback, in the ſlipping of one foot thy life is in danger. Go through the ſtreets of the city: even how many tiles are upon the houſes, to ſo many perils art thou ſubject. If there be an iron tool in thy hand or thy friend's, thy harm is ready prepared. How many wild beaſts thou ſeeſt, they are all armed to thy deſtruction. If thou mean to ſhut up thy ſelf, even in a garden well fenced, where may appear nothing but pleaſantneſs of air and ground, there ſometimes lurketh a ſerpent. The houſe which is continually ſubject to fire, doth in the day-time threaten thee with poverty, and in the night time with falling upon thy head. Thy field, foraſmuch as it lyeth open to hail, froſt, drowth and other tempeſts, it warneth thee of barreneſs, and thereby famine. I ſpeak not of priſonings, treaſons robberies, open violence, of which part do beſiege us at home, and part do follow us abroad. In theſe ſtraits muſt not man needs be moſt miſerable, which even in life half dead doth plainly draw forth a careful and fainting breath, as if he had a ſword continually hanging over his neck? But thou wilt ſay, that theſe things happen ſeldom, or at leaſt not always, nor to all men, and never all at once. I grant it, but ſeeing we are put in mind by the examples of others, that the ſame things may happen to ourſelves, and that our life ought of duty no more to be free than theirs, it cannot be, but that we muſt dread and fear them, as things that may befal us. Now what can a man imagine more miſerable than ſuch a fearfulneſs? Beſides, that it is not without diſhonourable reproach of God to ſay, that he hath ſet open man, the nobleſt of all his creatures to their blind and unadviſed ſtrokes of fortune. But here my purpoſe is to ſpeak only of the miſery of man, which he ſhould feel, if he ſhould be brought ſubject under fortune's dominion.

What boldneſs, and quietneſs of mind the knowlege of the providence of God worketh.

11. But when the light of God's providence hath once ſhined upon a godly man, he is now relieved and delivered not only from the extreme anguiſh and fear with which he was before oppreſſed, but alſo from all care. For as juſtly he feareth fortune, ſo he dare boldly commit himſelf to God. This is (I ſay) his comfort to underſtand that his heavenly Father doth ſo hold in all things with his power, ſo ruleth them with his authority and countenance, ſo ordereth them with his wiſdom that nothing befalleth but by his appointment: and that he is received into God's tuition, and committed to the charge of angels, and cannot be touched with any hurt of water, nor fire, nor weapon, but ſo far as it ſhall pleaſe God the governor to give them place. For ſo is it ſung in the pſalm: Pſalm. xci. 3. For he ſhall deliver thee

from the ſnare of the fowler and from the noiſom peſtilence. He ſhall cover thee under his wings, and thou ſhalt be ſure under his feathers. His truth ſhall be thy ſhield and buckler. Thou ſhalt not be afraid of the fear of the night, nor of the arrow that flieth by day, nor of the peſtilence that walketh in darkneſs, nor of the plague that deſtroyeth at noon-day. And from thence proceedeth that boldneſs of the ſaints to glory. The Lord is my helper, I will not fear what fleſh may do to me. Pſal. cxiii. 6. The Lord is my protector, why ſhall I be afraid? If whole camps ſtand up againſt me, if I walk in the midſt of the ſhadow of death, I will not ceaſe to hope well. Whence, I pray you, have they this that their aſſuredneſs is never ſhaken away from them? but hereby, that where the world ſeemeth in ſhew to be without order whirled about, they know that God worketh every where, whoſe work they truſt ſhall be for their preſervation. Now if their ſafety be ſhaken either by the devil or by wicked men, in that caſe if they were not ſtrengthened with remembrance and meditation of providence, they muſt needs be ſoon diſcouraged. But when they call to mind, that the devil and all the rout of the wicked, are ſo every way holden in by the hand of God as with a bridle, that they can neither conceive any miſchief againſt us, nor go about it when they have conceived it, nor if they go never ſo much about it, can ſtir one finger to bring it to paſs but ſo far as he ſhall ſuffer, yea, ſo far as he ſhall command, and that they are not only holden faſt bound with fetters, but alſo compelled with bridle to do ſervice: here have they abundantly wherewith to comfort themſelves. For as it is the Lord's work to arm their fury and to turn and direct it whither it pleaſeth him, ſo is it his work alſo to appoint meaſure and end that they do not after their own will licentiouſly triumph. With which perſuaſion Paul being eſtabliſhed, did by the permiſſion of God appoint his journey in another place which he ſaid was in one place hindered by Satan. 1 Theſ. ii. 18. 1 Cor. xvi. 7. If he had only ſaid that he had been ſtopped by Satan, he ſhould have ſeemed to give him too much power, as if it had been in Satan's hand to overthrow the wiſe purpoſes of God: but when he maketh God the judge upon whoſe permiſſion journeys do hang, he doth therewithal ſhew, that Satan whatſoever he go about, can accompliſh nothing but by God's will. For the ſame reaſon doth David, becauſe for the ſundry changes wherewith man's life is toſſed and as it were whirled about, he doth fly to this ſanctuary, ſaith that his times are in the hand of God. Pſal. xxxi. 16. He might have ſaid either the courſe of his life, or time in the ſingular number. But by the word times, he meant to expreſs that howſoever the ſtate of man be unſteady, whatſoever alterations do now and then happen, they are governed by God. For which cauſe Rezin and the king of Iſrael, when joining their powers to the deſtruction of Judah, they ſeemed as fire brands kindled to waſte and conſume the land, are called by the prophet ſmoking brands, (Iſa. vii. 4.) which can do nothing but breathe out a little ſmoke. So when Pharaoh was terrible to all men by reaſon of his riches, ſtrength and number of men, he himſelf is compared to a beaſt of the ſea, and his army to fiſhes. Therefore God ſaith (Ezek. xxix. 4.) that he will take the captain and the army with his hook and draw them whether he pleaſes. Finally, becauſe I will not dwell long upon this point, if a man obſerve it he ſhall eaſily ſee that the extremity of all miſeries is the ignorance of God's providence, and the chief good conſiſts in the knowlege thereof.

12. Concerning the providence of God, this that is ſaid were enough for ſo much as is profitable both for the perfect learning and comfort of the faithful, (for to fill the vain curioſity of men, nothing can be ſufficient, neither is it to be wiſhed that they be ſatisfied) were it not for certain places, which ſeem to mean otherwiſe than is above declared, that God hath not ſtedfaſt and ſtable purpoſe but changeable according to the diſpoſition of inferior things. Firſt, in ſome places there is mention made of the repentance of God, as Gen. vi. 6. that he repented him of the creating of man: 1 Sam. xv. 11. of the advancing of Saul to the kingdom. And that he will (Jer. xviii. 8.) repent him of the evil that he had determined to lay upon his people, ſo ſoon as he perceiveth any converſion of them from ſin. Again, there are recorded divers repeals of his decrees. He had declared by Jonas to the Ninevites, (Jonah iii. 4.) that after forty days once paſt, Nineveh ſhould be deſtroyed, but by and by he was turned with their repentance to a more gentle ſentence. He had by the mouth of Iſaiah, pronounced death to Hezekiah, (Iſa. xxxv. 3, 5.) which he was moved by his tears and prayers to defer. Hereupon many do argue, that God hath not appointed the affairs of men by eternal decree, but yearly, daily, and hourly,

It diſproveth not the ſettled purpoſe of God in appointing all things that he is ſaid to repent him, and that plagues firſt denounced are afterwards recalled.

hourly, appointeth this or that, as every man's deſervings are, or as he thinketh it, equity and juſtice. Concerning his repentance this we ought to hold, that the ſame can no more be in God, than ignorance, error and weakneſs. For if no man do wittingly and willingly throw himſelf into the caſe that he need to repent, we cannot ſay that God doth repent, but that we muſt alſo ſay, that God is ignorant what will come to paſs, or that he cannot avoid it, or that he headlong and unadviſedly runneth into a purpoſe whereof he by and by bethinketh him. But that it is ſo far from the meaning of the holy Ghoſt, that in the very mention making of repentance he denieth that God had any repenting at all, becauſe he is not a man that may repent. And it is to be obſerved, that in the ſame chapter they are both ſo joined together, that the compariſon doth very well bring the ſhew of repugnancy to agreement. His changing is figurativly ſpoken, that God repented that he had made Saul king; ſoon after it is added: 1 Sam. xv. 29. The ſtrength of Iſrael ſhall not lie, nor ſhall be moved with repenting. Becauſe he is not a man that he may repent. In which words his unchangeableneſs is affirmed plainly without any figure. Therefore it is certain that the ordinance of God in diſpoſing human affairs, is perpetual and above all repentance. And that his conſtancy ſhould not be doubtful, his very adverſaries have been compelled to bear him witneſs. For Balaam whether he would or no, could not chuſe but break forth into this ſaying, Num. xxiii. 19. that God is not man, that he ſhould lie, neither the ſon of man, that he ſhould repent: and that it is not poſſible that he ſhould not do what he hath ſaid, and not make good what he hath ſpoken.

God is ſaid to repent himſelf, not becauſe he changeth his purpoſe, but the events which his unchangeable purpoſe was to change.

13. What meaneth then this name of repentance? even in the ſame ſort that all the other phraſes of ſpeech which do deſcribe God unto us, after the manner of men. For, becauſe our weakneſs doth not reach to his highneſs, that deſcription of him which is taught us, was meet to be framed low to our capacity, that we might underſtand it. And this is the manner how to frame it low for us, to paint out himſelf not ſuch a one as he is in himſelf, but ſuch a one as he is perceived of us. Whereas he himſelf is without all moving of a troubled mind, he yet teſtifieth that he is angry with ſinners. Like as therefore when we hear that God is angry, we ought not to imagine that there is any moving at all in him, but rather to conſider that this ſpeech is borrowed of our common ſenſe, becauſe God beareth a reſemblance of one chafed and angry ſo oft as he exerciſeth judgment: ſo ought we to underſtand nothing elſe by this word of repentance but a changing of deeds, becauſe men by changing of their deeds, are wont to declare that they diſlike them. Becauſe then every change among men is an amendment of that which diſpleaſes them, and amendment proceeds from repentance; therefore by the name of repentance is meant only, that God changeth in his works. In the mean time yet neither is his purpoſe nor his will turned, nor his affection changed, but he followeth on with one continual courſe that which he had from eternity foreſeen, allowed and decreed, howſoever the alteration ſeem ſudden in the eyes of men.

Whenſoever a thing denounced from God is recalled, it was denounced with condition, if not expreſt, yet ſecret.

14. Neither doth ſacred hiſtory ſhew that God's decrees were repealed when it ſheweth that the deſtruction was pardoned to the Ninevites (Jonah iii. 10.) which had been before pronounced, and that the life of Hezekiah was prolonged after warning given him of death. Iſa. xxxv. 5. They that ſo conſtrue it are deceived in underſtanding of threatenings; which although they do ſimply affirm, yet by the event it ſhall be perceived that they contained a ſecret condition in them. For why did God ſend Jonas to the Ninevites to tell them before hand of the ruin of their city? Why did he by Iſaiah give Hezekiah warning of death? For he might have brought to nought both him and them without ſending them any word of their deſtruction. He meant therefore another thing, than to make them by foreknowing of their death to ſee it coming afar off. Even this he meant; not to have them deſtroyed, but to have them amended that they ſhould not be deſtroyed. Therefore this that Jonas propheſied that Nineveh ſhould fall after forty days, was done to this end that it ſhould not fall. That hope of longer life was cut off from Hezekiah, was done for this purpoſe that he might obtain longer life. Now who doth not ſee that God meant by ſuch threatenings to awaken them to repentance, whom he made afraid to the end that they might eſcape the judgment which they had deſerved by their ſins? If that be ſo agreed, the nature of the things themſelves doth lead us to this, to underſtand in the ſimple threatening a ſecret implied condition, which is alſo confirmed

firmed by like examples. The Lord rebuking the king Abimelech, becauſe he had taken away Abraham's wife from him, Gen. xvi. 3. uſeth theſe words: Behold thou ſhalt die for the woman that thou haſt taken, for ſhe hath a huſband. But after he had excuſed himſelf, God ſaid thus: Reſtore the wife to her huſband, for he is a prophet, and ſhall pray for thee that thou mayeſt live. If not: know that thou ſhalt die the death and all that thou haſt. You ſee how in his firſt ſentence he vehemently ſtriketh his mind to bring him to be more heedfully bent to make amends, and in the other doth plainly declare to him his will. Seeing the meaning of other places is like: do not gather of theſe that there was any thing withdrawn from the firſt purpoſe of God, by this that he made void the thing which he had pronounced. For God doth prepare the way for his eternal ordinance, when in giving warning of the puniſhment he moveth thoſe to repentance, whom his will is to ſpare, rather than varieth any thing in his will, no not in his word, ſaving that he doth not expreſs the ſame thing in ſyllables which is yet eaſy to underſtand. For that ſaying of Iſaiah muſt needs remain true: Iſa. xiv. 27. "The Lord of Hoſts hath determined, and who "ſhall be able to undo it? His hand is ſtreched out "and who ſhall turn it away."

CHAP. XVIII.

That God doth ſo uſe the ſervice of wicked men, and ſo boweth their minds to put his judgments in execution, that yet ſtill himſelf remaineth pure from all ſpot.

How God doth not only permit but appoint the things to be done which wicked men do.

THERE ariſeth a hard queſtion out of other places, where it is ſaid that God boweth and draweth at his will, Satan himſelf and all the reprobate. For the ſenſe of the fleſh ſcarcely conceiveth how he working by them, ſhould not gather ſome ſpot of their fault, yea, in his common working be free from all fault, and juſtly condemn his miniſters. Upon this was deviſed the diſtinction between doing and ſuffering: becauſe many have thought this doubt impoſſible to be diſſolved: that both Satan and all the wicked are ſo under the hand and power of God, that he directeth their malice, unto what end it pleaſeth him, and uſeth their wicked doings to the executing of his judgments. And their modeſty were peradventure excuſable, whom they ſhew of abſurdity putteth in fear, if it were not ſo that they do wrongfully with a lying defence go about to deliver the juſtice of God from all unrightful blame. It ſeemeth to them unreaſonable, that man ſhould by the will and commandment of God be made blind, and ſo by and by be puniſhed for his blindneſs. Therefore they ſeek to eſcape by this ſhift, that this is done by the permiſſion but not by the will of God. But he himſelf plainly pronouncing that he doth it, doth reject that ſhift. As for this that men do nothing but by the ſecret commandment of God, and do trouble themſelves in vain with deliberating, unleſs he do by his ſecret direction ſtabliſh that which he hath before determined, it is proved by innumerable and plain teſtimonies. It is certain that this which we before alleged out of the Pſalm, that God doth all things that he will, belongeth to all the actions of men. If God be the certain appointer of war and peace, as it is there ſaid and that without exception: who dare ſay that men are carried cauſeleſly with blind motion while God knoweth not of it, and ſitteth ſtill? But in ſpecial examples will be more agreeable plainneſs. By the firſt chapter of Job we know, that Satan doth no leſs appear before God to receive his commandments than do the angels which do willingly obey. Indeed it is after a diverſe manner and for a diverſe end: but yet ſo that he cannot go about any thing but with the will of God. Although there ſeem afterwards to be added a bare permiſſion of him to affiict the holy man: yet becauſe that ſaying is true: the Lord hath given, the Lord hath taken away, as it pleaſed God ſo is it to come to paſs: We gather that God was the author of that trial of Job, Job i. 2. whereof Satan and the wicked thieves were miniſters. Satan goeth about to drive the holy man by deſperation to madneſs. The Sabeans cruelly and wickedly do invade and rob his goods that were none of theirs. Job acknowlegeth that he was by God ſtripped of all his goods and made poor, becauſe it ſo pleaſed God. Therefore whatſoever men or Satan himſelf attempt, yet God manages all their efforts ſo as to turn them to the executing of his judgments. It was God's pleaſure to have the falſe king Ahab deceived: 2 Kings. xxii. 20. the Devil offered his ſervice thereunto: he was ſent with a certain commandment, to be a lying ſpirit in the mouth of all the prophets. If the blinding and madneſs of Ahab be the judg-

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ment of God, then the device of bare permiſſion is vain. For it were a fond thing to ſay, that the judge doth only ſuffer and not alſo decree what he will have done, and command the miniſters to put it in execution. It was the Jews purpoſe to deſtroy Chriſt, Pilate and the ſoldiers to follow their raging luſt, and yet in a ſolemn prayer the diciples do confeſs, that all the wicked men do nothing elſe but that which the hand and counſel of God had determined: even as Peter had before preached that, Chriſt was by the decreed purpoſe and foreknowlege of God delivered to be ſlain. As if he ſhould ſay: that God from whom nothing is hid, from the beginning did knowingly and willingly appoint that which the Jews did execute, as in another place he ſays, that God who ſhewed before by all his prophets that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer, hath ſo fulfilled it. Acts iv. 28. Acts ii. 23, Acts iii. 18. 2 Sam. xvi. 22. Abſolom defiling his father's bed (2 Sam. xii. 12.) with inceſtuous adultery, commited deteſtable wickedneſs. Yet God pronounceth that this was his own work. For the words are theſe: thou haſt done it ſecretly, but I will do it openly, and before the ſun. Jeremiah pronounceth Jer. l. 25. that all the cruelty that the Chaldees uſed in Judea was the work of God. For which cauſe Nebuchadnezzar is called the ſervant of God, God every where crieth out that with his hiſſing, with the ſound of his trumpet, with his power and commandment the wicked are ſtired up to war. He calleth the Aſſyrian the rod of his wrath, and the ax that he moveth with his hand. The deſtruction of the holy city and ruin of the temple he calleth his work. Iſai. v. 26. Chap. x. 5. and xix. 25. David not murmuring againſt God, but acknowleging him for a righteous judge, (2. Sam. x. 10) yet confeſſeth that the curſings of Shemei proceeded from the command of God. The Lord (ſaith he) commanded him to curſe. We often find in ſacred hiſtory, that whatſoever happneth it cometh of the Lord, as the departing of the ten tribes, (1 Kings xi. 31. the death of the ſons of Eli (1 Sam. ii. 34.) and very many things of the like nature. They who are in the leaſt converſant in ſcripture do ſee that for ſhortneſs ſake, I bring forth out of many teſtimonies only a few by which however it appeareth plainly enough, that they do trifle and talk fondly, who thruſt in a bare permiſſion in place of the providence of God, as though God ſat in a watch-tower waiting for the chances of fortune, and ſo his judgments ſhould depend upon the will of men.

The providence of

2. Now as concerning ſecret motions, that which Solomon ſpeaketh of the heart of a king, Prov. xxi. 1. that it is turned whitherſoever God pleaſeth, extendeth ſurely to all mankind, and is as much in affect as if he had ſaid: whatſoever we conceive in mind, is by the ſecret inſpiration of God directed to his end.

God is a governeſs which directs all the inclinations of the mind of man whether they bend unto good or evil.

And truly if he did not work in the minds of men it were not rightly ſaid, that he taketh away the lip from the true ſpeakers, and wiſdom from aged men, that he taketh the heart from the princes of the earth, that they may wander where is no beaten way. Ezek. vii. 26. And hereto belongeth that which we oft read, that men are fearful ſo far forth as their hearts are taken with his fear. Lev. xxvi. 36. So David went out of the camp of Saul, 1 Sam. xxvi. and none was aware of it, becauſe the ſleep of God was come upon them all. But nothing can be deſired to be more plainly ſpoken, than where he ſo oft pronounceth, that he blindeth the eyes of men, and ſtriketh them with giddineſs, that he maketh them drunk with the ſpirit of drowſineſs, caſteth them into madneſs, and hardneth their hearts. Theſe things alſo many do refer to permiſſion, as if in forſaking the reprobate he ſuffered them to be blinded by Satan. But that ſolution is too fond, foraſmuch as the holy Ghoſt in plain words expreſſeth that they are ſtriken with blindneſs and madneſs by the juſt judgment of God. Eccle. vii. 5. Rom. vii. 23. It is ſaid, that he hardned the heart of Pharaoh, Exod. viii 15. alſo that he did make dull and ſtrenthen it. Some do with an unſavory cavil mock out theſe phraſes of ſpeech, becauſe in another place it is ſaid, Pharaoh did harden his own heart, there is his own will ſet for the cauſe of his hardning. As though theſe things did not very well agree together, although in divers manners, that man while he is moved in working by God, doth alſo work himſelf. And I do turn back their objection againſt themſelves. For, if to harden do ſignify but a bare permiſſion then the very motion of obſtinacy ſhall not be properly in Pharaoh. Now how weak and fooliſh were it ſo to expound, Exod. iii. 21. as if Pharaoh did only ſuffer himſelf to be hardned? Moreover the Scripture cutteth of all occaſions from ſuch cavils, for God ſaith, I will hold his heart. Joſ. xi. 20. So of the inhabitaints of the land of Canaan, Moſes ſaith, that they went forth to battle, becauſe the Lord had hardned their hearts. Pſal. cv. 25. Which ſame thing is repeated by another prophet, ſaying: He turned their hearts that they ſhould hate his people. Iſai. x. 6. Again in Iſaiah he ſaith, that

he will ſend the Aſſyrians againſt the deceitful nation, and will command them to carry away the ſpoils, and violently take the prey not meaning that he will teach wicked and obſtinate men to obey willingly, but that he will bow them to execute his judgments as if they did bear his comandments graven in their minds. Whereby appeareth that they were moved by the certain appointment of God. I grant that God doth frequently work in the reprobate by Satan's ſervice as a mean, but yet ſo that Satan doth his office by God's moving, and proceedeth ſo far as is given him. 1 Sam xvi. 14. The evil ſpirit troubled Saul, but it is ſaid that it was of God, that we may know that the madneſs of Saul came of the juſt vengeance of God. It is alſo ſaid that the ſame Satan doth blind the minds of the unfaithful: 2 Cor. iv. 4. but how ſo, but only becauſe the effectual working of error cometh from God himſelf, to make them believe lies that refuſe to obey the truth? After the firſt manner of ſpeaking it is ſaid If any prophet ſhall ſpeak lyingly, Eze. xiv. 9. I the Lord have deceived him. According to the other manner of ſpeech it is ſaid, that he giveth men into a reprobate mind: Rom. i. 28. and to caſt them in to filthy deſires, becauſe he is the chief author of his own juſt vengeance, and Satan is but only a miniſter thereof. But becauſe we muſt treat of this matter again in the ſecond book, where we ſhall diſcourſe of free or bound will of man, I think I have already ſhortly ſpoken ſo much as this place required. Let this be the ſum of all, that foraſmuch as the will of God is ſaid to be the cauſe of all things, his providence is thought the governeſs in all purpoſes and works of men, ſo as it ſheweth forth her force not only in the elect, who are governed by the holy Spirit, but alſo compelleth the reprobate to obedience.

There are not contrary wills in God, although he forbid the doing of evil, and yet be willing to have it done: but our blindneſs whereby we diſcern not how theſe two do agree maketh us to imagine that they diſagree when in truth they do not.

3. Foraſmuch as hitherto I have recited only ſuch things as are writen in the ſcriptures, plainly and not doubtfully, let them that fear not wrongfully to ſlander the heavenly oracles, take heed what manner of judgment they take upon them. For if by feigned pretending of ignorance they ſeek a praiſe of modeſty, what can be imagined more proudly done, than to ſet one ſmall word againeſt the authority of God? as "I think otherwiſe, I like not to have this touched." But if they openly ſpeak evil, what prevail they with ſpiting againſt the heaven? But this is no new example of way-wardneſs, becauſe there have been in all ages wicked and ungodly men, that with raging mouth barked againſt this point of doctrine. But they ſhall feel that thing indeed to be true, which long ago the holy Ghoſt ſpake by the mouth of David, that God may overcome when he is judged. Pſal. li. 6. David doth by the way rebuke the madneſs of men in this ſo unbridled licentiouſneſs, that of their own filthineſs they do not only argue againſt God, but alſo take upon them power to condemn him. In the mean time he ſhortly admoniſheth that the blaſphemies which they vomit up againſt the heaven do not reach unto God, but that he driving away the clouds of cavils, doth brightly ſhew forth his righteouſneſs, and alſo our faith (becauſe being grounded upon the word of God, it is above all the world, 1 John v.4.) doth from her high place contemptuouſly look down upon theſe miſts For firſt, where they object, that if nothing happen but by the will of God, then are there in two contrary wills, becauſe he decreeth thoſe things by ſecret purpoſe, which he hath openly forbidden by his law, that is eaſily wiped away. But before I anſwer it, I will once again give the readers warning that this cavil is thrown out not againſt me, but againſt the holy Ghoſt, who taught the holy man Job this confeſſion: Job i. 21. as it pleaſed God, ſo it came to paſs. When he was ſpoiled by thieves, he acknowleged in the injury and hurt that they did him, the juſt ſcourge of God. What ſaith the ſcripture in other places? The ſons of Eli obeyed not their father, 1 Sam. ii. 25. becauſe it was God's will to kill them. Alſo another prophet crieth out that God who ſitteth in heaven doth whatſoever he will. Pſal. cxv. 3. And now I have ſhewed plainly enough that God is the author of all thoſe things which theſe judges would have to happen only by his idle permiſſion: he teſtifieth that he createth light and darkneſs, Iſai. xlv. 7. that he formeth good and evil, that no evil happneth which he himſelf hath not made. Amos iii. 6. Let them tell me I beſeech them, whether he doth willingly or againſt his will execute his own judgments? But as Moſes teacheth, that he who is ſlain by the falling of an ax by chance, is delivered by God into the hand of the ſtriker: Deut. xix. 5. ſo the whole church ſaith in Luke, that Herod and Pilate conſpired to do theſe things, which the hand and purpoſe of God had decreed. Acts iv. 28. And truly if Chriſt were not crucified with the will of God, whence came redemption to us? And yet the will of God neither doth ſtrive with it ſelf, nor is changed, nor feigneth that he willeth not the thing that he will: but where it

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is but one and ſimple in him, it ſeemeth to us manifold, becauſe according to the weakneſs of our underſtanding we conceive not how God in divers maner willeth and willeth not one ſelf thing. Paul, after that he hath ſaid, that the calling of the Gentiles is a hidden myſtery, Eph. iii. 10. within a little after ſaith further, that in it was manifeſtly ſhewed the manifold wiſdom of God: becauſe for the dulneſs of our capacity, the wiſdom of God ſeemeth to us manifold, or (as the old interpreter hath tranſlated it) of many faſhions: ſhall we therefore dream that there is any variety in God himſelf, as though he either changeth his purpoſe, or diſſenteth from himſelf? Rather when we conceive not how God will have the thing to be done, which he forbiddeth to do, let us call to mind our own weakneſs, and therewithal conſider that the light wherein he dwelleth, is not without cauſe called inacceſſible, becauſe it is covered with darkneſs. 1 Tim. vi. 16. Therefore all godly and ſober men will eaſily agree to this ſentence of Auguſtine, (*Encherid. ad Laur. ca.* 101.) that ſometimes man with good will willeth that which God willeth not. As if a good ſon willeth to have his father to live, whom God will have to die. Again it may come to paſs, that man may will the ſame thing with an evil will which God willeth with a good will. As if an evil ſon willeth to have his father to die, and God alſo willeth the ſame. Now the firſt of theſe two ſons willeth that which God willeth not, and the other ſon willeth that which God alſo willeth, and yet the naturalneſs of the firſt ſon doth better agree with the will of God, although he willeth a contrary thing, than the unnaturalneſs of the other ſon that willeth the ſame thing. So great a difference is there what to will doth belong to man, and what to God, and to what end the will of every one is to be applied, to have it either allowed or diſallowed. For thoſe things which God willeth well he bringeth to paſs by the evil wills of evil men. But a little before he had ſaid, that the apoſtate angels in their falling away, and all the reprobate, in as much as concerneth themſelves, did that which God would not, but in reſpect of the omnipotency of God, they could by no means ſo do, becauſe while they did againſt the will of God, the will of God was done upon them. Whereupon he crieth out: Great are the works of God, and ought to be ſought out of all them that have pleaſure therein: that in marvellous manner the ſame thing is not done without his will which is alſo done againſt his will, becauſe it could not be done if he did not ſuffer it: and yet he doth it not againſt his will, but willingly: and he being good, would not ſuffer a thing to be done evil, unleſs for that he is omnipotent, he could of evil make good.

4. In the ſame manner is anſwered or rather vaniſheth away the other objection: that if God do not only uſe the ſervice of wicked men, but alſo governeth their counſels and affections, he is the author of all wicked doings, and therefore men are unworthily condemned if they execute that which God hath decreed, becauſe they obey his will: for it is wrong to confound his will and commandment together, which appear by innumerable examples to differ widely. For though when Abſolom abuſed his father's wives, it was God's will to puniſh David's adultery with that diſhonour: yet he did not therefore command the wicked ſon to commit inceſt, unleſs perhaps you mean it in reſpect of David, as he ſpeaketh of the railings of Shemei. For when he confeſſeth that Shemei raileth at him by the commandment of God, he doth not therein commend his obedience, as if that froward dog did obey the commandment of God, but acknowleged his tongue to be the ſcourge of God, he patiently ſuffereth to be corrected. And let it be carefully remembred, that when God performeth by the wicked that thing which he decreed by his ſecret judgment, they are not to be excuſed, as though they did obey his commandment, which indeed of their own evil inclination they do purpoſely break. Now how that thing is of God, and is ruled by his ſecret providence, which men do wickedly, the election of king Jeroboam is an example, in which the raſhneſs and madneſs of the people is ſeverely condemned, becauſe they perverted the order appointed by God, and falſely fell from the houſe of David, and yet we know it was his will that he ſhould be anointed. Whereupon in the very words of Hoſea there appeareth a certain ſhew of repugnancy, Hoſea viii. 4. that where God complained that that kingdom was erected without his knowlege, and againſt his will, in another place he ſaith, Hoſea xiii. 11. that he gave the kingdom to Jeroboam in his rage. How ſhall theſe ſayings agree? that Jeroboam reigned not by God, and that he was made king by the ſame God? Even thus, becauſe neither could the people fall from the houſe of David, but that they muſt ſhake off the yoke which God hath laid upon them: neither yet had God his liberty taken away, but that he might ſo puniſh the unthankfulneſs of Solomon. We ſee therefore how God in not willing falſe

Wicked men are juſtly condemned for the evil which they do, although God have appointed it to be done.

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breach of allegiance, yet to another end juſtly willeth a falling away from their prince, whereupon Jeroboam beſide all hope was by holy anointing driven to be king. After this manner doth the ſacred hiſtory ſay, that there was an enemy raiſed up to ſpoil Solomon's ſon of part of his kingdom. Let the readers diligently conſider both theſe things, becauſe it hath pleaſed God to have the people governed under the hand of one king. Therefore when it was divided into two parts, it was done againſt his will. And yet the diviſion took beginning of his will. For ſurely whereas the prophet both by words and ceremony of anointing did move Jeroboam when he thought of no ſuch thing, to hope of the kingdom, this was not done without the knowlege or againſt the will of God, which commanded it ſo to be done, and yet is the rebellion of the people juſtly condemned, for that as it were againſt the will of God, they fell from the poſterity of David. In this manner it is alſo afterwards further ſaid, that where Rehoboam proudly deſpiſed the requeſt of the people, this was done by God to confirm the word which he had ſpoken by the hand of Ahijah his ſervant. Lo how againſt God's will the the ſacred unity is torn in ſunder, and yet with the will of the ſame God ten tribes do forſake Solomon's ſon. Let us add another like example. Where the people conſenting, yea laying their hands unto it, the ſons of Ahab were ſlain, and all his offspring rooted out. 2 Kings x. 7. Jehu ſaid indeed truly, that nothing of the words of God were fallen to the ground, but that he had done all that had been ſpoken by the hand of his ſervant Elias. And yet not unjuſtly he rebuketh the citizens of Samaria, becauſe they had put their hands unto it. Are ye righteous, ſaith he? If I have conſpired againſt my lord, who hath killed all theſe? I have before, as I think, already declared plainly, how in the ſelf ſame work both the fault of man doth diſcover itſelf, and alſo the righteouſneſs of God glorioufly appeareth. And for modeſt wits this anſwer of Auguſtine ſhall alway ſuffice, *Epiſt.* 48. *ad Vincen.* whereas the Father delivered the Son, and Chriſt delivered his body, and Judas delivered the Lord: why in this delivering is God righteous, and man guilty? becauſe in the ſame one thing which they did, the cauſe was not one, for which they did it. If any be more cumbered with this that we now ſay, there is no conſent of God with man, where man by the righteous moving of God doth that which is not lawful, let them remember that which Auguſtine ſaith in another place: (*De gratia & libero arbitrio ad Valent. cap.* 20.) Who ſhall not tremble at theſe judgments, where God worketh even in the hearts of evil men whatſoever he will, and yet rendereth to them according to their deſervings? And truly in the falſhood of Judas, it ſhall be no more lawful to lay the blame of the wicked deed to God, becauſe he himſelf willed him to be delivered, and did deliver him to death, than it ſhall be to give away the praiſe of our redemption to Judas. Therefore the ſame writer doth in another place truly tell us, that in this examination God doth not enquire what men might have done, or what they have done, but what their will was to do, that purpoſe and will may come into the account. They that think this hard, let them a little while conſider, how tolerable their own waywardneſs is, while they refuſe a thing witneſſed by plain teſtimonies of ſcripture, becauſe it exceedeth their capacity, and do find fault that thoſe things are uttered, which God, unleſs he had known them profitable to be known, would never have commanded to be taught by his prophets and apoſtles. For our being wiſe ought to be no more but to embrace with meek willingneſs to learn, and that without exception whatſoever is taught in the holy ſcriptures. As for them that do more frowardly outrage in prating againſt it, ſince it is evident that the babble againſt God, they are not worthy of a longer confutation.

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

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THE INSTITUTION OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

BOOK SECOND.

Which treateth of the KNOWLEGE of GOD the REDEEMER in CHRIST; which Knowlege was firſt opened to the Fathers in the time of the Law, and then to us in the Goſpel.

CHAP. I.

That by Adam's ſin and falling away, mankind became accurſed, and did degenerate from his firſt eſtate: wherein is treated of Original ſin.

We muſt learn thoroughly to know ourſelves, that the conſideration of the graces of God may make us thankful, and the beholding of our miſeries, humble us.

NOT without cauſe hath the knowlege of himſelf been in the old proverb ſo much commended to man. For if it be thought a ſhame to be ignorant of all things that pertain to the courſe of a man's life, then much more ſhameful is the not knowing of ourſelves, whereby it cometh to paſs, that in taking counſel of any thing neceſſary we are miſerably dazled, yea, altogether blinded. But how much more profitable this leſſon is, ſo much more diligently muſt we take heed that we do not diſorderly uſe it, as we ſee ſome of the philoſophers have done. For they in exhorting man to know himſelf, do withal appoint this to be the end, why he ſhould know himſelf, that he ſhould not be ignorant of his own dignity and excellency: and nothing elſe do they will him to behold in himſelf, but that whereby he may ſwell with vain confidence, and be puffed up with pride. But the knowlege of our ſelves, firſt ſtandeth in this point, that conſidering what was given us in creation, and how bountifully God continueth his gracious favour toward us, we may know how great

had been the excellency of our nature, if it continued uncorrupted: and we may withal think upon this, that there is nothing in us of our own, but that we have as it were gotten by borrowing all that God hath bestowed upon us, that we may always depend upon him. Then, that we call to mind our miserable estate after the fall of Adam, the feeling whereof may throw down all glorying and trust of ourselves, overwhelm us with shame, and truly humble us. For as God at the beginning fashioned us like his own image to the end to raise up our minds both to the study of virtue and to the meditation of eternal life, so lest the so great nobleness of our kind, which maketh us different from brute beasts, should be drowned with our slothfulness, it is good for us to know, that we are therefore endued with reason and understanding, that in keeping a holy and honest life, we should proceed on forward to the appointed end of blessed immortality. But the first dignity cannot come in our mind, but by and by on the other side the heavy sight of our filthiness, and shame doth thrust it self in presence, since we in the person of the first man are fallen from our first estate, whereupon groweth the hatred and lothing of ourselves and true humility, and there is kindled a new desire to seek for God, in whom every one of us may recover those good things, whereof we are found altogether void and empty.

Men are given to hear, and hurt by hearing their excellency overmuch advanced.

2. This thing surely the truth of God appointeth to be sought in examining of ourselves, I mean, it requireth such a knowlege as may both call us away from all confidence of our own power, and making us destitute of all matter to glory upon, may bring us to submission Which rule it behoveth us to keep, if we will attain to the true mark both of right knowlege and well doing. Neither yet am I ignorant how much more pleasant is that other opinion that allureth us rather to consider our good things, than to look upon our miserable neediness and dishonour, which ought to overwhelm us with shame. For there is nothing that human nature desires more than to be caress'd with flattery: and therefore when he heareth the gifts that are in him to be magnified, he leaneth to that side with over much lightness of belief: whereby it is so much less to be wondered at, since that herein the greatest part of men have perniciously erred. For since there is naturally planted in all mortal men a more than blind love of themselves, they do most willingly persuade themselves that there is nothing in them that they ought worthily to hate. So without any maintainance of other, this most vain opinion doth every where get credit, that man is abundantly sufficient of himself to make himself live well and happily. But if there be any who are content to think more modestly, howsoever they grant somewhat to God, lest they should seem arrogantly to assume all to themselves, yet they so part it that the principal matter of glory and confidence always remaineth with themselves. Now if there should happen to be any discourse which with its allurements tickleth the pride that already of itself itcheth within the bones, there is nothing that may more delight them. Therefore as any hath with his extolling most favourably advanced the excellency of human nature, so hath he been highly acceptable and extremely well liked by men in all ages. But whatsoever such commendation there be of man's excellency that teacheth man rest in himself, it doth nothing but delight with that its sweetness, and indeed so deceiveth that it bringeth to most wretched destruction all them that assent unto it. For to what purpose availeth it for us, standing upon all vain confidence to devise, appoint, atempt and go about those things that we think to be for our advantage, and in our first beginning of enterprise to be forsaken and destitute of sound understanding and true strength, and yet to go on boldly till we fall down into destruction? But it cannot otherwise happen to them that trust they can do any thing by their own power. Therefore if any man give heed to such teachers that hold us in considering only our own good things, he shall not profit in learning to know himself, but shall be carried violently away into the worst kind of ignorance.

The true knowlege of our selves emboldeneth not, but casteth down, it teacheth us what our duty, is, and how unable we are to perform it.

3. Therefore, whereas in this point the truth of God doth agree with the common natural meaning of all men, that the second part of wisdom consisteth in the knowlege of our selves, yet in the very manner of knowing there is much disagreement. For by the judgment of the flesh, a man thinketh that he hath then well searched himself, when trusting upon his own understanding and integrity, he taketh boldness, and encourageth himself to doing the duties of virtue, and bidding battle to vices, travelleth with all his study to bend himself to that which is comely and honest. But he that looketh upon and trieth himself by the rule of God's judgment, findeth nothing that may raise up his mind to good affiance: and the more inwardly

wardly that he hath examined himſelf, the more he is diſcouraged, till being altogether ſpoiled of all confidence, he leaveth to himſelf nothing towards the well ordering of his life. And yet would not God have us to forget the firſt nobleneſs that he gave to our father Adam, which ought in all reaſon to excite us to the ſtudy of righteouſneſs and goodneſs. For we cannot conſider either our own firſt eſtate, or to what end we are created, but we ſhall be urged forward to ſtudy upon immortality, and to deſire the kingdom of God. But that conſideration is ſo far from inſpiring us with courage, that rather diſcouraging us, it fills us with humiliation of ſoul. For what is that firſt eſtate of ours? even that from whence we are fallen. What is that end of our creation? even the ſame from which we are altogether turned away: ſo that lothing our own miſerable eſtate, we may groan for ſorrow, and in groaning may alſo ſigh for the loſs of that dignity. But now when we ſay that man ought to behold nothing in himſelf that may make him of bold courage: we mean that there is nothing in him of which he ought to be proud. Wherefore, if any want to hear what knowlege man ought to have of himſelf, let us thus divide it, that firſt he conſider to what end he is created, and endued with gifts that are not to be deſpiſed, by which though he may be ſtirred up to the meditation of the hearing of God and of the life to come. Then let him conſider his own ſtrength, or rather great want of ſtrength, by perceiving whereof he may ly in extreme confuſion, as one utterly brought to naught. The firſt of theſe conſiderations tendeth to this end, that he may know what is his duty: and the other, how much he is able to do towards the performing of it. We will treat of them both, as the order of teaching ſhall require.

Adam's tranſgreſſion proceeding from infidelity joined with pride and unthankfulneſs, ended with reproachful apoſtacy from God.

4. But becauſe it muſt needs be that it was not a light negligence, but a deteſtable wicked act which God ſo ſeverely puniſhed we muſt conſider the very form of the ſame in the fall of Adam, that kindled the great vengeance of God upon all mankind. It is a childiſh opinion that hath commonly been received, concerning the intemperance of gluttony, as though the ſum and head of all virtues conſiſted in the forbearing of one only fruit, when there flowed on every ſide ſtore of all ſorts of dainties that were to be deſired, and when in that bleſſed fruitfulneſs of the earth, there was not only plenty, but alſo variety to make entertainment for pleaſure. Therefore we muſt look further, becauſe the forbidding him to eat of the tree of the knowlege of good and evil, was the trial of obedience, that Adam in obeying might prove that he was willingly ſubject to the government of God. And the name of the tree itſelf ſheweth, that that commandment was given for none other end, than for this, that he contented with his own eſtate ſhould not with wicked luſt advance himſelf higher. But the promiſe whereby he was bidden to hope for eternal life, ſo long as he did not eat of the tree of life, and again, the terrible threatening of death ſo ſoon as he ſhould taſte of the tree of knowlege of good and evil, ſerved to prove and exerciſe his faith. Hereof it is not hard to gather, by what means Adam provoked the wrath of God againſt himſelf. Auguſtine indeed ſaith not amiſs, when he aſſerts, that pride was the beginning of all evils. For if ambition had not lifted up man higher than was lawful and than was permitted him, he might have continued in his eſtate: but we muſt fetch a more full definition from the manner of the temptation that Moſes deſcribeth. For ſince the woman was with the deceit of the ſerpent led away by infidelity, now it appeareth that diſobedience was the beginning of the fall. Which thing Paul confirmeth, teaching that all men were loſt by one man's diſobedience. Rom. v. 19. But it is withal to be noted, that the firſt man fell from the ſubjection of God, for that he not only was taken with the enticements of Satan, but alſo deſpiſing the truth, did turn out of the way to lying. And ſurely God's word being once deſpiſed, all reverence of God is ſhaken off. Becauſe his majeſty doth no other ways abide in honour among us, nor the worſhip of him remain inviolate, but while we hang upon his mouth. Therefore infidelity was the root of that falling away. But thereupon aroſe ambition and pride, to which was added unthankfulneſs, for that Adam in coveting more than was granted, did irreverently deſpiſe the ſo great liberality of God with which he was enriched. And this was a monſtrous wickedneſs, that the ſon of the earth thought it a ſmall thing that he was made after the likeneſs of God, unleſs he might alſo be made equal with God. If apoſtacy be a filthy and deteſtable offence, by which man draweth himſelf from the allegiance of his Creator, yea, outragiouſly ſhaketh off his yoke: then it is but vain to extenuate the ſin of Adam. Altho' it was no ſimple apoſtacy, but joined with ſhameful reproaches againſt God, while they aſſented to.

the ſlanders of Satan, wherein he accuſeth God of lying, envy, and niggardly grudging; finally, infidelity opened the gate to ambition, ambition was the mother of obſtinate rebellion, to make men caſt away the fear of God, and throw themſelves whither their luſt carrieth them. Therefore Bernard doth rightly teach that the gate of ſalvtation is opened unto us, when at this day we receive the goſpel by our ears: even as by the ſame windows, when they ſtood open to Satan, death was let in. For Adam would never have been ſo bold, as to do againſt the commandment of God, but for this, that he did not believe his word, Truly this was the beſt bridle for the right keeping of all affections in good order, to think that there is nothing better than to keep righteouſneſs in obeying the commandments of God, and then that the chief end of happy life is to be beloved of him. He therefore being carried away witht he blaſphemies of the devil, did (as much as in him lay) extinguiſh the glory of God.

All Adam's offſpring through his ſin are made ſinful, not by imputation only, as Pelagius taught, but by propagation, receiving the contagion of ſin and uncleanneſs before they behold the light of this life.

5. As the ſpiritual life of Adam was, to abide joined and bound to his Creator, ſo his allienation from him was the death of his ſoul. Nor is it any wonder if he by his falling away, deſtroyed all his own poſterity, which perverted the whole order of nature in heaven and in earth. All the creatures do groan, ſaith Paul being made ſubject to corruption againſt their will. Rom. viii. If one ſhould aſk the cauſe: no doubt it is for that they bear part of that puniſhment that man deſerved, for whoſe uſe they were created. Since then the curſe that goeth throughout all the coaſts of the word, proceeded from his fault both upward and downward, it is nothing againſt reaſon, if it ſpread abroad into all his iſſue. Therefore after that the heavenly image in him was defaced, he did not alone ſuffer this puniſhment, that in place of wiſdom, ſtrength, holineſs, truth, and juſtice (with which ornaments he had been clothed) there came in the moſt horrible peſtilences, blindneſs, weakneſs, filthineſs, falſhood, and injuſtice, but alſo he entangled and drowned his whole offspring in the ſame miſeries. This is the corruption that cometh by inheritance, which the old writers called original ſin, meaning by this word ſin, the corruption of nature, which before was good and pure. About which matter they have had much contention, becauſe there is nothing further off from common reaſon, than all men to be made guilty of one man's fault, and ſo the ſin to become common. Which ſeemeth to have been the cauſe why the oldeſt doctors of the church did but darkly touch this point, or at the leaſt did not ſet it out ſo plainly as was convenient. And yet that fearfulneſs could not bring to paſs, but that Pelagius aroſe, whoſe prophane invention was that Adam ſinned only to his own loſs, and hurted not his poſterity. So thro' this ſubtilty, Satan went about by hiding the diſeaſe, to make it incurable. But when it was proved by manifeſt teſtimony of ſcripture, that ſin paſſed from the firſt man into all his poſterity, he brought this cavil, that it paſſed by imitation, but not by propagation. Therefore good men laboured in this point, and above all others Auguſtine, to ſhew that we are corrupted not by foreign wickedneſs, but that we bring with us from the womb of our mother a vicioufneſs planted in our begetting, which to deny was too great ſhameleſſneſs. But the raſhneſs of the Pelagians and Celeſtians will not ſeem marvellous to him, who by the writings of the holy man ſhall perceive, how ſhameleſs beaſts they were in all other things. Surely it is not doubtfully ſpoken that David confeſſeth that he was begotten in iniquities, and by his mother conceived in ſin. Pſal. li. 7. He doth not there accuſe the ſins of his father or mother, but the better to ſet forth the goodneſs of God toward him, he beginneth the confeſſion of his own wickedneſs at his very begetting. Foraſmuch as it is evident that, that was not peculiar to David alone, it followeth that the common eſtate of all mankind is noted under his example. All we therefore that deſcend of unclean ſeed, are born infected with the contagion of ſin, yea, before that we ſee the light of this life, we are in the ſight of God filthy and ſpotted. Forwho can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? not one: as it is in the book of Job.

In Adam our nature being corrupted cometh unto us, ſuch as he by ſin had made it: whereupon it followeth, that we are dead becauſe he was dead of whom we are ſons of wrath becauſe they were ſo that begat us: fleſh be-

6. We hear that the uncleanneſs of the parents ſo paſſeth into the children, that all without any exception at their beginning are defiled. But of this defiling we ſhall not find the beginning unleſs we go up to the firſt parent of us all, to the fountain head. Thus it is therefore, that Adam was not only the progenitor, but alſo the root of man's nature, and therefore in his corruption was all mankind juſtly corrupted: which the apoſtle maketh plain by

cauſe we are born of fleſh.

by comparing of him and Chriſt. As (ſaith he) by one man ſin entered into the whole world, and death by ſin, and ſo death hath paſſed upon all men, foraſmuch as all have ſinned: ſo by the grace of Chriſt, righteouſneſs and life is reſtored unto us. What will the Pelagians here prat? that Adam's ſin was ſpread abroad by imitation? Then have we no other profit by the righteouſneſs of Chriſt, but that he is an example ſet before us to follow? Who can abide ſuch robbery of God's honour? If it be out of queſtion that Chriſt's righteouſneſs is ours by communication, and thereby life: it followeth alſo that they both were ſo loſt in Adam, as they be recovered in Chriſt: and that ſin and death ſo crept in by Adam, as they are aboliſhed by Chriſt. The words are plain, that many are made righteous by the obedience of Chriſt, as by the diſobedience of Adam they were made ſinners: and that therefore between them two is this relation, that Adam wrapping us in his deſtruction, deſtroyed us with him, and Chriſt with his grace reſtored us to ſalvation. In ſo clear light of truth I think we need not a longer or more elaborate proof. So alſo in the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, 1 Cor. xv. 22. when he goeth about to eſtabliſh the godly in the hope of the reſurrection, he ſheweth that the life is recovered in Chriſt, that was loſt in Adam, he that pronounceth that we all are dead in Adam, doth alſo therewithal plainly teſtify, that we were infected with the filth of ſin. For damnation could not reach unto them that were touched with no guiltineſs of iniquity. But it can be no way more plainly underſtood what he meaneth than by relation of the other member of the ſentence, where he teacheth that hope of life is reſtored in Chriſt. But it is well enough known that the ſame is done no other way, than when by marvellous manner of communicating, Chriſt poureth unto us the force of his righteouſneſs. As it is written in another place, that the ſpirit is life unto us, for righteouſneſs ſake. Rom. viii. 10. Therefore we may not otherwiſe expound that which is ſaid that we are dead in Adam, but thus, that he in ſinning did not only purchaſe miſchief and ruin to himſelf, but alſo threw down our nature headlong into like deſtruction. And that not only to the corruption of himſelf, which pertaineth nothing to us, but becauſe he infected all his ſeed with the ſame corruption whereinto he was fallen. For otherwiſe the ſaying of Paul could not ſtand true, Eph. i. 3. that all are by nature the ſons of wrath, if they were not already accurſed in the womb. And it is eaſily gathered that nature is there meant not ſuch as it was created by God, but ſuch as it was corrupted in Adam. For it were not convenient, that God ſhould be made the author of death. Adam therefore ſo corrupted himſelf, that the infection paſſed from him into all his offſpring. And the heavenly judge himſelf Chriſt, doth alſo plainly enough pronounce, that all are born evil and corrupted, where he teacheth, that whatſoever is born of fleſh, is fleſh, John iii. 6. and that therefore the gate of life is cloſed againſt all men, until they be begotten again.

Whether we have our ſouls or no, by derivation from our parents, as we have our bodies, is a needleſs queſtion in this caſe. It ſufficeth us to know that what God beſtowed upon Adam, it was to hold, or to loſe, for, or from, both himſelf, and his. That the children of faithful men are ſanctified, is no diſproof of their original corruptions.

7. Neither for the underſtanding thereof is any curious diſputation needful, which not a little perplexed the old writers, whether the ſoul of the ſon do proceed by derivation from the ſoul of the father, becauſe in it the infection principally reſteth. We muſt be content with this, that ſuch gifts as it pleaſeth the Lord to have beſtowed upon the nature of man, he left them with Adam, and therefore when Adam, loſt them after he had received them, he loſt them not only from himſelf, but alſo from us all. Who ſhall be careful of a conveyance from ſoul to ſoul, when he ſhall hear that Adam received theſe ornaments, which he loſt, no leſs for us than for himſelf? that they were not given to one man alone, but aſſigned to the whole nature of man? Therefore it is not againſt reaſon, if he being ſpoiled, nature be left naked and poor: if he being infected with ſin, the infection creepeth into nature. Therefore from a rotten root aroſe up rotten branches, which ſent their rottenneſs into the other twigs that ſprung out of them. For ſo were the children corrupted in the father, that they alſo were infective to their children: that is to ſay, ſo was the beginning of corruption in Adam, that by continual flowing from one to another, it is conveyed from the anceſtors into the poſterity. For the infection hath not her cauſe in the ſubſtance of the fleſh or of the ſoul, but becauſe it was ſo ordained of God, that ſuch gifts as he had given to the firſt man, man ſhould both have them, and loſe them as well for himſelf as for his. As for this that the Pelagians do cavil, that it is not likely that the children do

take corruption from godly parents, ſince they ought rather to be ſanctified by their cleanneſs, that is eaſily confuted. For they deſcend not of their ſpiritual regeneration, but of their carnal generation. Therefore as Auguſtine ſaith, *(Cont. Pelag. & Celeſt.)* whether the unbeliever be condemned as guilty, and the believer acquitted as innocent, they both do beget not innocents, but guilty, becauſe they beget of the corrupted nature. Now whereas they do in manner partake of the parents holineſs, that is the ſpecial bleſſing of the people of God, which proveth not, but that the firſt and univerſal curſe of mankind went before. For of nature is guiltineſs, and ſanctification is of ſupernatural grace.

What original ſin is, and that we are not only ſubject to the puniſhment which our firſt father's fault deſerved, but the infection of his faultineſs is alſo in us.

8. And to the end that theſe things be not ſpoken of a thing uncertain and unknown, let us define Original ſin. But yet I mean not to examine all the definitions that are made by writers, but I will bring forth one only, which I think to be moſt agreeable with truth. Original ſin therefore ſeemeth to be the inheritably deſcending perverſneſs and corruption of our nature, poured abroad into all the parts of the ſoul, which firſt maketh us guilty of the wrath of God, and then alſo bringeth forth theſe works in us, which the ſcripture calleth the works of the fleſh: and that is it properly that Paul often times calleth ſin, Gal. v. 19. And theſe works that ariſe out, as are adulteries, furnications, thefts, hatreds, murthers, revellings, after the ſame manner he calleth the fruits of ſin, although they are likewiſe called ſins both commonly in the ſcriptures, and alſo by the ſame Paul himſelf. Therefore theſe two things are diſtinctly to be noted: that is, that being ſo in all parts of our nature corrupted and perverted, we are now even for ſuch corruption only held worthy of damnation, and convicted before God, to whom nothing is acceptable but righteouſneſs, innocency and pureneſs. And yet is not that bond in reſpect of another's fault. For where it is ſaid, that by the ſin of Adam we are made ſubject to the judgment of God, it is not ſo to be taken, as if we innocent and undeſerving did bear the blame of his fault. But becauſe of his offending we are all clothed with the curſe, therefore it is ſaid that he hath bound us. Nevertheleſs, from him not the puniſhment only came upon us, but alſo the infection diſtilled from him, abideth in us, to which the puniſhment is juſtly due. Wherefore howſoever Auguſtine doth oftentimes call it another's ſin, (to ſhew the more plainly that it is conveyed into us by propagation) yet doth he alſo affirm withal that it is proper to every one. And the apoſtle (Rom. v. 12.) himſelf expreſly witneſſeth, that therefore death came upon all men, becauſe all men have ſinned, and are wrapped in original ſin, and defiled with the ſpots thereof. And therefore the very infants themſelves, while they bring with them their own damnation from their mother's womb, are bound, not by another's but by their own fault. For though they have not as yet brought forth the fruits of their own iniquity, yet they have the ſeed thereof encloſed within them: yea, their whole nature is a certain ſeed of ſin: therefore it cannot but be hateful and abominable to God. Whereupon followeth, that it is properly acounted ſin before God: for there could be no guiltineſs without ſin. The other point is, that this perverſeneſs never ceaſeth in us, but continually bringeth forth new fruits, even the ſame works of the fleſh that we have before deſcribed: like as a burning furnace bloweth out flame and ſparkles, or as a ſpring doth without ceaſing caſt out water. Therefore they who have defined Original ſin, to be a wanting of Original righteouſneſs which ought to have been in us, although indeed they comprehended all that is in the thing itſelf: yet they have not fully enough expreſſed the force and efficacy thereof. For our nature is not only bare and empty of goodneſs, but alſo is ſo plenteous and fruitful of all evils, that it cannot be idle. They that have ſaid, that it is a concupiſcence, have uſed a word not very far from the matter, if this were added, which is not granted by the moſt part that whatſoever is in man, even from the underſtanding to the will, from the ſoul to the fleſh, is corrupted and ſtuffed full with this concupiſcence: or, to ſay all in a word. that whole man is of himſelf nothing elſe but concupiſcence.

The very underſtanding of man is corrupted and not the ſenſual or inferior part only.

9. Wherefore, I have ſaid that all the parts of the ſoul are poſſeſſed of ſin, ſince Adam fell away from the fountain of righteouſneſs. For not only the inferior appetite allured him, but wicked impiety poſſeſſed the very receſſes of his mind, and pride pierced to the innermoſt part of his heart. So that it is a fond and fooliſh thing to confine the corruption that proceeded from thence only to the ſenſual motions, as they call them, or to call it a certain bait that allureth, ſtirreth and draweth to ſin only that part, which among

among them is called ſenſuality. Wherein Peter Lombard hath diſcloſed his groſs ignorance, who ſeeking and ſearching for the place of it, ſaith, that it is in the fleſh, as Paul witneſſeth, not properly indeed, but becauſe it more appeareth in the fleſh, as though Paul did mean only a part of the ſoul, and not the whole nature which is in compariſon ſet againſt ſupernatural grace. And Paul there taketh away all doubt: teaching that corruption reſteth not in one part alone, but that nothing is pure and clean from the deadly infection thereof. For ſpeaking of corrupted nature, he doth not only condemn the inordinate motions of appetites that appear, but eſpecially laboureth to prove that the underſtanding mind is ſubject to blindneſs, and the heart to perverſeneſs. And the ſame third chapter to the Romans is nothing elſe but a deſcription of original ſin. That appeareth more plainly by the renewing. For the ſpirit which is contraſted with the old man and the fleſh, doth not only ſignify the grace whereby the inferior or ſenſual part of the ſoul is amended, but alſo containeth a full reformation of all the parts. And therefore Paul doth command, not only that our groſs appetites be brought to nought, but alſo that we ourſelves be renewed in the ſpirit of our mind, as likewiſe in another place he biddeth us be transformed in newneſs of mind. Whereupon followeth, that the ſame part, wherein moſt of all ſhineth the excellency and nobleneſs of the ſoul, is not only wounded, but alſo ſo corrupted, that it needeth not only to be healed, but in a manner to put on a new nature. How far ſin poſſeſſeth both the underſtanding mind and heart, we will ſee hereafter. Here I only purpoſed ſhortly to touch that the whole man from the head to the foot is ſo overwhelmed as with an overflowing of water, that no part of him is free from ſin, and that therefore whatſoever proceedeth from him is accounted for ſin, as Paul ſaith, that all the affections of the fleſh or thoughts are enmity againſt God, and therefore death.

Though we be naturally ſinful, yet is not God the author of our ſin.

10. Now let them go, who preſume to make God author of their ſins, becauſe we ſay that men are naturally ſinful. They do wrongfully ſeek the work of God in their own filthineſs, which they ought rather to have ſought in the nature of Adam, while it was yet ſound and uncorrupted. Therefore our deſtruction cometh of the fault of our own fleſh and not of God, foraſmuch as we periſhed by no other mean but by this, that we degenerated from our firſt eſtate. But yet let not any man here murmur and ſay, that God might have better foreſeen for our ſalvation, if he had provided that Adam ſhould not have fallen. For this objection both is to be abhorred by all godly minds, for the too much preſumptuous curioſity of it, and alſo pertaineth to the ſecret of predeſtination, which ſhall after be treated of in place convenient. Wherefore let us remember that our fall is to be imputed to the corruption of nature, that we accuſe not God himſelf the author of nature. True indeed it is, that the ſame deadly wound ſticketh faſt in nature: but it is very material to know, whether it came into nature from elſewhere, or from the beginning hath reſted in it. But it is evident that the wound was given by ſin. Therefore there is no cauſe whey we ſhould complain but of ourſelves: which thing the ſcripture hath diligently noted. For Eccleſiaſtes ſaith: Eccl. vii. 29. This have I found, that God hath made man upright but they have ſought out many inventions. It appeareth that the deſtruction of man is to be imputed only to himſelf foraſmuch as having gotten uprightneſs by the goodneſs of God, he by his own madneſs is fallen into vanity.

We are termed corrupt by nature not becauſe God hath put corruption as a natural quality in us, but becauſe together with our nature it is derived into us, and not gotten by cuſtom.

11. We ſay therefore that man is corrupted with faultineſs natural, but ſuch as proceeded not from nature. We deny that it proceeded from nature, to make it appear that it is rather a quality come from ſome other thing, which has happened to a man, than a ſubſtantial property that hath been put into him from the beginning. Yet we call it natural that no man ſhould think that every man getteth it by evil cuſtom, whereas it holdeth all men bound by inheritably deſcending right. And this we do not of our own heads without authority. For, for the ſame cauſe the apoſtle teacheth, that we are all by nature the children of wrath, Eph. ii. 3. How could God, whom all his meaneſt works do pleaſe, be wrathful againſt the nobleſt of all his creatures? But he is rather wrathful againſt the corruption of his work, than againſt his work itſelf. Therefore if, for that man's nature is corrupted, man is not unfitly ſaid, to be by nature abominable to God, it ſhall be alſo not improperly called naturally perverſe and corrupted. As Auguſtine feareth not in reſpect of nature corrupted, to call the ſins natural, which

which do neceſſarily reign in our fleſh where the grace of God is abſent. So vaniſheth away the fooliſh trifling device of the Manichees, who when they imagined a corrupt principle having place in man, preſumed to contrive for him a new Creator, leaſt they ſhould ſeem to aſſign to the righteous God the cauſe and origin of evil.

CHAP. II.

That man has now loſt the freedom of will, and ſubjected himſelf to miſerable bondage.

The doctrine which concerneth the bondage of our will, muſt not make us ſlothful nuto good things, as if they did not appertain unto us, but rather humble and careful, that knowing our own weakneſs, we preſume not to truſt unto ourſelves.

SINCE we have ſeen, that the dominion of ſin, ſince the time that it held the firſt man bound unto it, doth not only reign in all mankind, but alſo wholly poſſeſſeth every ſoul: now muſt we more nearly examine, ſince we are brought into that bondage, whether we be ſpoiled of all freedom or no: and if yet there remain any portion, how far the force thereof proceedeth. But to the end that the truth of this queſtion may more eaſily appear unto us, I will by the way ſet up a mark, whereunto the whole ſum may be directed And this ſhall be the beſt way to avoid error, if the dangers be conſidered that are like to fal on both ſides. For when man is put from all uprightneſs, by and by he thereby taketh occaſion of ſlothfulneſs: and becauſe it is ſaid, that by himſelf he can do nothing to the ſtudy of righteouſneſs, forthwith he neglecteth it wholly, as if it pertained nothing unto him. Again, he can preſume to take nothing upon himſelf, be it never ſo little, but that both God's honour ſhall be thereby taken from him, and man himſelf be overthrown with raſh confidence. Therefore to the end we ſtrike not upon theſe rocks, this courſe is to be kept, that man being informed that there remaineth in him no goodneſs, and being on every ſide compaſſed about with moſt miſerable neceſſity, may yet be taught to aſpire to the goodneſs whereof he is void, and to the liberty whereof he is deprived, and may be more ſharply ſtirred up from ſlothfulneſs than if it were feigned that he is furniſhed with greateſt power. How neceſſary this ſecond point is, every man ſeeth. The firſt, I ſee is doubted of by moe than it ought to be. For this being ſet out of controverſy, it ought then plainly to ſtand for truth, that nothing is to be taken away from man of his own, as far as it behoveth that he be thrown down from falſe boaſting of himſelf. For if it were not granted to man to glory in himſelf even at that time, when by the bountifulneſs of God he was garniſhed with moſt ſingular ornaments, how much ought he now to be humbled, ſince for his unthankfulneſs he is thruſt down from high glory into extreme ſhame? At that time (I ſay) when he was advanced to the higheſt degree of honour, the ſcripture attributeth nothing elſe unto him, but that he was created after the image of God, whereby it ſecretly teacheth, that man was bleſſed, not by his own good things, but by the partaking of God. What therefore remaineth now, but that he being naked and deſtitute of all glory, do acknowlege God, to whoſe liberality he could not be thankful when he flowed full of the riches of his grace; and that now at length with confeſſion of his own poverty he glorify him, whom in the acknowleging of his good gifts, he did not glorify? Alſo it is as much for our profit, that all praiſe of wiſdom and ſtrength be taken from us, as it pertaineth to the glory of God that they join our ruin with the robbery of God, that give us to any thing more than that which is true. For what is elſe done, when we are taught to fight of our own force, but that we be lifted up on high on a ſtaff of a reed, that it may by and by break, and we fall to the ground? Altho' our forces are yet too much commended when they are compared to the ſtaff of a reed. For it is but ſmoke all that vain men have imagined and do babble of them. Wherefore not without cauſe is this excellent ſentence oft repeated by Auguſtine, that free will is rather thrown down headlong, than eſtabliſhed by them that defend it. This I thought needful to ſpeak before, as by way of preface for many mens ſakes, who when they hear man's power overthrown from the ground, that the power of God may be builded in man, do much hate this manner of diſputing as dangerous, much more ſuperfluous, which yet appeareth to be both in religion neceſſary, and for us moſt profitable.

The opinion of philoſophers concerning the freedom of man's will.

2. Whereas we have a little before, ſaid, that in the underſtanding mind, and in the heart are placed the powers of the ſoul now let us conſider what they both are able to do. The philoſophers indeed

indeed with great consent do imagine that in the understanding mind sitteth reason, which like a lamp giveth light to all counsels, and like a Queen governeth the will, for they say that it is so endowed with divine light, that it can give good counsel, and so excelleth in lively force that it is able well to govern. On the other side, that sense is dull and blind that it always creepeth on the ground, and wallowеth in gross objects, and never lifteth up it self to true insight. That the appetite, if it can abide to obey reason, and do not yield it self to sense to be subdued, is carried on to the study of virtues, holdeth on the right way, and is transformed into will: but if it give it self subject into the bondage of sense it is by it corrupted and perverted, so that it degenerates into lust. And whereas by their opinion there do reside in the soul, those powers that I have spoken of before, understanding, sense, appetite or will, which word Will is now more commonly used, they say that understanding is endowed with reason, the best governess toward good and blessed life, so that it do hold it self within his own excellency and shew forth the force that is naturally given it. But that inferior motion of it which is called sense, wherewith man is drawn to error and deceit, they affirm to be such, that it may be tamed with the rod of reason and by little and little be vanquished. They place will in the midst between reason and sense as a thing at her own ordering, and having liberty whether it pleases to obey reason, or give forth it self to be ravished by sense.

Philosophers imagine that man hath in and of himself a power as to be vicious, so to make himself vertuous.

3. Sometimes indeed they do not deny, being overcome by very experience, how hardly man establisheth reason to reign as Queen within himself, while sometimes he is tickled with enticements of pleasure, somtimes deceived with false appearance of good things, sometimes importunately moved with immoderate affections and violently haled out of the way as it were with ropes or strings of sinews, as Plato saith. (*De leg. lib.* 1.) For which reason Cicero saith, (*Tus. quæst. lib.* 3.) that these sparks given by nature, are with perverse opinions and evil manners by and by quenched: But when such diseases have once gotten place in the minds of men, they grant that they do more outragiously overflow, than that they easily may be restrained: and they stick not to compare them to wild horses which throwing away reason as it were casting the chariot driven, do range without controul and without measure. But this they make no question of, that vertues and vices are in our own power. For if (say they) it be in our choice to do this or that, then is it also in our choice not to do. *Arist. eth. lib.* 3. *cap.* 5. Now if it be in our choice not to do, then is it also to do, but of free choice we seem to do those things that we do, and to forbear those things that we forbear. Therefore if we do any good thing when we please, we may likeways leave it undone: if we do any evil, we may also avoid the same. yet some of them have burst forth into so great licentiousness, that they have boasted that it is indeed God's gift that we live, but our own that we live well and holily. Seneca. And thence cometh that saying of Cicero in the person of Cotta because every man himself getteth virtue to himself, therefore never any of the wise men did thank God for it. For (saith he) for virtue we are praised, and in virtue we glory, which should not be if it were the gift of God, and not of our selves. (*De nat. Deor. lib.* 3.) And a little after: this is the judgment of all men that fortune is to be asked of God, but wisdom to be taken of himself. This therefore is the sum of the opinion of all the philosophers: that the reason of man's understanding is sufficient for a right direction: that will being subject to it, is indeed moved by sense to evil things. But even as it hath free election, so can it not be stopped, but that it follow reason for her guide in all things.

The antient fathers for fear of contradicting the common received opinion of philosophers, and least they should lead men to sloth have too much exalted the strength of human reason and will.

4. Among the ecclesiastical writers, altho' there have been none who did not acknowlege both that the soundness of reason in man hath been sore wounded by sin, and his will exceedingly entangled with perverse desires, yet many of them have too much assented to the philosophers, of which the antient, as I think did so much extol the strength of man upon this consideration, least if they should have expressly confessed his weakness, first they should have made the philosophers, with whom they then contended, to laugh at them: and then least they should give to the flesh, which of itself was dull to goodness, a new occasion of slothfulness. Therefore because they would not teach any thing that were an absurdity in the common judgment of men, their study was to make the doctrine of the scripture half to agree with the doctrines of the philosophers. But that they principally regarded that second point, not to make

place for ſlothfulneſs, appeareth by their own words. *Hom. de proditione.* Chryſoſtome hath in one place: becauſe God hath put both good and evil things in our power, he hath given us freedom of election, and he withholdeth not the unwilling. *Chryſoſt. in Gen. hom.* 18. Again, oftentimes he that is evil, if he will, is turned into good, and he that is good by ſlothfulneſs falleth and becometh evil, becauſe God made our nature to have free-will, and he layeth not neceſſity upon us, but giving convenient remedies, ſuffereth all to ly in the mind of the patient. *Hom.* 52. Again, as unleſs we be aſſiſted by the grace of God, we can never do any thing well: ſo unleſs we bring that which is our own, we cannot obtain the favour of God. And he ſaid before, that it ſhould not be all of God's help, but we muſt alſo bring ſomewhat. And this is commonly a familiar word with him, let us do our beſt, God will ſupply the reſt. Wherewith agreeth that which Jerom, ſaith, *Dialog.* 3. *contra. Pelagium.* that it is our part to begin, but God's to make an end: our part to offer what we can, his to fulfil what we cannot. You ſee now that in theſe ſayings they gave to man toward the ſtudy of virtue more than was meet, becauſe they thought that they could not otherwiſe awake the dulneſs that was naturally in us. But if they did prove that in it only we ſinned, with what apt handling they have done the ſame, we ſhall after ſee. Surely that the ſayings which we have rehearſed are moſt falſe, ſhall by and by appear. Now although the Greeks more than others and among them principally Chryſoſtome have paſſed meaſure in advancing the power of man's will, yet all the old writers, except Auguſtine, do in this point ſo either vary, or waver, or ſpeak doubtfully, that in manner no certainty can be gathered of their writings. Therefore we will not tarry upon exact reckoning of every one of their ſayings, but here and there we will touch out of every one of them ſo much as the plain declaration of the matter ſhall ſeem to require. As for them that followed after, while every one for himſelf ſought praiſe of wit, in defending of man's nature, they fell continually by little and little one after another into worſe and worſe, till it came ſo far, that man was commonly thought to be corrupted only in his ſenſual part, and to have reaſon altogether, and will for the more part uncorrupted. In the mean time this flew about in all mens mouths, that the natural gifts were corrupted in man, and the ſupernatural were taken away. But to what meaning that tended, ſcarcely the hundred man did even ſlightly underſtand. As for my part, if I would plainly ſhew of what ſort is the corruption of nature, I could be eaſily contented with theſe words. But it is of great moment to conſider carefully what a man, being in all parts of his nature corrupted and ſpoiled of his ſupernatural gifts is able to do. They therefore who boaſted themſelves to be the diſciples of Chriſt, ſpake of this matter too much like philoſophers. for the name of free-will ſtill remained among the Latins, as if a man had ſtill continued in an uncorrupted ſtate. And the Grecians were not aſhamed to uſe the word much more arrogantly: for they called it Autexouſion, that is to ſay, of her own power, as if a man had the power himſelf. Becauſe therefore all, even to the common people, had received this principle, that man was endued with free-will, and many of them that would ſeem excellent, cannot tell how far it extendeth: firſt let us ſearch out the force of the word itſelf, and then let us proceed on by the ſimplicity of the ſcripture, to ſhew what man is able to do of his own nature, toward good or evil. What free-will is, whereas it is a word commonly found in all mens writings, yet few have defined. Yet it ſeemeth that Origen rehearſed that thing whereof they were all agreed, when he ſaid, that it is a power of reaſon to diſcern good or evil, and power of will to chuſe either of them. *Lib.* 3. περὶ ἀρχῶν. And Auguſtine varieth not from him, when he teacheth, that it is a power of reaſon and will, whereby good is choſen while grace aſſiſteth, and evil when grace ceaſeth. Bernard, while he meaneth to ſpeak more ſubtilly, ſpeaketh more darkly, who ſaith, that it is a conſent by reaſon of the liberty of will that cannot be loſt, and the judgment of reaſon that cannot be avoided. And the definition of Anſelmus is not familiar enough, who ſaith that it is a power to keep uprightneſs for it ſelf. Therefore Peter Lombard and the other Schoolmen, have rather embraced Auguſtine's definition, becauſe it both was plainer and did not exclude the grace of God, without which they ſaw that will was not ſufficient for itſelf. But they bring alſo of their own ſuch things as they thought either to be better, or to ſerve for plainer declaration. Firſt, they agree that the name of, *Arbitrium*, that is free choice, is rather to be referred to reaſon, whoſe part is to diſcern between good and evil things: and the adjective free, pertaineth properly to will, which may be turned to either of both. Wherefore, ſince freedom properly belongeth to will, Thomas ſaith, that it would very well agree, if free will be called a power of chuſing, which being mixt of underſtanding and appetite

appetite, doth more incline to appetite. *Par.* 1. *quæſt.* 83. *art.* 3. Now have we in what things they teach that the power of free-will conſiſteth, that is to ſay, in reaſon and will. Now remaineth that we ſhortly ſee how much they give to either part.

Divers kinds of ſpiritual freedom.

5. They are commonly wont to make ſubject to the free determination of man, things mean, that is, which belong not to the kingdom of God: but they do refer true righteouſneſs to the ſpecial grace of God and ſpiritual regeneration. Which thing while the author of the book *Of the calling of the Gentiles*, meaneth to ſhew, he reckoneth up three ſorts of wills, the firſt ſenſitive, the ſecond natural, the third ſpiritual, of which he ſaith, that man hath the firſt two at his own liberty, the laſt is the work of the holy Ghoſt in man. Which whether it be true or not, ſhall be treated in place fit for it, for now my purpoſe is but ſhortly to rehearſe the opinions of others, and not to confute them. Hereby it cometh to paſs, that when writers ſpeak of free-will, they principally ſeek not what it is able to do with regard to civil or outward actions, but what it can do to the obedience of the law of God. Which latter point I think ſo to be the principal, that yet I think the other is not to be neglected. Of which meaning I truſt, I ſhall ſhew a good reaſon. There hath been a diſtinction received in ſchools, that reckoneth up three ſorts of freedoms, the firſt, from neceſſity, the ſecond from ſin, the third from miſery. Of which the firſt ſo naturally ſticketh faſt in man, that it can by no means be taken away: the other two are loſt by ſin. This diſtinction I willingly receive, ſaving that there neceſſity is wrongfully confounded with compulſion: between which two how much difference there is, and how neceſſary that difference is to be conſidered, ſhall appear in another place.

The ſchoolmens opinion touching free-will.

6. If this be received, then ſhall it be out of controverſy that man hath not free-will to do good works, unleſs he be aſſiſted by grace, and that by ſpecial grace, which is given to the only elect by regeneration. For I do not paſs upon theſe frantic men, who babble that grace is offered generally and without difference. But this is not yet made plain, whether he be altogether deprived of power to do well, or whether he have yet ſome power, although it be but little and weak, which by itſelf indeed can do nothing, but by help of grace doth alſo her part. *Lib.* 2 *diſt.* 26. While the maſter of the *Sentences* goeth about to make that plain, he ſaith there are two ſorts of grace neceſſary for us, whereby we may be made meet to do a good work: the one they call a working grace, whereby we effectually will to do good: the other co-operating grace, which followeth good will in helping it. In which diviſion this I am not ſatisfied with, that while he giveth to the grace of God an effectual deſire of good, he ſecretly ſheweth his meaning that man already of his own nature, after a certain manner, deſireth good though uneffectually. As Bernard affirming that good will is indeed the work of God, yet this he granteth to man, that of his own motion he deſireth that good will. But this is far from the meaning of Auguſtine, from whom yet Lombard would ſeem to have borrowed this diviſion. In the ſecond part of the diviſion, the doubtfulneſs of ſpeech offendeth me, which hath bred a wrong expoſition. For they thought that we do therefore work together with the ſecond grace of God, becauſe it lyeth in our power, either to make void the firſt grace by refuſing it, or to confirm it by obediently following it. Whereas the author of the book, *Of the calling of the Gentiles, Amb. lib.* 2. *cap.* 5. doth thus expreſs it, that it is free for them that uſe the judgment of reaſon, to depart from grace, that it may be worthy reward not to have departed, and that the thing which could not be done but by the working together of the holy Ghoſt, may be imputed to their merits, by whoſe will it was poſſible to have not been done. Theſe two things I thought fit to remark by the way, that now, reader, thou mayeſt ſee how much I diſſent from the ſoundeſt ſort of the ſchoolmen. For I do much farther differ from the late ſophiſters, even ſo much as they be farther gone from the antient time. But yet ſomewhat, after ſuch a ſort as it is, we perceive by this diviſion, after what manner they have given free-will to man. For at length Lombard ſaith, (*Lib.* 2. *diſt.* 25.) that we have not free-will therefore, becauſe we are alike able either to do or to think good and evil, but only that we are free from compulſion: which freedom is not hindered, although we be perverſe and the bond men of ſin, and can do nothing but ſin.

The danger of uſing the name of free-will tho' we take it in a harmleſs meaning.

7. Therefore, man ſhall be ſaid to have free-will after this ſort, not becauſe he hath a free choice as well of good as of evil, but becauſe he doth evil by will, and not by compulſion. That is very well ſaid: but to what

purpoſe was it to garniſh ſo ſmall a matter with ſo proud a title? A goodly liberty forſooth, if man be not compelled to ſerve ſin: ſo is he yet a willing ſervant that his will is holden faſt bound with the fetters of ſin: truly I do abhor ſtriving about words wherewith the church is vainly wearied, but I think that ſuch words are with great religious carefulneſs to be taken heed of, which ſound of any abſurdity, eſpecially where the error is hurtful. How few I pray you, are there, who when they hear that free-will is aſſigned to man, do not by and by conceive, that he is Lord both of his own mind and will, and that he is able of himſelf to turn himſelf what way he pleaſes? But ſome one will ſay: that peril ſhall be taken away, if the people be diligently warned of the meaning of it. But rather for as much as the wit of man is naturally bent to falſity, he will ſooner conceive an error of one little word, than a truth out of a long tale. Of which thing we have a more certain experience in this very word, than is to be wiſhed, for omitting that expoſition of the old writers, all they in manner that came after, while they ſtick upon the natural ſignification of the word, have been carried into a truſt of themſelves that bringeth them to deſtruction.

St. Auguſtine's meaning when he uſeth the name of free-will is found and good.

8. But if the authority of the fathers do move us, they have indeed continually the word in their mouth: but they do withal declare, how much they eſteem the uſe of it. Firſt of all Auguſtine, which ſticketh not to call it bond-will. In one place he is angry with them who deny free-will: but he declareth his chief reaſon why, when he ſaith only, let not any man be ſo bold to deny the freedom of will, that he go about to excuſe ſin. But ſurely in another place he confeſſeth, (*Lib. 7. cont. Jul.*). *Hom. 53. in Joan.*) that the will of man is not free without the holy Ghoſt, foraſmuch as it is ſubject to luſts that do blind and conquer it. Again, (*Ad Anaſt. cap.* 44. *De perfec. juſtic. Enchir. ad Laur. cap.* 30.) that when will was overcome with ſin, whereinto it fell, nature began to want freedom. Again, (*Ad Bonif.* li. 3. c. 8.) that man having ill uſed his free-will, loſt both himſelf and it. Again, *Ibid.* (*cap.* 7.) free-will is become captive, that it can do nothing toward righteouſneſs. Again, (*Ad Bonif.* li. 1. c. 3.) that it cannot be free; which the grace of God hath not made free. Again, (*Ad Bonif.* li. 3. c. 7.) that the juſtice of God is not fulfilled when the law commandeth, and man doth of his own ſtrength, but when the holy Ghoſt helpeth, and man's will not free, but made free by God, obeyeth. And of all theſe things he ſhortly aſſigns a reaſon, when in another place (*De verb. Apoſt. ſermone.* 3.) he writeth, that man received great power of free-will when he was created, but he loſt it by ſinning. Therefore in another place, (*De ſpiritu & litera cap.* 30.) after that he had ſhewed that free-will is ſtabliſhed by grace, he ſharply inveigheth againſt them that take it upon them without grace. Why therefore (ſaith he) dare wretched men either be proud of free-will before that they be made free, or of their own ſtrength if they be already made free? And they mark not that in the very name of free-will, is mention of freedom. 2 Cor. iii. 8. But where the ſpirit of the Lord is there is freedom. If then they be the bond men of ſin, why do they boaſt them of free-will? For of whom a man is overcome, to him he is made bond. But if they be made free, why do they boaſt themſelves as of their own work? Are they ſo free that they will not be his bond-ſervants, who ſaith: John xv. 5. "without me "ye can do nothing? Beſide that alſo in another place he ſeemeth ſportingly to mock at the uſe of that word, when he ſaid, that will was indeed free, but not made free, free to righteouſneſs, but the bondſervant of ſin. (*De correptione & gratia. cap.* 13.) Which ſaying in another place he repeateth and expoundeth, that man is not free from righteouſneſs, but by choice of will, and from ſin he is not free but by grace of the Saviour. He that doth teſtify, that the freedom of man is nothing elſe but a free making or manumiſſion from righteouſneſs, ſeemeth trimly to mock at the vain name thereof. Therefore if any man will permit the uſe of this word with no evil ſignification, he ſhall not be troubled by me for ſo doing. But becauſe I think it cannot be kept without great peril, and that it ſhould turn to a great benefit to the church, if it were aboliſhed: neither will I myſelf uſe it, and I would wiſh others, if they aſk me counſel, to forbear it.

That the fathers who in conſiderations before alledged Section 4. ſeem ſometimes to furniſh man with his own armour, do notwithſtanding

9. I may ſeem to have brought a great prejudice againſt myſelf, who have confeſſed, that all the eccleſiaſtical writers, except Auguſtine, have ſpoken ſo doubtfully or diverſly in this matter, that no certainty can be had out of their writings. For ſome will ſo conſtrue this, that I meant therefore to thruſt them from giving

give the praise of all good things to the holy Ghost.

giving any voice herein, because they are all against me. As for me, I meant it to no other end but this that I simply and in good faith would have godly wits provided for, which if they wait upon those mens opinions in this point, they shall always waver uncertain. In such sort do they sometimes teach, man being spoiled of all strength of free-will, to flee to grace only: sometimes they furnish or seem to furnish him with his own armour. But it is not hard to make appear, that in such doubtfulness of speech, they nothing, or very little esteeming man's strength, have given the praise of all good things to the holy Ghost, if I here recite certain sentences of theirs, whereby that is plainly taught. *De prædestinatione sanctorum lib.* 4. For what meaneth that saying of Cyprian, which Augustine so often repeateth, that we ought to glory of nothing, because we have nothing of our own, but that man wholly despoiled in himself, may learn to depend upon God? What meaneth that saying of Augustine and Eucherius, (*August. in Gen.*) when they expound, that Christ is the tree of life, to whom he that reacheth his hand, shall live? and that the tree of knowlege of good and evil, is the free choice of will, whereof whoso tasteth, forsaking the grace of God, he shall die? What meaneth that of Chrysostom, (*Homilia in advent.*) that every man is naturally not only a sinner, but also altogether sin? If we have no good thing of our own: If man from top to toe be altogether sin: if it be not lawful to attempt how much the power of free-will is able to do, how then may it be lawful to part the praise of a good work between God and man? I could rehearse of this sort very many sayings out of others, but least any man should cavil, that I chuse out those things only that make for my purpose, and do craftily leave out such things as make against me, therefore I do forbear such a rehearsal. Yet this I dare affirm, howsoever they be sometimes, too busy in advancing free-will, that this yet was their purposed mark, to teach man being altogether turned away from trust of his own power, to have his strength reposed in God alone. Now come I to the simple setting forth of the truth, in considering the nature of man.

A dangerous thing for man to have an opinion of his own strength a blessed thing to mourn with the sense and feeling of his own poverty and inward weakness.

10. But I am here constrained to repeat that, which in the beginning of this chapter, I spake by way of preface. As any man is most discouraged and thrown down with conscience of his own misery, neediness, nakedness and shame, so hath he best profited in knowlege of himself. For there is no danger to be feared, lest man will take too much from himself, so that he learn, that what he wanteth is to be recovered in God, but to himself he can take nothing more than his own right, be it never so little, but that he shall destroy himself with vain confidence, and conveying the honour of God to himself, become guilty of hainous sacrilege. And truly so oft as this lust invadeth our mind, that we desire to have somewhat of our own, which may rest in ourselves rather than in God, let us know that this thought is ministered us by no other counseller, but by him that persuaded our first parents, to have a will to be like unto God's, knowing both good and evil. If it be the word of the devil that raiseth up man in himself, let us give no place unto it, unless we have a mind to take counsel of our enemy. It is pleasant indeed, for a man to have so much strength of his own, that he may rest in himself. But that we be not allured to this vain confidence, let so many sore sentences make us afraid, by which we be thrown down: as are, cursed is he which trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm. Jer. xvii. 5. Again, that God hath not pleasure in the strength of a horse, neither delighteth he in the legs of a man, but delighteth in them that fear him, and attend upon his mercy. Psal. cxlvii. 10. Again, that it is he who giveth strength unto him that fainteth, and unto him that hath no strength, he encreaseth power, even the young men shall faint and be weary, and the young men shall stumble and fall, but they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength. Isa. xlvi. 6. All which sayings tend to this end, that we lean not upon any opinion of our own strength, be it never so little, if we mean to have God favourable unto us, who resisteth the proud and giveth grace to the humble. And then again, let these promises come into our remembrance. I will pouer out water upon the thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground. Isa. xliv, 3. Again, all ye that thirst, come unto the waters. Isa. lv. 1. Which promises do testify, that none are admitted to receive the blessings of God, but they that pine away with feeling of their own poverty. And such promises are not to be passed over, as that of Isaiah, thou shalt have no more sun to shine by day, neither shall the brightness of the moon shine unto thee; for the Lord shall be thine everlasting light, and thy God thy glory.

The Lord indeed doth not take away the ſhining of the ſun or moon from his ſervants, but becauſe he will have himſelf alone to be glorious in them, he calleth their confidence far away from theſe things that are counted in their opinion moſt excellent.

Humility therefore a precious virtue, becauſe in acknowleging man's baſeneſs, God's highneſs is advanced.

11. Truly, that ſaying of Chryſoſtom hath always exceedingly well pleaſed me, that the foundation of our wiſdom is humility, (*Hom. de perf. evangel.*) but yet more that ſaying of Auguſtine, as, ſaith he, that ſame rhetorician being aſked, What was the firſt thing in the rules of eloquence? anſwered, Pronunciation: and what was the ſecond, he anſwered, Pronunciation: and what was the third, he anſwered, Pronunciation: ſo if one aſk me of the rules of Chriſtian religion, the firſt, the ſecond, and third time, and always I would anſwer, Humility. *Epiſt* 56. *ad Dioſ.* But he meaneth not humility, when a man knowing ſome little virtue to be in himſelf, abſtaineth from pride and haughtineſs of mind, but when he truly feeleth himſelf to be ſuch a one as hath no refuge but in humility: as in another place he declareth, *In Joan. hom.* 49. Let no man, ſaith he, flatter himſelf: of his own he is a devil. That whereby he is bleſſed, he hath of God only. For what haſt thou of thine own, but ſin? Take away from thee ſin which is thine own, for righteouſneſs is God's. (*Lib. de nat. & gratia, cap.* 52. *in* Pſal. xlv.) Again, why is the poſſibility of nature ſo preſumed on? It is wounded, maimed, troubled and loſt, it needeth a true confeſſion, and not a falſe defence. Again, when every man knoweth that in himſelf he is nothing, and of himſelf he hath no help, his weapons in himſelf are broken, the wars are ceaſed. But it is needful, that all the weapons of wickedneſs be broken in ſunder, ſhivered in pieces and burnt, that thou remain unarmed and have no help thy ſelf. How much more weak thou art in thyſelf, ſo much the more the Lord receiveth thee. So upon the threeſcore and tenth Pſalm he forbiddeth us to remember our own righteouſneſs, that we may acknowlege the righteouſneſs of God: and he ſheweth that God doth ſo commend his grace unto us, that we may know ourſelves to be nothing, that we ſtand only by the mercy of God, when of ourſelves we are nothing but evil. Let us not therefore ſtrive here with God for our right, as if that were withdrawn from our ſalvation which is given to him. For as our humbleneſs is his highneſs, ſo the confeſſion of our humbleneſs hath his mercy ready for remedy. Neither yet do I require that man not convinced ſhould willingly yield himſelf: nor if he hath any power, that he ſhould turn his mind from it, to be ſubdued unto true humility. But that laying away the diſeaſe of ſelf-love and deſire of victory, wherewith being blinded he thinketh too highly of himſelf, he ſhould well conſider himſelf in the true looking-glaſs of the ſcripture.

Man through ſin was made empty of ſupernatural gifts, as faith, love, righteouſneſs: natural, as both underſtanding and will, though they be not quite taken away, yet the ſoundneſs of them is loſt: the unſoundneſs of his underſtanding may be ſeen both by his often ſtraying in that which he ſeeketh, and his not ſeeking that which belongeth moſt unto him.

12. And the common ſaying which they have borrowed out of Auguſtine pleaſeth me well, that the natural gifts were corrupted in man by ſin, and of the ſupernatural he was made empty. For in this latter part of ſupernatural gifts, they underſtand as well the light of faith as of righteouſneſs, which were ſufficient to the attaining of heavenly life and eternal felicity. Therefore baniſhing himſelf from the kingdom of God, he was alſo deprived of the ſpiritual gifts, wherewith he had been furniſhed to the hope of eternal ſalvation. Whereupon followeth, that he is ſo baniſhed from the kingdom of God, that all things that belong to the bleſſed life of the ſoul, are extinguiſhed in him, until by grace of regeneration, he recover them. Of that ſort are faith, the love of God, charity towards our neighbours, the ſtudy of holineſs and righteouſneſs. All theſe things, becauſe Chriſt reſtoreth them unto us, are counted things coming from another to us, and beſide nature, and therefore we gather that they were once taken away. Again, ſoundneſs of the underſtanding mind and uprightneſs of heart were then taken away together, and this is the corruption of natural gifts. For though there remain ſomewhat left of underſtanding and judgment, together with will, yet can we not ſay that our underſtanding is ſound and perfect, which is both feeble and drowned in many darkneſſes. As for our will, the perverſeneſs thereof is more than ſufficiently known. Since therefore reaſon, whereby a man diſcerneth between good and evil, whereby he underſtandeth and judgeth, is a natural gift, it could not be altogether deſtroyed, but it was partly weakned, partly corrupted, ſo that foul ruins thereof appear. In this ſenſe doth John ſay, John i. 5. that the light ſhineth yet in dark-

darkneſs, but the darkneſs comprehended it not. In which words both things are plainly expreſſed, that in the perverted and degenerate nature of man, there ſhine yet ſome ſparks that ſhew that he is a creature having reaſon, and that he differeth from brute beaſts, becauſe he is endowed with underſtanding; and yet that this light is choaked with great thickneſs of ignorance, that it cannot effectually get abroad. So will, becauſe it is inſeparable from the nature of man, periſheth not, but was bound to perverſe deſires, that it can covet no good thing. This is indeed a full definition, but yet ſuch as needeth to be made plain with more words. Therefore, that the order of our diſcourſe may proceed according to that firſt diſtinction, wherein we divided the ſoul of man into underſtanding and will: let us firſt examine the force of underſtanding. So to condemn it of perpetual blindneſs, that a man leave unto it no manner of ſkill in any kind of things, is not only againſt the word of God, but alſo againſt the experience of common reaſon. For we ſee that there is planted in man a certain deſire to ſearch out truth, to which he would not aſpire at all, but having felt ſome ſavour thereof before. This therefore is ſome ſight of man's underſtanding, that he is naturally drawn with love of truth, the neglecting whereof in brute beaſts, proveth a groſs ſenſe without reaſon, although this little deſire, ſuch as it is, fainteth before it enter the beginning of her race, becauſe it by and by falleth into vanity. For the wit of man cannot for dulneſs keep the right way to ſearch out truth, but ſtrayeth in divers errors, and as it were groping in darkneſs, oftentimes ſtumbleth, till at length it wander and vaniſh away, ſo in ſeeking truth, it doth diſcover how unfit it is to ſeek and find truth. And then it is ſore troubled with another vanity, that oftentimes it diſcerneth not thoſe things, to the true knowlege of which it were expedient to bend itſelf, and therefore it tormenteth itſelf with vain curioſity, in ſearching out things ſuperfluous and nothing worth: and to things moſt neceſſary to be known, it either taketh no heed, or negligently or ſeldom turneth, but ſurely ſcarce at any time applyeth her ſtudy earneſtly unto them. Of which perverſeneſs, whereas the profane writers do commonly complain, it is found that all men have entangled themſelves with it. Wherefore Solomon, in all his Eccleſiaſtes, when he had gone through all theſe ſtudies, in which men think themſelves to be very wiſe, yet he pronounceth that they are all vain and triſling.

13. Yet do not all labours of wit become always ſo void, but that it attaineth ſomewhat eſpecially when it applieth itſelf to theſe inferior things. Yea, and it is not ſo ſtupid, but that it taſteth alſo ſome little of the higher things, howſoever it more negligently apply the ſearching of them, but yet not that with like power of conceiving. For when it is carried up above the compaſs of this preſent life, then is it principally convinced of her own weakneſs. Wherefore, that we may the better ſee how far according to the degrees of her ability, it proceedeth in every thing, it is good that I put forth a diſtinction. Let this therefore be the diſtinction, that there is one underſtanding of earthly things, another of heavenly things. Earthly things I call thoſe that do not concern God and his kingdom, true righteouſneſs, and the bleſſedneſs of eternal life, but have all their reſpect and relation to this preſent life, and are, as it were contained within the bounds thereof. Heavenly things I call the pure knowlege of God, the order of true righteouſneſs, and the myſteries of the heavenly kingdom. Of the firſt ſort are policy, ordering of houſhold, all handy crafts, and liberal ſciences. Of the ſecond ſort are the knowlege of God and God's will, and the rule to frame our life according to it. Concerning the firſt this we muſt confeſs, becauſe man is a creature naturally formed to live in ſociety, he is alſo by natural inſtinct bent to cheriſh and to preſerve the fellowſhip of theſe companies, therefore we ſee that there are in the minds of all men univerſal impreſſions of a certain civil honeſty and order. Hereby it cometh to paſs, that there is found no man that underſtandeth not, that all human ſocieties ought to be kept in order with laws, and that conceiveth not in his mind the principles of theſe laws. Hereof cometh that ſame perpetual conſent, as well of all nations as of all men unto laws, becauſe the ſeeds thereof are naturally planted in all men without any teacher or lawmaker. And I conſider not the diſſentions and fightings that afterwards ariſe, while ſome deſire to pervert law and right, the looſe abſolute government of kings, that luſt ſtrayeth abroad inſtead of right, as thieves and robbers, ſome (which is a fault more than common) think that to be unjuſt, which others have ſtabliſhed

Man's natural capacity may attain to the knowlege of things belonging to this preſent life. As firſt, there are in all mens minds certain ſeeds of underſtanding theſe things whereon civil order and policy is grounded.

ed for juſt: and on the other ſide ſtiffly ſay, that to be laudable, which others have forbidden. For theſe men do not therefore hate laws, becauſe they do not know that laws are good and holy, but for that they raging with headſtrong luſt, do fight againſt manifeſt reaſon, and for their fancy do abhor that, which in underſtanding of mind they allow. The latter ſort of it ſtriving in ſuch, that taketh not away the firſt conceiving of equity. For when men do ſtrive among themſelves concerning the points of laws, they agree together in a certain ſum of equity. Wherein is proved the weakneſs of human underſtanding, which even then when it ſeemeth to follow the right way, yet halteth and ſtaggereth, but ſtill this remaineth true, that there is ſown in all men a certain ſeed of politic order. And that is a large proof, that in the ordering of his life, no man is void of the light of reaſon.

Men have naturally a power and faculty to learn and find out arts, wherein notwithſtanding the liberality of God ſhineth: without which all would be as ſome are even mere naturals.

14. Now do follow the arts, both the liberal, and the handy crafts, in learning whereof, becauſe there is in us all a certain aptneſs, in them alſo doth appear the ſtrength of human underſtanding: but altho' all men be not apt to learn them all, yet is this a certain indication of the common natural power, that there is almoſt no man found, whoſe conceit of wit doth not in ſome art or other ſhew forth itſelf. Neither have they only a power or facility to learn, but alſo to deviſe in every art ſome new thing, either to amplify or make perfecter that which hath been learned of another that went before, which thing, as it moved Plato erroneouſly to teach, that ſuch conceiving is nothing elſe but a calling to remembrance, ſo by good reaſon it ought to compel us to confeſs, that the beginning thereof is naturally planted in the underſtanding of man. Theſe points therefore do plainly teſtify, that there is given to men naturally an univerſal conceiving of reaſon and of underſtanding. Yet is it ſo an univerſal benefit, that therein every man ought for himſelf to acknowlege the peculiar grace of God. To which thankfulneſs the Creator himſelf doth ſufficiently ſtir us up, when he createth natural fools, in whom he maketh us to ſee with what gifts man's ſoul excelleth, if it be not endowed with his light, which is ſo natural in all men, that it is yet altogether a free gift of his bounty towards every man. But the invention and orderly teaching of the ſame arts, or a more inward and excellent knowlege of them which is proper but to a few, is no perfect argument of the common conceiving of wit, yet becauſe without difference it happeneth to the godly and ungodly, it is juſtly reckoned among natural gifts.

The ſkill which philoſophers had in ſundry arts and ſciences, ſheweth what good God hath ſtill left the nature of man enriched withal, although he hath robbed and ſtripped himſelf of the chiefeſt gifts where with God endowed him.

15. So oft therefore as we light upon prophane writers, let us be put in mind by that marvellous light of truth that ſhineth in them, that the wit of man, how much ſoever it be perverted and fallen from the firſt integrity, is yet ſtill clothed and adorned with excellent gifts of God. If we conſider that the Spirit of God is the only fountain of truth, we will neither refuſe nor deſpiſe the truth itſelf, whereſoever it ſhall appear, except we will diſhonourably uſe the ſpirit of God: for the gifts of the holy Ghoſt cannot be contemned without contempt and reproach of himſelf: And what? ſhall we deny that the truth ſhined to the old lawyers, who have ſet forth civil order and diſcipline with ſo great equity? Shall we ſay that the philiſophers were blind both in that exquiſite contemplation, and ſkilful deſcription of nature? Shall we ſay that they had no wit, who by ſetting in order the art of ſpeech, have taught us to ſpeak with reaſon? Shall we ſay that they were mad, who in ſetting forth phyſic, have employed their diligence for us? What of all the mathematical ſciences? ſhall we think them doting errors of mad men? no rather we cannot read the writings of the antients concerning theſe things, without great admiration of their wit. But ſhall we think any thing praiſe worthy or excellent, which we do not acknowlege to come from God? Let us bluſh at the thoughts of ſuch ingratitude into which the heathen Poets fell not, who confeſſed that both philoſophy and Laws and all good arts, were the inventions of the gods. Since then it appeareth that theſe men whom the ſcripture calleth natural men, were of ſo ſharp and deep ſight in ſearching out of inferior things, let us learn by ſuch examples, how many good things the Lord hath left to the nature of man, after that it hath been ſpoiled of the true God.

The knowlege of arts and ſciences is the gift of the ſpirit of God: neither is it to be ne-

16. But yet in the mean time let us not forget, that theſe are the moſt excellent good gifts of the ſpirit of God, which for the common benefit of mankind he diſtributes to whomſoever he pleaſes.

For

gleсted although in the ſight of God it be but a vanſhiing tranſitory thing.

For if it behoved, that the underſtanding and ſkill that was required for the framing of the tabernacle, ſhould be poured into Beſeleel and Oliab by the ſpirit of God it is no wonder if the knowlege of thoſe things which are moſt excellent in human life be ſaid to be communicated unto us by the ſpirit of God. Exod. xxxi. 2. and xxxv. 30. Neither is there cauſe why any man ſhould aſk, what have the wicked to do with God's ſpirit, who are altogether eſtranged from God? For where it is ſaid, that the ſpirit of God dwelleth in the faithful only: that is to be underſtood of the ſpirit of ſanctification, by which we are conſecrate to God himſelf, to be his temples: yet doth he nevertheleſs fill move and quicken all things with the vertue of the ſame ſpirit and that according to the property of every kind which he hath given to it by law of creation. If it hath been the will of God that we ſhould be aſſiſted by the labour and ſervice of the wicked in natural philoſophy, in logic in mathamaticks, and other ſuch ſciences let us uſe it, leſt if we neglect the gifts of God, willingly offered in them, we deſervedly ſuffer on account of our ſlothfulneſs. But leſt any one ſhould imagine a man to be bleſſed, when under the elements of this world, there is granted unto him ſo great an ability to conceive truth, it is alſo to be added that all this power to underſtand, and the underſtanding that followeth upon it, is a vain and tranſitory thing in the ſight of God, where is not a ſtedfaſt foundation of truth. For Auguſtine, whom (as we have ſaid) the maſter of the ſentences, and the other ſchoolmen are forced to aſſent to, teacheth moſt truly, where he ſaith, That as the free gifts were taken from man after his fall, ſo theſe natural gifts which remained, were corrupted. Not that they are defiled of themſelves inaſmuch as they come from God, but becauſe they ceaſe to be pure to a defiled man, that he ſhould have no praiſe of them.

As God hath in common endowed men with reaſon, ſo he doth particularly for ſpecial purpoſes pour ſpecial motions into them.

17. Let this be the ſum: That it is ſeen that in all mankind reaſon reſides which is proper to our nature, which maketh us to differ from brute beaſts, as brute beaſts do differ in ſenſe from things without life. For whereas there be born certain natural fools and idiots, that defect obſcureth not the general grace of God: but rather by ſuch ſight we are put in mind, that what is left unto ourſelves, ought juſtly to be aſcribed unto the kindneſs of God, becauſe if he had not ſpared us, rebellion had drawn with it the deſtruction of our whole nature. But whereas ſome do excel in ſharpneſs of conceiving, ſome other do paſs in judgment, ſome have a quicker wit to learn this or that art: in this variety God ſetteth forth his grace unto us, that no man ſhould claim to himſelf as his own, that which floweth from God's mere liberality. For how becometh one more excellent than another, but that in common nature might appear above other the ſpecial grace of God, which in omitting many, ſaith openly, that it is bound to none. Beſides that, God poureth in ſingular motions, according to the calling of every man. Of which thing we meet with many examples in the book of the Judges, where it is ſaid, (Judg. vi. 34.) that the Spirit of the lord clad them, whom he called to rule the people. Finally, in every noble act there is a ſpecial inſtruction. By which reaſon the ſtrong men followed Saul, whoſe hearts the Lord had touched, 1 Sam. x. 6. And when his miniſtring in the kingdom was propheſied of, Samuel ſaid thus: The Spirit of the Lord ſhall come upon thee, and thou ſhalt be another man, 1 Sam. vi. 13. And this was continued to the whole courſe of government: as after it is ſpoken of David, that the Spirit of the Lord came upon him from that day forward. But the ſame is ſpoken in another place as touching particular motions: yea, in Homer men are ſaid to excel in wit, not only as Jupiter hath dealt to every man, but alſo as the time required. And truly experience teacheth, while many times ſuch men ſtand amazed as were moſt ſharp and deep witted, that the wits of men are in the hand and will of God to rule them at every moment: for which reaſon it is ſaid, Pſal. cvii. 40. that he taketh wit from the wiſe, that they may wander out of the way. But yet in this diverſity we diſcern ſome veſtiges of the image of God remaining, which diſtinguiſhes mankind from other creatures.

Touching heavenly things, as the knowlege of God, of his favour towards us, and of the way to frame our lives after his will, man's natural reaſon conceiveth very little in the firſt, in the ſecond nothing at all.

18. Now is to be declared what man's reaſon perceives when it cometh to the kingdom of God and to that ſpiritual inſight, which conſiſteth chiefly in three things: To know God, and his fatherly favour towards us, wherein our ſalvation ſtandeth: and the way to direct our life according to the rule of his law. Both in the firſt two, and in the ſecond properly they who are moſt ſkilful, are blinder than moles. I grant

indeed, that there are here and there to be found in the writings of the philoſophers many excellent and proper things concerning Almighty God, but yet in theſe very things one may diſcover a certain giddineſs of imagination. The Lord gave them indeed, as is above ſaid, a little taſte of his Godhead, that they ſhould not pretend ignorance to excuſe their ungodlineſs: and many times he moved them to ſpeak many things, by confeſſion whereof themſelves might be convinced. But they ſo ſaw the things that they ſaw, that by ſuch ſeeing they were not directed to the truth, much leſs did attain unto it; like as a wayfaring man in the midſt of the field, for a ſudden moment, ſeeth far and wide the gliſtering of lightening in the night time, but with ſuch a quickly vaniſhing ſight, that he is ſooner covered again with the darkneſs of the night, than he can ſtir his foot, ſo far is it off that he can be brought into his way by ſuch a help. Beſides, that thoſe ſmall drops of truth, wherewith as it were by chance, they ſprinkle their books, with how many and how monſtrous lies are they defiled? Finally, they never ſo much as dreamed of that aſſuredneſs of God's good will toward us, without which man's wit muſt needs be filled with infinite confuſion. Therefore man's reaſon neither approacheth, nor goeth toward, nor once directeth ſight unto this truth, to underſtand who is the true God, or what a one he will be towards us.

To know God is the ſpecial gift of God.

19. But becauſe we being intoxicate with a falſe perſuaſion of our own deep inſight, do very hardly allow ourſelves to be perſuaded, that in the things of God it is utterly blind and dull: I think it ſhall be better to confirm it by teſtimonies of ſcripture, than by reaſons. This doth John very well teach in that place which I even now alleged, when he writeth, that life was in God from the beginning, and the ſame life which ſhould be the light of men, and that the light did ſhine in darkneſs, and the darkneſs comprehended it not. John i. 4. He ſheweth indeed, that man's ſoul is lightened with the brightneſs of God's light, ſo that it is never altogether without ſome ſmall flame, or at leaſt ſome ſparkle of it, but yet, that with ſuch a light he comprehendeth not God. And why ſo? becauſe man's quickneſs of wit, as toward the knowlege of God, is but mere darkneſs. For when the holy Ghoſt calleth men darkneſs, he at once ſpoileth them of all ability of ſpiritual underſtanding. Therefore he affirmeth that the faithful who embrace Chriſt, are born, not of blood, nor of the will of the fleſh, or of man, but of God, John i. 13. As if he ſhould ſay, fleſh is not capable of ſo high wiſdom to conceive God and that which is God's, unleſs it be enlightened with the Spirit of God. As Chriſt teſtified, that this was a ſpecial revelation of the Father, that Peter did know him, Matth. xvi. 17.

It is the principal illumination of the Spirit which openeth the eyes of God's elect and theirs only, to ſee the things that are of God.

20. If we were perſuaded of this which ought to be out of all controverſy, that our nature wanteth all that which our heavenly Father giveth to his elect by the Spirit of regeneration, then here were no matter to doubt upon. For thus ſpeaketh the faithful people in the prophet: For with thee is the fountain of life, and in thy light we ſhall ſee light. Pſal. xxxiv. 10. The apoſtle teſtifieth the ſame thing when he ſaith, that no man can call Jeſus the Lord, but by the holy Ghoſt. 1 Cor. xii. And John Baptiſt ſeeing the dulneſs of his diſciples, cryeth out, that no man can receive any thing, unleſs it be given him from above. John iii. 27. And that he meaneth by gift a ſpecial illumination, and not a common gift of nature, appeareth from hence, that he complaineth that in ſo many words as he had ſpoken to commend Chriſt to his diſciples, he prevailed nothing. I ſee (ſaith he) that words are nothing to inform mens minds concerning divine things, unleſs the Lord give underſtanding by his Spirit. Yea, and Moſes, when he reproacheth the people with their forgetfulneſs, yet obſerveth this withal, that they can by no means grow wiſe in the myſteries of God, but by the aſſiſtance of God. Deut. xxix. 2. Thine eyes, ſaith he, have ſeen thoſe great tokens and wonders, and the Lord hath not given thee a heart to underſtand, nor ears to hear, nor eyes to ſee. What ſhould he expreſs more, if he called us blocks in conſidering the works of God? Whereupon the Lord by the prophet promiſeth it as a mighty favour, that he will give the Iſraelites a heart that they may know him: Jer. xxiv. 7. thereby intimating that the underſtanding of man is only ſo far ſpiritually wiſe, as it is enlightened by God. And this Chriſt plainly confirmed with his own mouth, when he ſaith, that no man can come to him, but he to whom it ſhall be given from the Father. John vi. 44. What? Is not he himſelf the lively image of the Father in whom the whole brightneſs of his glory is expreſſed unto us? Therefore he could not better ſhew what power we have to know God, than when he ſaith, that we have no eyes to diſcern his image, where it is ſo openly ſet pre-

preſent before us. What? came he not into the earth for this purpoſe, to declare his Father's will unto men? And did he not faithfully perform his office? Yes ſurely. But yet nothing is wrought by his preaching, unleſs the inward ſchoolmaſter, the holy Ghoſt, ſet open the way to our minds. Therefore none come to him, but they that have heard, and been taught of the Father. What manner of way of learning and hearing is this? Even, when the Holy Ghoſt by marvellous and ſingular power formeth the ears of men to hear, and their minds to underſtand. And leſt that ſhould ſeem ſtrange, he allegeth the prophecy of Iſaiah, Iſa. liv. 13. where when he promiſeth the repairing of the church, that they who ſhall be gathered together to ſalvation, ſhall be taught of the Lord. If God there fortells ſome peculiar thing concerning his elect, it is evident that he ſpeaks not of that kind of learning which was alſo common to the wicked and ungodly. It remaineth therefore that we muſt underſtand it thus, that the way into the kingdom of God is open to no man, but to him in whom the holy Ghoſt by his enlightening ſhall create a new mind. But Paul ſpeaketh moſt plainly of all, who purpoſely entring into a diſcourſe of this matter, after he had condemned all men's wiſdom of folly and vanity, and utterly brought it to nought, at laſt concludeth thus: 1 Cor. ii 14. that the natural man knoweth not the things that are of the ſpirit of God: they are fooliſhneſs unto him; neither can he know them, becauſe they are ſpiritually diſcerned. Whom doth he call natural? even him that ſtayeth upon the light of nature. He I ſay comprehendeth nothing in the ſpiritual myſteries of God. Why ſo? is it becauſe by ſlothfulneſs he neglecteth it? Nay, rather although he would labour never ſo much, he can do nothing, becauſe forſooth they are ſpiritually diſcerned. What meaneth this? becauſe being utterly concealed from the ſight of man, they are opened only by the revelation of the ſpirit: ſo that they are reckoned for folly where the ſpirit of God giveth not light. Before he had affirmed that thoſe things that God hath prepared for them that love him, are far above the capacity of the eyes, of the ears, and of the mind of men. Yea, he teſtifieth that man's wiſdom was a certain vail, whereby man's mind was kept from beholding God. What mean we? The apoſtle pronounceth, that the wiſdom of this world is made folly by God: and ſhall we forſooth give unto it ſharpneſs of underſtanding, whereby it may pierce to the ſecret places of the heavenly kingdom? Far be ſuch brutiſh ſtupidity from us.

21. And ſo that which here he taketh away from men, in another place in a prayer, he aſcribeth it to God alone. Eph. i. 15. God (ſaith he) and the father of glory, give to you the ſpirit of wiſdom and revelation. Now thou heareſt that all wiſdom and revelation is the gift of God. What followeth? and enlighten the eyes of your mind. Surely if they need a new revelation, then are they blind of themſelves. It followeth after: That ye may know what is the hope of your calling, &c. Therefore he confeſſeth that the underſtandings of men are not capable of ſo great knowlege, to know their own calling. And let not ſome Pelagian babble here, that God doth remedy that dulneſs or unſkilfulneſs, when by the doctrine of his word he directeth man's underſtanding, whither without a guide he could not have attained. For David had a law, wherein was comprehended all the wiſdom that may be deſired, and yet not contented with that, he requireth to have his eyes opened that he may underſtand the myſteries of the ſame law. By which ſpeech truly he ſecretly ſaith, that the ſun riſeth upon the earth where the word of God ſhineth to men; but they get not much thereby, until he himſelf, who is therefore called the father of lights, Jam. i. 17. do give them or open their eyes, becauſe whereſoever he ſhineth not with his Spirit, all things are full of darkneſs. So the apoſtles were well and largely taught by the beſt ſchoolmaſter: yet if they had not needed the Spirit of truth to inſtruct their minds in that ſame doctrine which they had heard before, he would not have bidden them look for him, John xiv. 26. If the thing that we aſk of God, we do thereby confeſs that we want: and God in that that he promiſeth it us, doth argue our need, let no man doubt to confeſs that he is ſo much able to underſtand the myſteries of God as he is enlightened with his grace. He that giveth to himſelf more underſtanding, is ſo much the more blind, for that he doth not acknowlege his own blindneſs.

The word of God can never enlighten mens minds without his grace.

22. Now remaineth the third point, of knowing the rule of ordering our life aright, which we do juſtly all the knowlege of the works of righteouſneſs, wherein the underſtanding of man ſeemeth to be of ſomewhat more acute diſcernment, than in the other two before. For the apoſtle teſtifieth, that the

There is in man ſome knowlege of that which ſerveth for the ordering of his life aright. namely a certain conſcience of good and evil.

gentiles who have no law, while they do the works of the law, are as a law to themſelves, and do ſhew the law written in their hearts, their conſciences bearing them witneſs, and their thoughts accuſing them within themſelves or excuſing them before God, the judgment of God. If the Gentiles have righteouſneſs naturally graven in their minds, ſurely we cannot ſay that we are altogether blind in the order of life. And nothing is more common, than that man by the law natural, of which the apoſtle ſpeaketh in that place, is ſufficiently inſtructed to a right rule of life. But let us conſider to what purpoſe this knowlege of the law is planted in men: then it ſhall preſently appear, how far it bringeth them toward the mark of reaſon and truth. The ſame is alſo evident from the words of Paul, if a man do mark the placing of them. He had ſaid a little before, that they who ſinned in the law, are judged by the law, they who have ſinned without law do periſh without law. Becauſe this might ſeem unreaſonable, that the Gentiles ſhould periſh without any judgment going before, he immediately adds, that their conſcience is to them inſtead of a law, and therefore is ſufficient for their juſt damnation. Therefore the end of the law natural is, that man may be made inexcuſable. And it ſhall be defined not improperly thus, viz. That it is a knowlege of conſcience which ſufficiently diſcerneth between juſt and unjuſt, to take away from men the pretence of ignorance, while they are proved guilty by their own teſtimony. Such is the tenderneſs of man toward himſelf, that in doing of evil, he always turneth away his mind ſo much as he may from the feeling of ſin. By which reaſon it ſeemeth that Plato was moved to think that there is no ſin done but by ignorance. (*In Protagora.*) That indeed were fitly ſaid by him, if mens hypocriſy went ſo far in hiding of vices, that the mind might not know itſelf guilty before God. But when the ſinner ſeeking to avoid the judgment imprinted in him, is now and then drawn back unto it, and not ſuffered ſo to wink, but that he is compelled whether he will or no, ſometime to open his eyes; it is falſely ſaid that he ſinned only by ignorance.

The mind which knoweth generally that evil muſt be ſhunned is notwithſtanding blind in diſcerning particularly what it ſhould ſhun as evil, and carried ſometimes knowingly embrace that evil which it knoweth.

23. Themiſtius ſaith more truly, who teacheth that underſtanding is ſeldom deceived in the general defining of things, that it is blindneſs when it goeth any further, that is, when it cometh down to the ſpecial caſe. Every man, if it be generally aſked, will affirm, that manſlaughter is evil: but he that conſpireth to kill his enemies, deliberateth upon it, as on a good thing. The adulterer generally will condemn adultery, but in his own, privately he will flatter himſelf. This is ignorance, when a man coming to the ſpecial caſe forgetteth the rule, that he had lately agreed upon in the general queſtion. Of which thing Auguſtine diſcourſeth very finely in his expoſition of the firſt verſe of the lvii. Pſalm. (*Paraph. in lib.* 3. *de anima. cap.* 46.) Altho' the ſame thing is not continual. For ſometimes the ſhamefulneſs of the evil deed ſo preſſeth the conſcience, that not deceiving himſelf under falſe reſemblance of a good thing, but knowingly and willingly he runneth into evil. Out of which affection came theſe ſayings: (*Medæa apud Ovidium.*) I ſee the better and allow it, but I follow the worſe. Wherefore, methinks Ariſtotle hath very aptly made diſtinction between incontinence and intemperance. (*Ethic.* 7. *cap.* 3.) Where incontinence reigneth, he ſaith, that there by reaſon of troubled affection or paſſion, knowlege is taken away from the mind, that it marketh not the evil in his own act, which it generally ſeeth in the like: and when the troubled affection is cooled, repentance immediately followeth. But intemperance is not extinguiſhed or broken by feeling of ſin, but on the other ſide obſtinately ſtandeth ſtill in her conceived choice of evil.

The underſtanding attaineth not at all to the chief duties of the firſt table of the law of God: in the ſecond although it perceive more, yet in many things it faileth & never marketh that the ſecret tickling deſire unto ſin is ſin.

24. Now when thou heareſt judgment univerſally named in the difference of good and evil, think it not every ſound and perfect judgment. For if mens hearts are furniſhed with choice of juſt and unjuſt, only to this end, that they ſhould not pretend ignorance, it is not then needful to ſee the truth in every thing. But it is enough and more, that they underſtand ſo far that they cannot eſcape away, but being convicted by the teſtimony of their own conſciences, they even now already begin to tremble at the judgment ſeat of God. And if we will try our reaſon by the law of God which is the exemplar of true righteouſneſs, we ſhall find how many ways it is blind. Truly it attaineth not at all to thoſe that are the chief things

things in the first table, as of confidence in God, of giving to him the praise of strength and righteousness, of calling upon his name, of the true keeping of the sabbath. What soul ever by natural sense did find out, that the lawful worshipping of God consisteth in these and like things? For when profane men will worship God, although they be called away an hundred times from their vain trifles, yet they alway slide back thither again. They deny indeed that sacrifices do please God, unless there be adjoined a pureness of mind; whereby they declare, that they conceive somewhat of the spiritual worshipping of God, which yet they soon corrupt with false inventions. For they can never be persuaded that all is true that the law prescribeth concerning it. Shall I say, that the understanding excelleth in any acuteness of discernment, which can neither of itself be wise, nor hearken to the instructions of others. In the commandments of the second table it hath some more understanding, by so much as they come nearer to the preservation of civil fellowship among men. Altho' even in this also it is found many times to fail. To every excellent nature it seemeth most unreasonable, to suffer an unjust, and too imperious kind of dominion over them, if by any means he may put it away: and the judgment of man's reason is none other, but that it is the part of a servile and base courage, to suffer it patiently: and again, the part of an honest and free born heart, to shake it off. And revenge of injuries is reckoned for no fault among the philosophers. But the Lord condemning that too much nobleness of courage, commandeth his to keep the same patience that is so ill reported among men. And in all the keeping of the law, our understanding marketh not concupiscence at all. For a natural man suffereth not himself to be brought to this, to acknowledge the diseases of his desires. The light of nature is choaked up, before that it come to the first entry of this bottomless depth. For when the philosophers mark immoderate notions of mind for faults, they mean those motions that appear and shew forth themselves by gross tokens, but they make no account of those evil desires that do gently tickle the mind.

Our understanding is altogether impotent & blind except it be by grace illuminated not once but continually in every divine and heavenly thing which we have to learn.

25. Wherefore, as Plato was worthily found fault withal before because he imputed all sins to ignorance, so is their opinion to be rejected, who teach that purposeth malice and frowardness is used in all sins. For we find it too much by experience, how oft we fall with our good intent. Our reason is overwhelmed with so many sorts of deception, is subject to so many errors stumbleth at so many obstacles, is entangled with so many straits, that it is far from sure direction. But how little it is esteemed before the Lord in all parts of our life, Paul sheweth when he saith, that we are not sufficient to think any thing of ourselves, as of ourselves. 2 Cor. iii. 5. He speaketh not of will or affection, but he taketh also this away from us, that we should not think that it can come in our minds how any thing is to be done well. Is our diligence, insight, understanding and head so corrupted, that it can devise or think upon nothing that is right before the Lord? that seemeth too hard to us who do unwillingly suffer ourselves to be spoiled of the sharpness of reason, which we account a most precious gift. But to the holy Ghost it seemeth most full of equity, who knoweth that all the thoughts of wise men are vain: (Psal. xciv. 11.) and who pronounceth plainly, that all the invention of man's heart is only evil. Gen. vi. 3. If all that our wit conceiveth, deviseth upon, purposeth and goeth about, is always evil, how can it come in our minds to purpose that which pleaseth God, to whom only holiness and righteousness is acceptable? So is it to be seen, that the reason of our mind, which way soever it turn itself, is miserably subject to vanity. David knew this weakness in himself, when he prayed to have understanding given him, to learn the Lord's commandments aright. Psal. cxix. 34.) For he secretly saith therein, that his own wit sufficeth him not, who desireth to have a new heart given him. And that not only once, but almost ten times in one Psalm, he repeateth the same prayer; by which repeating he privately declareth, with how great need he is driven to pray it. And that which he prayeth for himself alone: Paul commonly useth to pray for the churches. Phil. i. 4. We cease not (saith he) to pray for you, and to desire that ye may be filled with the knowlege of God in all wisdom and spiritual understanding, that ye may walk worthily of God, &c. Col. i. 9. But so oft as he maketh that thing the good gift of God, let us remember that he doth withal testify, that it lyeth not in man's power. And Augustine so far acknowledgeth this insufficiency of reason to understand those things that are of God, that he thinketh the grace of illumination to be no less necessary for our minds, than the light of the sun is for our eyes. *Aug. lib.* 2.

De peccat. mer. & remiſ. ca. 5. And not content with that, he addeth a correction of that ſaying, that we lift up our eyes to ſee the light: but the eyes of our mind ly ſhut unleſs the Lord open them. And the ſcripture teacheth that our minds are not enlightened one day alone, that they may afterward ſee by themſelves: for that which I even now alleged out of Paul, belongeth to continual proceedings and increaſings. And this doth David expreſsly ſet out in theſe words; (Pſal. cxix. 10.) For when he had been regenerated, and had not ſlenderly profited in true godlineſs, yet he confeſſeth that for every moment he needeth continual direction, leſt he ſhould depart from the knowlege with which he is endued. Therefore, in another place he prayeth to have the right ſpirit renewed, which he had loſt by his own fault, (Pſal. li. 12.) becauſe it belongeth to the ſame God to reſtore unto us the ſame thing being loſt for a time, which himſelf gave at the beginning.

Touchiug the will of man, the general inclination which it hath to that good whereof philoſophers do ſo much talk, proveth not any freedom or ability of dering and aſpiring unto virtue without the motion of the holy Ghoſt.

26. Now is Will to be examined, wherein ſtandeth the chief liberty of free chocie, for it hath been already ſeen, that choice doth rather belong to Will, than to underſtanding. Firſt, that this thing which the philoſophers have taught, and is received with common conſent, that is, that all things by natural inſtinction deſire that which is good, may not ſeem to belong to the uprightneſs of man's will: Let us mark that the force of free will, is not to be conſidered in ſuch appetite, as rather proceedeth of the inclination of the eſſence, than of the adviſement of the underſtanding mind. For even the ſchoolmen do confeſs, that free will hath no action, but when reaſon turneth itſelf to objects, whereby they mean that the object of appetite muſt be ſuch as may be ſubject to choice, and go before deliberation, which prepareth the way for choice. And truly if a man conſider what is the natural deſire of good in man, he ſhall find that it is common to him with beaſts. For they alſo deſire to be well, and when any ſhew of good appeareth that moveth their ſenſe, they follow it. But man doth neither chooſe by reaſon, that he may follow with diligence that thing which is indeed good for him, according to the excellency of his immortal nature, nor taketh reaſon to counſel, nor bendeth his mind, but without reaſon, without counſel, like a beaſt, followeth the inclination of nature. This therefore maketh nothing for the freedom of will, if a man by ſenſe of nature be carried to deſire that which is good: but this is requiſite, that he diſcern good by right reaſon, and when he hath known it, that he chuſe it, and when he hath choſen it, that he follow it. But leaſt any man ſhould doubt, there is to be noted a double ſophiſtical argument. For appetite is not here called the proper manner of will, but a natural inclination: and good is called not as of virtue or juſtice, but of eſtate, as we ſay: This man is well or in good condition. Finally, although a man do never ſo much deſire to attain to what is good, yet he followeth it not. As there is no man to whom eternal bleſſedneſs is not pleaſant, yet is there none that aſpireth unto it, but by the moving of the holy Ghoſt. Wherefore ſince the natural deſire in men to be well, maketh nothing to prove the freedom of will, no more than in metals and ſtones, doth the affection inclining to the perfection of their ſubſtance: let us conſider in other things, whether Will be ſo infected and corrupted in all parts that it engendereth nothing but evil; or whether it keepeth ſtill any portion unhurt, from whence do grow good deſires.

It is not ſufficient to confeſs that grace maketh the deſires of our will effectual, which otherwiſe would not be able to attain any good thing which is wiſhed for: but we muſt acknowlege that it is the grace of the holy Ghoſt which worketh in us the very firſt beginning to think of wiſhing well.

27. They that do attribute to the firſt grace of God, that we will effectually, ſeem on the other ſide to ſay ſecretly, that there is in the ſoul a power of itſelf to aſpire to good, but it is ſo weak, that it cannot grow to a perfect affection, or raiſe up any endevour. And there is no doubt that the ſchoolmen have commonly embraced this opinion, or which was borrowed by Origen and certain of the antient writers: foraſmuch as they are wont to conſider man in pure natural things, (as they term it) ſuch a one as the apoſtle deſcribeth him in theſe words: (Rom. vii. 15.) "I do not the good "that I would, but the evil that "I would not, that I do. To will is preſent unto "me, but to perform it I find not." But after this manner is the diſcourſe that Paul there followeth, altogether wrongfully perverted. For he treateth of the chriſtian wreſtling (which he ſhortly toucheth to the Galatians) which the faithful continually feel within themſelves, in the war between the fleſh and the ſpirit, Gal. v. 17. But the ſpirit is not of nature, but of regeneration. And that the

the apoſtle doth there ſpeak of the regenerate, appeareth from this, that when he had ſaid, that there dwelleth no goodneſs in him, he addeth an expoſition, that he meaneth it of his fleſh. And therefore he ſaith, that it is not he that doth the evil, but ſin that dwelleth in him. What meaneth this correction in me, that is my fleſh? Even as much as if he had ſaid thus: God dwelleth not in me of my ſelf, for there is no good to be found in my fleſh. Hereupon followeth that manner of excuſe: I my ſelf do not the evil, but ſin that dwelleth in me. Which excuſe belongeth only to the regenerate, who do with the chief part of their ſoul tend unto good. Now, the concluſion that is adjoined after, declareth all this matter evidently. I am delighted (ſaith he) with the law, according to the inward man, Rom. vii. 22.: but I ſee another law in my members, warring againſt the law of my mind. Who hath ſuch a ſtriving in himſelf, but he that being regenerate by the ſpirit of God, carrieth the leavings of his fleſh about with him? Therefore Auguſtin, (*Ad Bonif. lib.* 1. *cap.* 10. *Et in Retract.*) where as once he had thought, that that had been ſpeaking of the nature man, revoked his expoſition as falſe, and ill agreeing together. And truly, if we allow this, that men without grace have ſome motions to good, though they be but ſmall, what ſhall we anſwer to the apoſtle who ſaith, that we are not ſufficient ſo much as to think any good? 2 Cor. iii. 5. What ſhall we anſwer to the Lord who pronounceth by Moſes, that every invention of man's heart is only evil? Gen viii. 21. Wherefore ſince they have ſtumbled by falſe taking of one place, there is no cauſe why we ſhould ſtay upon their judgment. Let rather this ſaying of Chriſt prevail: He that doth ſin is the ſervant of ſin, John viii. 34. We are all ſinners by nature, therefore we be all holden under the yoke of ſin. Now if the whole man be ſubject to dominion of ſin, then muſt it needs be, that the will itſelf which is the chief ſeat thereof, be bound faſt with moſt ſtrait fetters. For otherwiſe the ſaying of Paul would not be conſiſtent that it is God who worketh in us to will, Phil. ii. 13. if any will did go before the grace of the holy Ghoſt. Away therefore with all that many have triflingly ſpoken concerning preparation. For although ſometimes the faithful do pray to have their heart formed to the obedience of the law, as David doth in many places: Pſal. li. 12. yet it is to be obſerved, that even that deſire of praying is from God. Which we may gather from his words, for when he wiſheth to have a clean heart created within him, ſurely he taketh not on himſelf the beginning of creation. Therefore let rather this ſaying of Auguſtin have place with us, *De verbis Apoſt. Serm.* 10. God will prevent thee in all things: And ſometimes prevent thou his wrath. How? Confeſs that thou haſt all theſe things of God, that whatſoever good thou haſt is of him: whatſoever evil, it is of thy ſelf. And a litle after: Nothing is ours but ſin.

CHAP. III.

That out of the corrupt nature of man proceedeth nothing but what is damnable.

The whole mind of man, and not the ſenſual part alone is corrupted.

BUT man cannot be any way better known in either part of his ſoul, than if he come forth with his titles wherewith the ſcripture doth ſet him out. If he be painted whole in theſe words of Chriſt, John iii. 6. That which is born of fleſh, is fleſh: as it is eaſy to prove, then is he proved to be a very miſerable creature. For the affection of the fleſh, as the apoſtle witneſſeth, is death, foraſmuch as it is enmity againſt God, Rom. viii. 6. and ſo is not, nor can be ſubject to the law of God. Is fleſh ſo perverſe, that with all its affection it continually uſeth enmity againſt God? that it cannot agree with the righteouſneſs of the law of God? Finally, that it can bring forth nothing but matter of death? Now, grant that in the nature of man is nothing but fleſh, and gather any good out of it if thou canſt. But (they ſay) the name of fleſh belongeth only to the ſenſual and not to the higher part of the ſoul. But that is ſufficiently confuted by the words of Chriſt, and of the apoſtle. It is the Lord's argument, that man muſt be born again, becauſe he is fleſh, John iii. 6. He commandeth not to be born again according to the body. But in mind he is not born again, if a part of it be amended, but when it is all renewed. And that doth the compariſon, ſet in both places, confirm. For the ſpirit compared againſt the fleſh ſo is that there is left no mean thing between them. Therefore whatſoever is not ſpiritual in man, is after the ſame reaſon called fleſhly. But we have nothing of the Spirit but by regeneration. It is therefore fleſh whatſoever we have of nature. But of that matter, if otherwiſe we could have any doubt, that is taken away from us by Paul, where after he had deſcribed the old man, whom he had

ſaid

ſaid to be corrupt with concupiſcences of error, he biddeth us to be renewed in the ſpirit of our mind: You ſee he doth not place unlawful and evil luſts only in the ſenſitive part, but alſo in the very mind, and therefore requireth, a renewing of it. And truly a little before he had painted out ſuch an image of man's nature, as did ſhew that there was no part wherein we were not corrupted and perverted: for whereas he writeth that all nations do walk in the vanity of their mind, are darkened in underſtanding, eſtranged from the life of God, by reaſon of the ignorance that is in them, and the blindneſs of their heart, Eph. iv. 17.: it is no doubt that this is ſpoken of all them whom the Lord hath not reformed to the uprightneſs both of his wiſdom and juſtice: which is alſo made more plain by the compariſon by and by adjoined, where he putteth the faithful in mind, that they have not ſo learned Chriſt. For of theſe words we gather, that the grace of Chriſt, is the only remedy whereby we are delivered from that blindneſs, and the evils that follow upon it. For ſo had Iſaiah alſo prophecied of the kingdom of Chriſt, Iſa. lx. 2. when he promiſed that the Lord ſhould be an everlaſting light to his church, when yet darkneſs covered the earth, and a miſt the peoples. Whereas he teſtifieth, that the light of God ſhall ariſe only in the church, truly without the church he leaveth nothing but darkneſs and blindneſs. I will not rehearſe particularly ſuch things as are written every where, eſpecially in the Pſalms and in the prophets againſt the vanity of man. It is a great thing that David writeth, Pſal. lxii. 10. if he be weighed with vanity, that he ſhall be found lighter (or vainer) than vanity itſelf. His wit is wounded with a grievous weapon, when all the thoughts that come out of it, are ſcorned as fooliſh, trifling, mad and perverſe.

The manifold diſeaſes wherewith the ſoul either openly or covertly ſwarmeth, reckoned up by the apoſtle.

2. No eaſier is the condemnation of the heart, when it is called guileful and perverſe above all things: but becauſe I ſtudy to be ſhort, I will be content with one place alone, but ſuch a one as ſhall be like a moſt bright looking glaſs, wherein we may behold the whole image of our nature. For the apoſtle when he goeth about to throw down the arrogance of mankind, doth it by theſe teſtimonies: That there is not one righteous man, there is not one man that underſtandeth or that ſeeketh after God; all are gone out of the way, they are altogether become unprofitable, there is none that doth good, no not one: their throat is an open ſepulchre, with their tongues they have uſed deceit, the poiſon of aſps is under their lips, whoſe mouth is full of curſing and bitterneſs; whoſe feet are ſwift to ſhed blood, in whoſe ways is deſtruction and miſery, who have not the fear of God before their eyes. Rom. iii. 10. Pſal. xiv. liii. With theſe thunder-bolts he inveigheth not againſt certain men, but againſt the whole nation of the ſons of Adam. Neither declaimeth he againſt the corrupt manners of one or two ages, but accuſeth the continual corruption of nature. For his purpoſe is in that place, not ſimply to chide men to make them amend, but to teach them rather that all men are oppreſſed with calamity, impoſſible to be overcome, from which they cannot get up again, unleſs they be plucked out by the mercy of God. And becauſe that could not be proved unleſs it had been by the overthrow and deſtruction of nature, he brought forth theſe teſtimonies whereby is proved that our nature is more than deſtroyed. Let this therefore remain agreed, that men are ſuch as they are here deſcribed, not only by fault of evil cuſtom, but alſo by corruptneſs of nature. For otherwiſe the apoſtle's argument cannot ſtand, that there is no ſalvation for men but by the mercy of God, becauſe he is in himſelf utterly loſt and paſt hope. I will not here buſy myſelf in proving the applying of theſe teſtimonies that no man ſhould think them unfitly uſed. I will ſo take them, as if they had been firſt ſpoken by Paul, and not taken out of the prophets. Firſt, he taketh away from man righteouſneſs, that is, integrity and pureneſs, and then underſtanding. The want of underſtanding, he proveth by apoſtacy or departing from God, whom to ſeek is the firſt degree of wiſdom. But that want muſt needs happen to them that are fallen away from God. He ſaith further, that all are gone out of the way and become as is were rotten, that there is none that doth good; and then he adjoineth the hainous faults wherewith they defile their members that are once let looſe into wickedneſs. Laſt of all he teſtifieth that they are void of the fear of God, after whoſe rule our ſteps ſhould have been directed. If theſe be the inheritable gifts of mankind, it is in vain to ſeek for any good thing in our nature. Indeed I grant that not all theſe faults do appear in every man: yet it cannot be denied that this *Hydra* lurketh in the hearts of all men. For as the body while it already nouriſheth within itſelf the cauſe and matter of diſeaſe, although the pain be not yet vehement

ment, cannot be called healthy: no more can the ſoul be reckoned ſound, while it ſwarmeth full of ſuch diſeaſes and vices, although the ſimilitude doth not agree in all points. For in the body, be it never ſo much diſeaſed, there remaineth a quickneſs of life; but the ſoul being drowned in this gulph of deſtruction, is not only troubled with vices, but alſo altogether void of all goodneſs.

The moral honeſty of prophane men is no argument of purity in nature, becauſe it cometh not of them but of the grace of God working in them: not the grace that regenerateth the heart, but that bridleth only and reſtraineth the perverſeneſs of natural inclination.

3. The ſame queſtion in a manner which hath been before aſſoiled, now riſeth up again of new. For in all ages there have been ſome, who by the guidance of nature have been inclined to virtue in all their life. And I regard it not, though many failures may be noted in their manners: yet by the very ſtudy of honeſty they have ſhewed a proof that there was ſome pureneſs in their nature. What reward ſuch virtues have before God, although we will more fully declare when we ſhall ſpeak of the merits of works, yet we muſt ſomewhat ſpeak in this place: ſo far as is neceſſary for the illuſtration of this preſent argument. Theſe examples therefore ſeem to put us in mind, that we ſhould not think man's nature altogether corrupt, for that by her inſtruction, ſome men have not only excelled in ſome noble acts, but alſo in the whole courſe of their life have behaved themſelves moſt virtuouſly. But here we muſt think, how in this corruption of nature there is ſome place for the grace of God, not to cleanſe it, but inwardly to reſtrain it. For if the Lord would ſuffer the minds of all men as it were with looſe reigns to run wildly into all ſorts of luſts, without doubt there would be no man, but he would in plain experience make us believe, that all thoſe evils wherewith Paul condemneth all nature, Rom. iii. 10. are moſt truly ſaid of him. For what? Canſt thou exempt thy ſelf out of the number of them, whoſe feet are ſwift to ſhed blood, their hands defiled with robberies and manſlaughters, their throats like unto open ſepulchres, their tongues deceitful, their lips venemous, their works unprofitable, wicked, rotten, deadly, whoſe mind is without God, whoſe inwards are perverſeneſs, whoſe eyes are bent to entrappings, their hearts lift up proudly to triumph over others, and all the parts of them applied to infinite miſchiefs. If every ſoul be ſubject to all ſuch monſters, as the apoſtle boldly pronounceth, truly we ſee what would come to paſs, if the Lord would ſuffer the luſt of man to wander after his own inclination. There is no mad beaſt that is ſo headlong carried away, there is no ſtream be it never ſo ſwift and ſtrong, whereof the overflowing is ſo violent. The Lord healeth theſe diſeaſes in his elect by this mean that we will by and by ſet forth. In ſome he only reſtraineth them with puting a bridle in their mouth, only that they break not out, ſo far as he foreſeeth to be expedient for preſerving the order of things in the univerſe. Hereby ſome are reſtrained by ſhame, ſome by fear of laws, that they burſt not forth into many ſorts of filthineſs, howbeit they do for a great part not hide their uncleanneſs. Some becauſe they think that an honeſt trade of life is good, do after a certain ſort aſpire towards it. Some riſe up above the common ſort, that by their majeſty they may keep others in their duty. So God by his providence bridleth the perverſeneſs of nature that it break not forth into doings, but he cleanſeth it not within.

The virtues of ungodly men do neither come of natural goodneſs and by natural corruption they are ſo polluted, that in the ſight of God they are lothſome.

4. But yet the doubt is not diſſolved. For either we muſt make Camillus like unto Catiline or elſe in Camillus we ſhall have an example that nature, if it be framed by diligence, is not altogether without goodneſs. I grant indeed that thoſe godly gifts which were in Camillus both were the gifts of God and ſeem worthy to be commended, if they be conſidered by themſelves, but how ſhall they be proofs of natural goodneſs in him? muſt we not return to the mind, and frame our argument in this ſort? If a natural man excelled in ſuch uprightneſs of manners, then nature is undoubtedly not without power towards the ſtudy of virtue. But what if the mind were perverſe and crooked, and following any thing rather than upright ſtraightneſs? And that it was ſuch, there is no doubt, if you grant that he was a natural man. Now what power of man's nature to goodneſs will you rehearſe unto me in this behalf, if in the greateſt ſhew of pureneſs it be found that he is always carried to corruption? Therefore, leaſt ye commend a man for virtue, whoſe vices deceive you under virtue's image, do not ſo give unto the will of man power to deſire goodneſs, ſo long as it remaineth faſt in her own perverſeneſs. Altho' this is a moſt ſure and eaſy ſolution of this queſtion, that theſe are not common gifts of nature, but eſpecial graces of God, which he diverſly and to a certain

meaſure dealeth among men that are otherwiſe ungodly. For which reaſon we fear not in common ſpeech to call one man well-natured, and another of evil nature, and yet we ceaſe not to include them both under the univerſal ſtate of man's corruption, but we ſhew what ſpecial grace God hath beſtowed upon the one, which he hath not vouchſafed to give to the other. When his pleaſure was to make Saul king, he formed him as a new man. And that is the reaſon why Plato, alluding to the fable of Homer, ſaith, that kings ſons are created notable by ſome ſingular mark, becauſe God providing for mankind, furniſheth theſe with a princely nature whom he appointeth to bear government: and out of this ſtore-houſe came all the great captains that are renowned in hiſtories. The ſame is alſo to be thought of private men. But becauſe as every man hath moſt excelled, ſo his ambition hath moſt moved him forward (with which ſpot all virtues are defiled, ſo that they loſe all favour before God) it is to be accounted nothing worth, whatſoever ſeemeth praiſe-worthy in ungodly men, beſide that the chief part of uprightneſs faileth, where there is no ſtudy to advance the glory of God, which all they want whom he hath not regenerate with his Spirit. Neither is it vainly ſpoken in Iſaiah (Iſa. xi. 3.) that upon Chriſt reſteth the ſpirit of the fear of God, whereby we are taught, that ſo many as are ſtrangers to Chriſt, are without the fear of God, which is the beginning of wiſdom. As for the virtues that deceive us with vain ſhew, I grant they ſhall have praiſe in the court of policy, and in the common fame of men, but before the heavenly judgment-ſeat, they ſhall be of no value to deſerve righteouſneſs.

The will of man being corrupt, is of neceſſity yet without compulſion inclined unto ſin.

5. With ſuch bondage of ſin therefore as will is detained, it cannot once move itſelf to goodneſs, much leſs apply itſelf. For ſuch moving is the beginning of turning to God, which in ſcripture is wholly imputed to the grace of God. As Jeremiah prayeth to the Lord to turn him, if he will have him turned. Whereupon the prophet in the ſame chapter, deſcribing the ſpiritual redemption of the faithful people, ſaith that they were redeemed out of the hand of a ſtronger, meaning with how ſtrait fetters a ſinner is bound ſo long as being forſaken of the Lord, he liveth under the yoke of the devil. Yet will ſtill remaineth, which with moſt bent affection is both inclined and haſteth to ſin. For man was not deprived of will when he did caſt himſelf into this neceſſity, but of the ſoundneſs of will. And Bernard ſaith not unaptly, which teacheth that to will is in us all: but to will good is a profiting, to will ill is a defect: and therefore ſimply to will, is the work of man: to will evil of corrupt nature: to will well of grace. Now, whereas I ſay, that will put from liberty is by neceſſity drawn or led into evil, it is a wonder if that ſhould ſeem a hard ſpeech unto any man, which neither hath any abſurdity in it, nor varieth from the uſe of holy men: but it offendeth them that can make no difference between neceſſity and compulſion. But if a man aſk them, is not God of neceſſity good? is not the devil of neceſſity evil? what can they anſwer? For ſo is goodneſs knit with God's divinity, that it is no more neceſſary that he be God than that he be good. And the devil is by his fall ſo eſtranged from partaking of goodneſs, that he can do nothing but evil. But now if any robber of God do bark againſt this and ſay, that God deſerveth ſmall praiſe for his goodneſs, which he is compelled to keep: ſhall not this be a ready anſwer to him, that it cometh to paſs by his infinite goodneſs and not by violent impulſion, that he cannot do evil. Therefore if this, that it is of neceſſity that God do well, do not hinder the free-will of God in doing well, if the devil which cannot do but evil yet willingly ſinneth, who ſhall then ſay that a man doth therefore leſs willingly ſin for this that he is ſubject to neceſſity of ſininng? This neceſſity, whereas Auguſtine every where ſpeaketh of it, (*Lib. de perf. juſt.*) even then alſo when he was enviouſly preſſed with the cavillation of Celeſtinus, he ſticked not to affirm in theſe words, by liberty it came to paſs that man was with ſin, but now the corruption which flowed from puniſhment, hath of liberty made neceſſity. And ſo oft as he falleth into mention thereof, he doubteth not to ſpeak in this manner of the neceſſary bondage of ſin. Therefore let this ſum of that diſtinction be kept, that man ſince he is corrupted, ſinneth in deed willingly and not againſt his will not compelled, by a moſt bent affection of mind, and not by violent compulſion, by motion of his own luſt, and not by foreign conſtraint; but yet of ſuch perverſeneſs of nature as he is, he cannot but be moved and driven to evil. If this be true, then ſurely it is plainly expreſſed that he is ſubject to neceſſity of ſinning. Bernard agreeing to Auguſtine writeth thus, (*Sermone ſuper Cant.* 81.) only man among all living creatures is free: and yet by mean of ſin, he alſo ſuffereth a certain violence, but of will and not of nature, that even thereby alſo he ſhould not be deprived

prived of freedom, for that which is willing is free. And a little after, will being changed in itſelf into worſe, by I know not what corrupt and marvellous manner, ſo maketh neceſſity that very neceſſity for as much as it is willing, cannot excuſe will, and will for as much as it is drawn by allurement, cannot exclude neceſſity, for this neceſſity is after a certain manner willing. Afterward he ſaith that we are preſſed down with a yoke, but yet none other but of a certain willing bondage, therefore by reaſon of our bondage we are miſerable, by reaſon of our will we are inexcuſable, becauſe will when it was free, made it ſelf the bondſervant of ſin. At length he concludeth, that the ſoul is ſo after a certain marvellous and evil manner holden both a bond ſervant and free, under this certain willing and ill free neceſſity: a bond ſervant by reaſon of neceſſity, free by reaſon of will, and that which is more marvellous and more miſerable, therein guilty wherein it is free, therein bound wherein it is guilty, and ſo therein bond wherein it is free. Hereby truly the readers do perceive that I bring no new thing, which long ago Auguſtine brought forth out of the conſent of all godly men, and almoſt a thouſand years after was kept ſtill in monks cloyſters. But Lombard when he could not diſtinguiſh neceſſity from compulſion, gave matter to a pernicious error.

God is the only framer of the will unto good things, from the firſt motion to the laſt perfection of every good act, his hand worketh and worketh alone.

6. On the other ſide it is good to conſider what manner of remedy is that of the grace of God, whereby the corruption of nature is amended and healed. For whereas the Lord in helping us, giveth us that which we want, when we ſhall know what his work is in us, it will ſtraightway appear on the other ſide what is our needineſs. When the Apoſtle ſaith to the Philippians, that he truſteth that he who began a good work in them, will perform it unto the day of Jeſus Chriſt: it is not to be doubted, that by the beginning of a good work, he meaneth the very beginning of converſion, which is in will. Therefore God beginneth a good work in us by ſtirring up in our hearts the love, deſire and endeavour of righteouſneſs, (to ſpeak more properly) in inclining framing and directing our hearts to righteouſneſs: he endeth it in confirming us to perſeverance. And that no man ſhould cavil that good is begun by the Lord, when will being of itſelf weak is aſſiſted; the holy Ghoſt in another place declareth what will is able to do being left unto itſelf. I will give you (ſaith he) a new heart. I will put a new ſpirit in the midſt of you. And I will take away the ſtony heart from your fleſh, and I will give you a heart of fleſh. Ezek. xxxvi. 16. And I will put my ſpirit in the midſt of you, and I will make you to walk in my commandments. Who ſhall ſay that the weakneſs of man's will is ſtrengthened with help, whereby it may effectually aſpire to the choice of that that is good, when it muſt be wholly tranſformed and renewed? If there be any ſoftneſs in a ſtone, which by ſome help being made tenderer will abide to be bowed every way, then will I grant that the heart of man is pliable to obey that which is right, ſo that that which in it is perfect, be ſupplied by the grace of God. But if he meant to ſhew by this ſimilitude, that no goodneſs could ever be wrung out of our heart unleſs it be made throughly new: let us not part between him and us, that which he challengeth to himſelf alone. If therefore a ſtone be transformed into fleſh, when God turneth us to the deſire of that which is right: then is all that which was of our own will taken away, and that which cometh in place thereof is all of God. I ſay that will is taken away, not in that it is will, becauſe in the converſion of man, that which was of the firſt nature abideth whole: alſo I ſay that it is created new, not that will then beginneth to be, but that it turneth from an evil will into a good. And this I affirm to be wholly done by God, becauſe we are not able ſo much as to think, (2 Cor. viii. 6.) as the ſame apoſtle witneſſeth: therefore in another place he ſaith, that God doth not only help our weak will, or amend our perverſe will, but that he worketh in us to will. Phil. ii. 13. Whereupon is eaſily gathered, that which I ſaid before, that whatſoever good is in will, it is the work of only grace. In which ſenſe in another place he ſaith, that it is God who worketh all in all. 2 Cor. xii. 6. Neither doth he there treat of the univerſal government, but giveth unto God alone the praiſe of all good things that the faithful have. And in ſaying all, truly he maketh God the author of ſpiritual life, even from the beginning to the end. Which ſelf ſame thing he had taught before in other words, ſaying (1 Cor. viii. 6.) that the faithful are of God in Chriſt, where he plainly maketh mention of the new creation, wherein that which was of common nature before, is deſtroyed. For there is to be underſtood a compariſon between Adam and Chriſt, which in another place he more plainly expreſſeth, where he teacheth that we are the work of God created in

Chriſt to good works, which he hath prepared that we ſhould walk in them. For he goeth about by this reaſon to prove, that our ſalvation is of free gift, becauſe the beginning of all goodneſs, is at the ſecond creation, which we obtain in Chriſt. But if there were any power of ourſelves, were it never ſo ſmall, we ſhould alſo have ſome portion of merit. But he to prove us altogether nothing worth, reaſoneth that we have deſerved nothing becauſe we are created in Chriſt to good works, which God hath prepared. In which words he ſignifieth again, that all parts of good works even from the firſt motion, are proper to God only. For this reaſon, the prophet after he had ſaid in the pſalm that we are the workmanſhip of God, that there ſhould be no partition addeth by and by, we made not ourſelves. That he ſpeaketh there of regeneration, which is the beginning of ſpiritual life, appeareth from the tenor of the text, where it by and by after followeth, that we are his people and the flock of his paſtures. We ſee now how he not contented ſimply to have given to God the praiſe of our ſalvation, doth expreſsly exclude us from all fellowſhip with him, as if he would ſay, that there reſteth no peace, be it never ſo little, for man to glory in, becauſe it is all of God.

It is not enough to make God the principal actor and leader of our will unto good things, but the whole proceſs muſt be aſcribed entirely unto him.

7. But there be ſome perhaps who will grant, that will being of her own nature, turned away from good, is converted by the only power of the Lord: but ſo that being prepared before, it hath alſo her own part in doing, as Auguſtine teacheth, that grace goeth before every good work, but ſo, that will doth accompany it and not lead it, as a waiting maid after it and not a foregoer. Which thing being not improperly ſpoken by the good man, Peter Lombard (*Ad Bonif. Epi.* 106.) doth diſorderly wreſt to this purpoſe. But I affirm, that as well in the words of the prophet which I have alleged, as in other places, theſe two things are plainly ſignified, that the Lord doth both correct our corrupted will, or rather deſtroy it, and alſo of himſelf putteth in place thereof a good will. In as much as it is prevented by grace, in that reſpect I give you leave to call it a waiting maid: but for that being reformed, it is the work of the Lord, that is wrongfully given to man that he doth with will coming after, obey grace going before. Therefore it is not well written of Chryſoſtome, (*Ser. de invent. S. Crucis.*) that neither grace without will, nor will without grace can work any thing: as if grace did not work very well itſelf, as even now we have ſeen by Paul. Neither was it Auguſtine's purpoſe, when he called man's will the waiting maid of grace, to aſſign unto her a certain ſecond office in doing a good work, but becauſe this only was his intent, to confute the wicked doctrine of Pelagius, who did place the principal cauſe of ſalvation in man's deſerving: therefore he ſtood only upon this point, that grace was before all deſerving: which was ſufficient for the matter that he then had in hand: not meddling in the mean time with the other queſtion, concerning the perpetual effect of grace, which yet in another place he excellently well handleth. For ſometimes when he ſaith, that the Lord doth prevent the willing that he may will, and followeth the willing that he will not in vain, he maketh him altogether the whole author of the good work. Altho' his ſentences touching this matter, are too plain to need any long arguing upon them. Men (ſaith he) do labour to find in our will ſomething that is our own and not of God, but how it may be found I know not. And in his firſt book (*Aug. li. 2. de remiſſ. pecca. ca.* 18.) againſt Pelagius and Celeſtius, where he doth expound that ſaying of Chriſt, John vi. 45. Every one that hath heard of my Father cometh to me: he ſaith, free-will is ſo aſſiſted not only that it may know what is to be done, but alſo may do it when it hath known it. And ſo when God teacheth, not by the letter of the law, but by the grace of the ſpirit, he ſo teacheth, that he that hath learned, doth not only ſee it knowing, but alſo deſire it in willing, and perform it in doing.

Since there is found a will bent to good in none but only in the elect, and the beginning to will well is faith of whom our election and faith cometh of him the converſion of our will muſt alſo of neceſſity proceed.

8. And becauſe we are now in hand with the chief point whereupon the matter depends, let us go forward and prove the ſum thereof to the readers, only with a few and the moſt plain teſtimonies of the ſcripture. And then, leaſt any man ſhould accuſe us of wrongfully wreſting the ſcripture, let us ſhew that the truth which we affirm being taken out of the ſcripture, wanteth not the teſtimony of this good man, I mean Auguſtine. For I think it not expedient, that all the things be rehearſedthat may be brought out of the ſcriptures, for confirmation of our meaning, ſo that by the moſt choſen that ſhall be brought forth, the way may be prepared to underſtand all the reſt that are here and there commonly read. And again I think it ſhall not be unfitly done, if I plainly

plainly ſhew that I agree well with that man whom the conſent of godly men doth deſervedly much eſteem. Surely, it is evident by plain and certain proof, that the beginning of goodneſs is from no where elſe but only from God, for there cannot be found a will inclined to good, but in the elect. But the cauſe of election is to be ſought out of man. Whereupon followeth, that man hath not right will of himſelf, but it proceedeth from the ſame good pleaſure, whereby we are elect before the creation of the world. There is alſo another reaſon not unlike unto that. For whereas the beginning of willing and doing well is of faith, it is to be ſeen whence faith itſelf cometh. For as much as the whole ſcripture crieth out that it is a free-gift of God, it followeth, that it is of the mere grace of God, when we who are with all our mind naturally bent to evil, begin to will that which is good. Therefore the Lord, when he nameth theſe two things in the converſion of his people, to take away from them a ſtony heart, and to give them a heart of fleſh, plainly teſtifieth that that which is of ourſelves muſt be done away, that we may be converted to righteouſneſs: and that whatſoever cometh in place thereof, is from himſelf. And he uttereth not this in one place only. For he ſaith in Jeremiah, I will give them one heart and one way, that they may fear me all their days. And a little after, I will give the fear of my name into their heart, that they depart not from me. Again in Ezekiel: I will give them one heart, and I will give a new ſpirit in their bowels. I will take away the ſtony heart out of their fleſh, and I will give them a heart of fleſh. He could not more evidently claim to himſelf, and take from us whatſoever is good and right in our will, than when he declareth that our converſion is a creation of a new ſpirit, and of a new heart. For it followeth always, that both out of our will proceedeth no goodneſs till it be reformed, and that after reformation, ſo much as it is good, is of God, and not of us.

The prayers of holy men to have their hearts framed unto good things: the teſtimony of Chriſt that without him we are like fruitleſs and dry branches of Paul and David aſcribing both the firſt and laſt in our wills to God as the author prove ſufficiently that our liking, deſiring, following, attaining good, our going forward and continuing in it, is of him.

9. And ſo read we the prayers of holy men made to that effect, as the Lord incline our heart to him (ſaith Solomon) that we may keep his commandments. He ſheweth the forwardneſs of our heart which naturally rejoiceth to rebel againſt the law of God if it be not bowed. And the ſame thing is in the Pſalm: Lord incline my heart to thy teſtimonies. For the compariſon of contrariety is always to be noted, which is between the perverſe motion of the heart, whereby it is carried to obſtinacy, and this correction whereby it is led to obedience. When David feeling himſelf, for a time without the directing grace, prayeth God to create a new heart within him to renew a right ſpirit within his bowels; doth he not acknowlege that all the parts of his heart are full of uncleanneſs, and his ſpirit writhen with crooked perverſeneſs? and in calling the cleanneſs which he prayeth for, the creature of God, doth he not attribute it wholly to God? But if any man take exception and ſay, that the very prayer is a token of a godly and holy affection: our anſwer is ready, that though David were by that time ſomewhat come to amendment, yet doth he ſtill compare his firſt ſtate with that ſorrowful fall that he had felt. Therefore taking upon him the perſon of a man eſtranged from God, he for good cauſe prayeth to have given him all theſe things that God giveth to his elect in regeneration. And ſo being like a dead man, he wiſheth himſelf to be created of new, that of the bond ſlave of Sathan, he may be made the inſtrument of the holy Ghoſt. Strange and monſtrous ſurely is the luſt of our pride. God requireth nothing more earneſtly, than that we ſhould moſt religiouſly keep his ſabbath, that is in reſting from our own works, but of us nothing is more hardly obtained, than bidding our own works farewel, to give due place to the works of God. If ſluggiſhneſs hindereth not, Chriſt hath given teſtimony evident enough of his graces to make them not to be enviouſly ſuppreſſed. John xv. 1. I am (ſaith he) the vine, you are the branches: my Father is the huſbandman. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itſelf, unleſs it abide in the vine, no more can you, unleſs you abide in me. For without me you can do nothing. If we bear fruit no otherwiſe than a branch buddeth being plucked out of the ground and without moiſture: we need no more to ſeek what is the inclination of our nature to goodneſs. And this is a plain concluſion: without me ye can do nothing. He doth not ſay that we are too weak to be ſufficient for ourſelves: but in bringing us to nothing, he excludeth all opinion of power be it never ſo little. If we being graffed in Chriſt, bear fruit like a vine, which taketh her efficacy of livelineſs both from the moiſture of the earth, and from the dew of heaven, and from the cheriſhing of the ſun: I ſee nothing remain for us in doing a good

work, if we keep whole for God that which is his. The fond ſubtle device is alleged in vain, that there is juice already incloſed within the branch, and a certain power to bring forth fruit, and that therefore it taketh not all from the earth or from the firſt root, becauſe it bringeth ſomewhat of her own. For Chriſt doth mean nothing elſe, but that we are a dry branch and nothing worth, when we are ſeparated from him, becauſe by ourſelves being ſeparate, we have no power to do well: as alſo in another place he ſaith: Mat. xv. 13. every tree that my Father hath not planted ſhall be rooted up. Wherefore the apoſtle aſcribeth the whole unto him in the place already quoted. Phil. ii. 13. It is God (ſaith he) that worketh in us both to will and to do. The firſt part of a good work is will: the ſecond is a ſtrong endeavour in performing it: the author of both theſe is God. Therefore we ſteal it from God, if we take to ourſelves any thing, either in will or in effectual working. If it were ſaid that God doth help our weak will, then ſomething were left for us. But when it is ſaid tha the maketh will, now all the good that is in it, is ſet out of us. And becauſe the good will is yet ſtill oppreſſed with weight of our fleſh that it cannot riſe up: He ſaid further, that to overcome the hardſhips of that battle, there is afforded us ſtedfaſtneſs of endeavour, even to the elect. For otherwiſe it could not ſtand together which he teacheth in another place, 1 Cor. xii. 6. that it is God alone that bringeth to effect all things in all, wherein we have before taught that the whole courſe of ſpiritual life is comprehended. For which reaſon, David, after he had prayed to have the ways of the Lord opened unto him, that he might walk in his truth, by and by addeth, Pſal. lxxxvi. 11. 'Unite thou my heart to fear thy name.' In which words he ſignifieth, that even they who are well diſpoſed, are ſubject to ſo many withdrawings of mind, that they eaſily vaniſh or fall away if they be not conſtantly fixed and eſtabliſhed. For which reaſon in another place, after he had prayed, Pſal. cxix. 19. to have his ſteps directed to keep the word of God, he requireth alſo to have ſtrength given him to fight. Let no iniquity, (ſaith he) have dominion over me, ver. 33. After this ſort therefore doth the Lord both begin and end a good work in us: that it may all be his work, that will conceiveth a love of that which is right, that it is inclined to the deſire thereof, that it is ſtirred up and moved to endeavour of following it. And then that our choice, deſire, and endeavour faint not, but do proceed even to the effect: laſt of all, that man goeth forward conſtantly in them, and continueth to the end.

God doth not only make our will the offer to incline it, which if we accept it worketh, and not otherwiſe, but he ſetteth good before us, giveth us eyes to ſee it, and effectually incline th our minds unto it.

10. And he moveth the will, not in ſuch ſort as hath in many ages been taught and believed: that it is afterwards in our choice, either to obey or withſtand the motion, but with mightily ſtrengthening it. Therefore that muſt be rejected which Chryſoſtome ſo often repeateth: whom he draweth, he draweth being willing. Whereby he ſecretly teacheth that God doth only reach out his hand to ſee if we will be holpen by his aid. We grant that ſuch was the ſtate of man while he yet ſtood, that he might incline to either part. But ſince he hath taught by his example how miſerable is free-will, unleſs God both will and work in us: what ſhall become of us, if he give us his grace according to that ſmall proportion? But rather we do obſcure and extenuate it with our unthankfulneſs. For the apoſtle doth not teach, that the grace of a good will is offered us, if we do accept it, but that he will perform it in us: which is nothing elſe, but that the Lord by his ſpirit doth direct, bow, and govern our heart, and reigneth in it as in his own poſſeſſion. Neither doth he promiſe by Ezekiel, Ezek. ix. 19. and xxxvi. 27. that he will give to the elect a new ſpirit only for this end, that they may be able to walk in his commandments, but to make them walk indeed. Neither can Chriſt's ſaying, John ix. 45. (Every one that hath heard of my Father cometh to me) be otherwiſe taken, than to teach that the grace of God is effectual of itſelf: as Auguſtine (*Lib. de prædeſt. Sanct.*) alſo affirmeth. Which grace God vouchſafeth not to give to all men generally without regard, as that ſaying (as I think) of Occam, is commonly ſpoken among the people, that it denieth nothing to him that doth what lieth in him. Men are indeed to be taught that God's goodneſs is laid open for all men, without exception that ſeek for it. But foraſmuch as they only begin to ſeek for it, whom the heavenly grace hath breathed upon, not ſo much as the ſmalleſt portion ought to be taken away from his praiſe. Truly this is the prerogative of the elect, that being regenerate by the Spirit of God, they are moved and governed by his direction. Therefore Auguſtine doth juſtly as well mock them, that claim any part of willing to themſelves, as he doth reprehend

others

others who think, that that is generally given to all men, which is the ſpecial teſtimony of free election. Nature, ſaith he (*Aug. de verbis. Apoſt. Ser.* 11.) but not grace, is common to all men. Calling it a brittle ſubtilty of wit like glaſs, that gliſtereth with mere vanity, where it is generally extended to all which God giveth only to whom it pleaſeth him. And in another place: How cameſt thou? by believing. Fear thou, leſt while thou takeſt upon thee that thou haſt found the juſt way, thou periſh out of the juſt way; I came (ſayeſt thou) by free will, I came by mine own will, why boaſteſt thou? wilt thou hear that this alſo is given thee? Hear even him that calleth: John vi. 44. 'No man cometh to me unleſs my Father draw him.' And it is without controverſy gathered out of John's words, that the hearts of the godly are ſo effectually governed by God's working, that they follow with an unchangeable affection. 1 John iii. 9. 'He that is born of God (ſaith he) cannot ſin, becauſe the ſeed of God abideth in him. For we ſee that the mean motion which the ſophiſters imagine, which we at our liberty may either obey or refuſe, is openly excluded, where an effectual conſtancy to continue is affirmed.

As our firſt entrance into an inclination to good, ſo our continuance therein is alſo the work and free gift of God: they err who maintain either that the thankful uſe of the firſt grace doth deſerve the ſecond, or that the firſt only worketh alone, and with the ſecond we ourſelves are co-operators.

11. Of continuance there ſhould no more doubt have been made, but that it ſhould have been taken for the free gift of God unleſs the moſt wicked error had grown in force, that it is diſtributed according to the deſert of men, as every man hath ſhewed himſelf not unthankful to the firſt grace. But foraſmuch as this error hath grown upon that point, that they thought it to be in our hand to refuſe or receive the grace of God offered, that opinion being driven away, this other doth alſo fall of itſelf. Although herein they do miſtake in two manner of ways. For beſides this, that they teach that our thankfulneſs for the firſt grace, and our lawful uſe thereof are rewarded with the latter gifts: they add alſo, that now grace alone doth not work in us, but that it is only a worker together with us. Of the firſt this we ought to believe, that the Lord while he daily enricheth and crowneth his ſervants with new gifts of his grace, becauſe he liketh and favoureth the work which he hath begun in them, findeth in them ſomewhat whereupon to beſtow greater graces. And hereto ſerve thoſe ſayings, Matth. xxv. 21. 'To him that hath ſhall be given.' Again, Luke xix. 17. 'Well done, good and faithful ſervant, becauſe thou haſt been faithful in few things, I will ſet thee over many.' But here two things are to be taken heed of, that neither the lawful uſe of the firſt grace be ſaid to be rewarded with the latter graces, nor it be ſo counted a rewarding, that it ceaſe to be reckoned the free grace of God. I grant therefore, that this bleſſing of God is to be looked for of the faithful, that how much the better they have uſed the firſt graces, they ſhall be encreaſed with ſo much the greater. But I ſay, that this uſe alſo is of the Lord, and that this rewarding is of his free good-will. And they uſe no leſs wrongfully than unhappily that old diſtinction of working and together-working grace. Auguſtine uſed the ſame indeed, but delaying it with a fit definition, that God in together-working with us, doth end that which in working he beginneth, and that it is ſtill the ſame grace, but changeth name acccording to the diverſe manner of effect. Whereupon followeth, that he doth not part it between God and us, as if there were a mutual meeting together by the motion of both, but only noteth the multiplication of grace. To which purpoſe belongeth that which in another place he teacheth, that many gifts of God do go before the good will of man, among the which the ſelf ſame is one. Whereupon followeth, that he leaveth nothing that it may claim to itſelf. Which thing Paul alſo hath namely expreſſed: Phil. ii. 13. For when he had ſaid that it is God, who worketh in us both to will and to do, he by and by addeth that he doth them both of his good-will, declaring by this word, that it is his free goodneſs. Whereas they are wont to ſay, that after we have once given place to the firſt grace, our own endeavours do now work together with the grace that followeth. To this I anſwer: if they mean that we, after we have been once by the power of the Lord broken to the obedience of righteouſneſs, do of our own accord go forward, and are inclined to follow the working of grace, I ſpeak nothing againſt it. For it is moſt certain there is ſuch a readineſs of obeying where the grace of God reigneth. But whence cometh that, but from this, that the ſpirit of God always agreeing with itſelf, doth cheriſh and confirm to ſtedfaſtneſs of continuing the ſame affection of obeying, which itſelf begot at the beginning. But if they mean that man taketh of himſelf ſomewhat whereby to labour with the grace of God, they are moſt miſchievouſly deceived.

12. And

The apoſtle Paul wreſted by ſophiſters to maintain the freedom of man's will as a joint worker with the grace of God.

12. And to this purpoſe is that ſaying of the apoſtle wrongfully wreſted by ignorance: 1 Cor. xv. 10. 'I have laboured more abundantly than they all: not I, but the grace of God with me.' For they take it ſo: that becauſe it might ſeem ſomewhat arrogantly ſpoken, that he preferred himſelf before them all, therefore he corrected it with referring the praiſe to the grace of God, but yet ſo, that he calleth himſelf a worker together with grace. It is ſtrange that ſo many who otherwiſe were not evil men, have ſtumbled at this ſtraw. For the apoſtle doth not write that the grace of the Lord laboureth with him, to the intent to make himſelf partner of the labour, but rather by this correction he giveth away all the praiſe of the labour to grace only. It is not I (ſaith he) that have laboured, but the grace of God that was with me. But the doubtfulneſs of the ſpeech deceived them: but ſpecially the wrong tranſlation wherein the force of the Greek article was left out. For if it be tranſlated word for word, he doth not ſay, that grace was a worker together with him, but that the grace that was with him was the worker of all. And the ſame thing doth Auguſtine teach, not darkly, though ſhortly, where he thus ſaith: The good will of man goeth before many gifts of God, but not before all. But of them which it goeth before, it ſelf is one, then followeth his reaſon: becauſe it is written: Pſal. lix. 11. His mercy hath prevented me: Pſal. xxiii. 6. And his mercy ſhall follow me. It preventeth man not willing, to make him will: and it followeth him willing, that he will not in vain. With whom Bernard agreeth bringing in the church ſpeaking thus: (*Ser. 2. in Cant.*) Draw me in a manner unwilling, that thou mayeſt make me willing: draw me lying ſlothful, that thou mayeſt make me run.

St. Auguſtine's doctrine not that God doth offer his grace which man hath free election to receive or refuſe, but that the will and election of every receiver is by him thereunto framed.

13. Now let us hear Auguſtine ſpeaking in his own words, leſt the Pelagians of our age, that is to ſay, the ſophiſters of Sorbon, ſhould, as they are wont, lay to our charge that all antiquity is againſt us, wherein they follow their father Pelagius by whom long ago Auguſtine was drawn forth into the ſame contention. In his book of corruption and grace written to Valentine he treateth largely that which I will rehearſe ſhortly, but yet do it in his own words: that to Adam was given the grace of continuing in good if he would: and to us is given to will, and by will to overcome concupiſcence: that he therefore had to be able if he would, but not to will that he might be able: to us is given both to will and to be able. That the firſt liberty was to be able not to ſin, ours is much greater, not to be able to ſin. And leaſt he ſhould be thought to ſpeak of the perfection to come after immortality (as Lombard wrongfully draweth it to that meaning) within a little after he removeth this doubt. For (ſaith he) the will of holy men is ſo much kindled by the holy Ghoſt, that they therefore are able, becauſe they ſo will; they therefore will, becauſe God worketh that they ſo will. For if in ſo great weakneſs, in which yet behoveth the power to be made perfect, for repreſſing of pride, their own will were left unto them, that by the help of God they may if they will, and God doth not work in them to will: then among ſo many temptations will ſhould needs fall down for weakneſs, and therefore could not continue. Therefore is ſuccour given to the weakneſs of man's will, that it ſhould be moved without departing or ſevering by the grace of God, and therefore ſhould not faint how weak ſo ever it be. Then he (*cap.* 14.) treateth more largely how our hearts do of neceſſity follow the motion of God that worketh affection in them. And he ſaith, that the Lord doth draw men indeed with their own wills, but, with ſuch as he himſelf hath wrought. Now have we that thing teſtified by Auguſtine's mouth, which we principally deſire to obtain, that grace is not only offered by God to be received or refuſed at every man's free election, but alſo that grace is the ſame, that formeth the election and will in the heart: ſo that every good work that followeth after, is the fruit and effect thereof, and that it have no other will obeying it, but the ſame which it hath made. For theſe are alſo his words out of another place, (Epiſt. 105.) .that nothing but grace maketh every good in us.

By grace freely and undeſervedly given unto God's elect their will is converted unto good and therein ſtrengthened to continue.

14. But whereas he ſaith in another place, (Epiſt. 106.). that will is not taken away by grace, but from an evil will turned into a good, and aſſiſted when it is good: he meaneth only that man is not ſo drawn, that without any motion of heart he is carried as by an outward impulſion, but that he is inwardly

wardly ſo affected, that from his very heart he obeyeth. That grace is ſpecially and freely given to the elect, he writeth thus unto Boniface: We know that grace is not given to all men, and to them to whom it is given, it is not given according to the merits of works, nor according to the merits of will, but of free favour: and to them to whom it is not given, we know that it is by the juſt judgment of God that it is not given. And in the ſame epiſtle he ſtrongly fighteth againſt that opinion, that the grace following is given to the deſervings of men, becauſe in not refuſing the firſt grace, they ſhewed themſelves worthy. For he will have Pelagius grant, that grace is neceſſary to us for every of our doings, and is not given in recompence to works, that it may be grace indeed. But the matter cannot be comprehended in a ſhorter ſum, than out of the eighth chapter of his book to Valentine of Correption and Grace, where firſt he teacheth that man's will obtaineth not grace by liberty, but liberty by grace; and that by the ſame grace, by affection of delight printed in him, it is framed to continuance, that it is ſtrengthened with invincible force: that while grace governeth, it never falleth away: when grace forſaketh, it by and by tumbleth down. That by the free mercy of God it both is converted to good, and being converted abideth in it, that the direction of man's will to good, and ſtedfaſtneſs after direction, depends only upon the will of God, and not upon any merit of his own. And ſo to man is left ſuch a free will, if we pleaſe ſo to call it, as he writeth of in another place, that can neither be turned to God, nor abide in God but by grace, and by grace is able all that it is able.

CHAP. IV.

How God worketh in the hearts of men.

Satan ſitteth and ruleth in the wills of wicked men, who of themſelves are moſt willing to be ſtirred, led and guided by him.

IT is ſufficiently proved, as I think, that man is ſo holden captive with the yoke of ſin, that of his own nature he can neither aſpire by deſire, nor travel by endeavour to goodneſs: beſide that we have rehearſed a diſtinction between compulſion and neceſſity whereby it might appear, that when he ſinneth of neceſſity, yet nevertheleſs he ſinneth willingly. But foraſmuch as while he is ſubject in bondage to the devil, he ſeemeth rather to be led by the devil's will than his own, it reſteth now to be declared of what ſort are both kinds of working. And then is this queſtion to be decided, whether in evil works there be any thing to be attributed to God: in which the ſcripture ſheweth, that there is uſed ſome working of his. In one place Auguſtine compareth man's will to a horſe, which is ready to be ruled by the will of his rider: and God and the devil he compareth to riders. If God (ſaith he) ſit upon it he like a ſober and cunning rider, governeth its will, ſpurreth it forward if it be ſlow, plucketh it back if too quick, reſtraineth the wantonneſs and wildneſs of it, tameth the ſtubbornneſs of it, and guideth it into the right way. But if the devil have poſſeſſed it, he like a fooliſh and wanton rider, violently carrieth it through places where no way is, driveth it into ditches, rolleth it down ſteep places, ſpurreth it forward to ſtubbornneſs and fierceneſs: and which ſimilitude we will for this time be contented with ſince there cometh not a better in place. Where it is ſaid that the will of natural man is ſubject to the rule of the devil, to be ſtirred by him, it is not meant thereby that man as it were ſtriving againſt it, and reſiſting is compelled to obey, as we compel bond ſlaves againſt their will, by reaſon of being their lords, to do our commandments: but that being bewitched with the deceits of Satan, it of neceſſity yieldeth itſelf obedient to every one of his motions and directions. For whom the Lord vouchſafeth not to rule with his ſpirit, them by juſt judgment he ſendeth away to be moved of Satan. Wherefore the apoſtle ſaith, (2 Cor. iv. 4.) that the God of this world hath blinded the minds of the unbelievers ordained to deſtruction, that they ſhould not ſee the light of the goſpel. And in another place: (Eph. ii. 2.) that he worketh in the children of diſobedience. The blinding of the wicked, and all the wicked deeds that follow thereupon, are called the works of Satan, of which yet the cauſe is not to be ſought elſewhere, than in the will of man, out of which ariſeth the root of evil, wherein reſteth the foundation of the kingdom of Satan, which is ſin.

God and Satan and man working one and the ſelf ſame act,

2. But far other is the order of God's working in ſuch things. And that the ſame may appear more evidently unto us: let the

work diverſly in reſpect as well of the end as the manner of doing.

hurt done to the holy man Job by the Chaldees, be an example. The Chaldees killed his herdmen, and like enemies in war, drove away his cattle for booties. Now is their wicked deed plainly ſeen, and in that work Satan is not idle, from whom the hiſtory ſaith, that all this did proceed. But Job himſelf did acknowledge the work of the Lord in it, whom he ſaith to have taken away from him thoſe things, that were taken away by the Chaldees. Job. i. How can we refer the ſelf ſame work to God, as author, to Satan as author, and to man as author of it, but that we muſt either excuſe Satan by the company of God, or report God to be the author of evil? Very eaſily: if firſt we look upon the end, why it was done, and then the manner how. The purpoſe of the Lord is by calamity to exerciſe the patience of his ſervant: The devil goeth about to drive him to deſpair. The Chaldees againſt right and law, ſeek gain of that which is another man's. Such diverſity in purpoſes, maketh great difference in the work. And in the manner of doing there is no leſs diverſity. The Lord leaveth his ſervant to Satan to be afflicted: and the Chaldees, whom he did chooſe for miniſters to execute it, he did leave and deliver to him to be driven to it. Satan with his venemous ſtings, pricked forward the minds of the Chaldees who otherwiſe were perverſe of themſelves to do that miſchief; they furiouſly run to do wrong, and do bind and defile all their members with wicked doing. Therefore it is properly ſaid, that Satan doth work in the reprobate, in whom he exerciſeth his kingdom, that is to ſay, the kingdom of wickedneſs. It is alſo ſaid that God worketh in them after his manner, becauſe Satan himſelf, foraſmuch as he is the inſtrument of his wrath, according to his bidding and commandment, turneth himſelf hither and thither to execute his juſt judgments. I ſpeak not here of God's univerſal moving, whereby as all creatures are ſuſtained, ſo from thence they take their effectual power of doing any thing. I ſpeak only of that ſpecial doing, which appeareth in every ſpecial act. We ſee therefore that it is no abſurdity, that one ſelf act be aſcribed to God, to Satan, and to man: but the diverſity in the end and manner of doing, cauſeth that therein appeareth the juſtice of God to be without fault, and alſo the wickedneſs of Satan and man diſcovereth itſelf to their reproach.

In the evil motions of wicked men God worketh after two ſorts, the one by withholding his grace, whereby they might be moved unto good, the other by uſing the miniſtry of Satan to ſtir, frame and incline their wills.

3. The antient writers in this point alſo, are ſometimes preciſely afraid, ſimply to confeſs the truth, becauſe they fear leſt they ſhould ſo open a window to wickedneſs, to ſpeak irreverently of the works of God. Which ſobriety as I embrace, ſo I think it nothing dangerous, if we ſimply hold what the ſcripture teacheth. Auguſtine himſelf ſometimes was not free from the ſuperſtition, as where he ſaith, (*Lib. de prædeſt. & grat.*) that hardening and blinding, pertain not to the work of God, but to fore-knowlege. But the phraſes of ſcripture allow not theſe ſubtilities, which phraſes do plainly ſhew, that there is therein ſomewhat elſe of God, beſides his foreknowlege. And Auguſtine himſelf in his fifth book againſt Julianus, goeth earneſtly about with a long proceſs to prove that ſins are not only of the permiſſion or ſufferance of God, but alſo of his power, that ſo former ſins might be puniſhed. Likewiſe, that which they bring forth, concerning permiſſion, is too weak to ſtand. It is oftentimes ſaid, that God blindeth and hardeneth the reprobate, that he turneth, boweth, and moveth their hearts as I have elſe where taught more at large. But of what manner that is, it is never expreſſed, if we flee to free foreknowlege or permiſſion. Therefore we anſwer that it is done after two manners. For firſt, whereas when his light is taken away, there remaineth nothing but darkneſs and blindneſs: whereas when his ſpirit is taken away, our hearts wax hard and become ſtones: whereas when his direction ceaſeth, they are wreſted into crookedneſs, it is well ſaid that he doth blind, harden and bow them from whom he taketh away the power to ſee, obey and do rightly. The ſecond manner, which cometh near to the property of the words, is that for the executing of his judgments by ſatan the miniſter of his wrath, he both appointeth their purpoſes to what end it pleaſeth him, and ſtirreth up their wills, and ſtrengtheneth their endeavours. So when Moſes (Deut. ii. 30.) rehearſeth that king Sihon did not give paſſage to the people, becauſe God had hardened his ſpirit, and made his heart obſtinate, he preſently adjoineth the end of his purpoſe: that he might (ſaith he) give him into our hands. Therefore becauſe it was God's will to have him deſtroyed, the making of his heart obſtinate, was God's preparation to his deſtruction.

4. After the firſt manner this ſeemeth to be ſpoken. He tak-

Proofs that God

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worketh both the foreſaid ways in the hearts of wicked men.

eth away the heart of the chief of the people of the earth, and cauſeth them to wander in a wilderneſs where there is no way. Job xii. 10, and 24. Again, Iſa. lxiii. 17. O Lord, why haſt thou made us to err from thy ways? And hardned our heart from thy fear? Becauſe they judge rather of what ſort God maketh men by forſaking them, than how he performeth his work in them. But there are other teſtimonies that go further: as are theſe of the hardening of Pharaoh, Exod. iv. 21. and vii. 3. and x. 1. I will harden the heart of Pharaoh, that he do not hear you, and let the people go. Afterward he ſaith, that he hath made heavy and hardened his heart. Did he harden it in not ſuſtaining it? That is true indeed: but he did ſomewhat more, that he committed his heart to Satan to be confirmed with obſtinacy. Whereupon he had before ſaid, Exod. iii. 19. I will hold his heart. The people went out of Egypt, the inhabitants of that country came forth and met them like enemies. By whom were they ſtirred up? Truly Moſes affirmeth to the people, Deut. ii. 30. that it was the Lord that had hardened their hearts. And the prophet reciting the ſame hiſtory, ſaith, Pſal. cv. 25. that he turned their hearts, that they ſhould hate his people. Now can you not ſay, that they ſtumbled being left without the counſel of God? For if they be hardened and turned, then they are of purpoſe inclined to that ſelf thing. Moreover, ſo oft as it pleaſed him to puniſh the tranſgreſſors of the people, how did he perform his work in the reprobate? ſo as a man may ſee that the effectualneſs of working was in him, and they only did ſervice as miniſters. Wherefore, ſometimes he threatned, Iſa. v. 26. and vii. 18. that he would call them out with his whiſtle; ſometimes (Ezek. xii. 13. and xvii. 20. that they ſhould be like a net for him to entangle them; and ſometimes, Jer. l. 23. like a mallet to ſtrike the Iſraelites. But eſpecially he then declared how he is not idle then, when he called Sennacherib an ax, Iſa. x. 15. which was both directed and driven with his own hand to cut. Auguſtine (*De prædeſt. ſanct.*) in one place doth not amiſs appoint it after this ſort: that in as much as they ſin, it is their own: in as much as in ſinning they do this or that, it is of the power of God, that divided the darkneſs as pleaſeth him.

How ſatan is uſed as God's miniſter in the works of wickedneſs.

5. Now that the miniſtry of Satan is uſed to urge forward the reprobate, ſo oft as the Lord by his providence appointeth them to this or to that, may ſufficiently be proved, though it were but by one place only. For it is oftentimes ſaid in Samuel, that the evil ſpirit of the Lord, and an evil ſpirit from the Lord, did either violently carry or leave Saul. 1 Sam. xvi. and xviii. x. and xxix. To ſay that this ſpirit was the holy Ghoſt, is blaſphemous. Therefore the unclean ſpirit is called the ſpirit of God, becauſe it anſwereth at his commandment and power, being rather his inſtrument in doing, than an author of itſelf. This is alſo to be added withal, which Paul teacheth, 2 Theſſ. ii. that the efficacy of error and deceiving is ſent by God, that they who have not obeyed the truth, may believe lies. But there is always a wide difference in one ſelf ſame work, between that which the Lord doth, and that which Satan and the wicked go about. He maketh the evil inſtruments that he hath under his hand, and may turn them whither he pleaſes to ſerve his juſtice. They, in as much as they are evil, do produce in effect the wickedneſs that they have conceived by corruptneſs of nature. The reſt of ſuch things as ſerve for to vindicate the majeſty of God from ſlander, and to cut off all ſhifting from the wicked, are already ſet forth in the chapter concerning providence. For in this place my purpoſe was only to ſhew how Satan reigneth in the reprobate man, and how God worketh in them both.

Not only in ſpiritual, but in the adminiſtration even of outward things, it is the ſpecial moving of God, that maketh his creatures anſwer unto our deſires in doing us good, or turning evil away from us.

6. Although we have before touched, yet it is not plainly declared what liberty man hath in thoſe actions which are neither juſt nor faulty in themſelves, and belong rather to the bodily than the ſpiritual life. Some in ſuch things have granted him free election, rather as I think becauſe they would not ſtrive about a matter of no great importance, than that they minded certainly to prove the ſame thing that they grant. As for me, although I confeſs that they who do hold that they have no power to righteouſneſs, do hold the ſame thing that is principally requiſite to ſalvation: yet I do think that this point alſo is not to be neglected, that we may know that it is of the ſpecial grace of the Lord, ſo oft as it cometh into our mind to chuſe that which is for our profit, ſo oft as our will inclineth unto it: again, ſo oft as our wit and mind

avoideth that which otherwiſe would have hurt us. And the force of God's providence extendeth thus far, not only to make the ſucceſſes of things to come to paſs, as he ſhall foreſee to be expedient, but alſo to make the wills of men to tend to the accompliſhment of theſe. Truly, if we conſider in our underſtanding the adminiſtration of outward things, we ſhall think that they are ſo far under the will of man: but if we ſhall give credit to ſo many teſtimonies, which cry out that the Lord doth in theſe things alſo rule the hearts of men, they ſhall compel us to yield our will ſubject to the ſpecial moving of God. Who did procure the good wills of the Egyptians to the Iſraelites, Exod xi. 3. to lend them all their moſt precious jewels? They would never have found in their hearts to have ſo done of their own accord. Therefore their hearts were more ſubject to the Lord, than ruled by themſelves. And truly if Jacob, Gen. xliii.. 14. had not been perſuaded that God put into men divers affections as pleaſeth him, he would not have ſaid of his ſon Joſeph, whom he thought to be ſome heathen Egyptian: 'God grant you to find mercy before this man.' As alſo the whole church confeſſeth in the Pſalm, Pſal. cvi. 46. that when it pleaſed God to have mercy upon it, he ſoftened the hearts of the cruel nations. Again, when Saul ſo waxed hot with anger, that he prepared him to war, the cauſe is expreſſed, 1 Sam. xi. 6. for that the Spirit of God did enforce him. Who turned away Abſalom's mind from embracing the counſel of Ahitophel, which was wont to be holden as an oracle, 2 Sam. xvii. 10. Who inclined Rehoboam to be perſuaded with the young mens advice? Who made the nations that before were great, to be afraid at the coming of Iſrael? Joſ. ii. 9. Truly, the harlot Rahab confeſſed, that it was done by God. Again, who threw down the hearts of Iſrael with dread, (Lev. xxvi. 36.) and fearfulneſs, but he that in the law (Deut. xxviii. 63.) threatened that he would give them a fearful heart.

Daily experience may incline man to confeſs that in common outward things the freedom of our choice is ruled and guided by the hand of God without which we could not of ourſelves ſee and attain that which is good, diſcern and avoid that which is evil.

7. Some man will take exception and ſay, that theſe are ſingular examples, to the meaſure whereof all things univerſally ought not to be reduced. But I ſay, that by theſe is ſufficiently proved that which I affirm, that God ſo oft as he meaneth to prepare the way for his providence, even in outward things doth bow and turn the wills of men, and that their choice is not ſo free, but that God's will beareth rule over the freedom thereof. That thy mind hangeth rather upon the moving of God, than upon the freedom of thine own choice, this daily experience ſhall compel thee to think whether thou wilt or no: that is, for that in things of no perplexity thy judgment and wit often faileth thee, in things not hard to be done thy courage fainteth: again, in things moſt obſcure by and by preſent advice is offered thee: in things great and perilous, thou haſt a courage overcoming all difficulty. And ſo do I expound that which Solomon ſaith: Prov. xx. 12. That the ear may hear, that the eye may ſee, the Lord worketh both. For I take it that he ſpeaketh not of the creation, but of the ſpecial grace of uſing them. And when he writeth, Prov. xxi. 1. that the Lord holdeth in his hand, and boweth whither he will, the heart of the the king as the ſtreams of waters: Truly under the example of one ſpecial ſort, he comprehendeth the whole generality. For if the will of any man be free from ſubjection, that pre-eminence principally belongeth to the will of a king, which uſeth as it were a kingdom upon the wills of others: but if the will of the king be ruled with the hand of God, no more ſhall our will be exempted from the ſame eſtate. Upon this point there is a notable ſaying of Auguſtine, *(Lib de gratia & libero arb. ad Valent. cap. 20.)* The ſcripture if it be diligently looked upon doth ſhew, that not only the good wills of men which he of evil maketh good, and ſo being made by himſelf doth direct to good actions and to eternal life, but alſo theſe wills that preſerve the creatures of the world, are ſo in the power of God, that he maketh them to be inclined whither he will and when he will, either to do ſervice, or to execute puniſhments, by a judgment moſt ſecret indeed, but the ſame moſt righteous.

The meaning of the queſtion that concerneth the freedom of man's will, is not whether he be often hindered or no from obtaining the things he wiſheth for, but whether his judgment and affection be ſo addicted unto evil that he cannot of himſelf

8. Here let the readers remember, that the power of man's will is not to be weighed by the ſucceſs of things, which ſome unſkilful men are prepoſterouſly wont to do. For they ſeem to themſelves to prove trimly and wittily that man's will is in bondage becauſe even the higheſt monarchs have not all things flowing after their own deſire. But this power whereof we ſpeak, is to be conſidered within man and not be meaſured by outward ſucceſs. For in the diſputation of free

discern or desire that which is good.

free will, this is not to the question, whether man may for outward impediments, perform and put in execution all those things that he hath purposed in mind: but whether he have in every thing both a free election of judgment, and a free affection of will, which both if man have, then Attilius Regulus, enclosed in the narrowness of a ton, set full of sharp pricks, shall no less have free will than Augustus Cæsar, governing a great part of the world with the beck of his countenance.

CHAP. V.

A confutation of the objections that are went to be brought for defence of free-will.

The necessity of sinning doth not excuse us when we sin, both because Adam of his own accord made himself and his subject thereunto, and also for that he which necessarily sinneth, doth nevertheless sin voluntarily: which answereth their reason which argue in defence of free will. If sin be necessary, it ceaseth to be sin: if voluntary, then it may be avoided, and is not necessary.

IT might seem that we have said enough already, concerning the bondage of man's will, if they that with false opinion of liberty, labour to throw it down headlong, did not on the other side pretend certain reasons to attack our meaning. First, they heap up together divers absurdities, whereby they may bring it in hatred as a thing contrary to common reason: afterwards they set upon it with testimonies of scripture. But both these engines we shall beat back in order. If (say they) sin be of necessity, then ceaseth it to be sin: if it be voluntary, then may it be avoided. These were also the weapons of Pelagius to attack Augustine, with whose name we will not have them oppressed, till we have satisfied them concerning the matter itself. I deny therefore that sin ought the less to be imputed because it is necessary. I deny again that this doth follow which they conclude, that it may be avoided, because it is voluntary. For if any man will dispute with God, and seek to escape from his judgment by this pretence, because he could not otherwise do. God hath that answer ready which we another place have spoken of, that it is not of creation, but of the corruption of nature that men being made bond-slaves to sin, can will nothing but evil. From whence cometh this want of power which the wicked would gladly pretend, but upon this, that Adam of his own accord made himself subject to the tyranny of the devil? Hereupon therefore grew the corruption, with the bonds whereof we are holden fast tied, for that the first man fell from his Creator. If all men be justly holden guilty of his falling away, let them not think themselves excused by necessity, in which it self they have a most evident cause of their damnation. And this I have above plainly set forth, and I have given an example in the devil himself, whereby it might appear, that he who necessarily sinneth, doth nevertheless willingly sin: as again in the elect angels, whereas their will cannot decline from good, yet it ceaseth not to be a will. Which same thing Bernard also aptly teacheth, *Ser.* 81. *in Cant.* that we are therefore the more miserable because our necessity is voluntary: which yet holdeth us so subject unto it, that we are the bond-slaves of sin, as we have before rehearsed. The second part of their argument is faulty, because from voluntary it straightway advanceth to free: but we have before proved, that it is voluntarily done which yet is not subject to free election.

A second argument in defence of free will, wherein it is objected, that the denial thereof is repugnant to Gods punishing or rewarding men. But he punisheth them for their desert, though they sin of necessity, because they are voluntary in those bonds: and he rewardeth them of his own mercy, though, because their doing well is merely by grace they cannot deserve to be rewarded.

2. They further say, that if both virtues and vices proceed not of free choice of will, it is not reasonable that either punishment should be laid upon man or reward given to him. This argument, although it be Aristotles, *In Epist. ad Ctesiphon. and Diacon.* 1. yet I grant is in some places used by Chrysostom and Jerom. But that it was a common argument with the Pelagians, Jerom himself hideth not, and also rehearseth it in their own words: if the grace of God work in us: then it, not we that labour, shall be crowned. Of punishments I answer, that they are justly inflicted upon us, from whom the guiltiness of sin proceedeth. For what matters it, whether sin be done by free or bond judgment, so it be done by voluntary lust: specially since man is hereby proved a sinner, for that he is under the bondage of

ſin? As to the rewards of righteouſneſs: a great abſurdity forſooth it is, if we confeſs that they depend rather upon God's goodneſs, than upon our own merits. How oft find we this thing repeated in Auguſtine: that God crowneth not our merit, but his own gifts: and that they are called rewards, not as due to our deſervings, but ſuch as are rendered to the graces already beſtowed upon us? Wiſely indeed they obſerve this, that now there remaineth no place for deſervings, if they come not out of the fountain of free-will: but where they reckon that which we ſay ſo far differing from truth, they are much deceived. For Auguſtine doubteth not, commonly to teach for neceſſary, that which they think ſo unlawful to confeſs, as where he ſaith, What be the merits of any men whatſoever they be? When he cometh, not with due reward, but with free grace, then he alone being free, and that maketh free from ſin? He findeth all men ſinners. Again, if that ſhall be rendered to thee that is due to thee, thou art to be puniſhed: what is done then? God hath not given thee puniſhment which is due, but giveth thee grace which is not due. If thou wilt be eſtranged from grace, boaſt of thy deſervings. Again: Thou art nothing of thyſelf, ſins are thine, but deſervings are God's, puniſhment is due to thee: and when reward cometh, he ſhall crown his own gifts and not thy deſervings. And in the ſame meaning in another place, he teacheth that grace is not of deſerving, but deſerving of grace. And a little after he concludeth, that God with his gifts goeth before all deſervings, that out of the ſame he may collect his own deſervings, and doth give altogether freely, becauſe he findeth nothing whereupon to ſave. But what need is there to make a long regiſter, when ſuch ſentences are often found in his writings? But the Apoſtle, 1 Cor. iv. 7. ſhall yet better deliver them from this error, if they hear what beginning he conveyeth the glory of the ſaints: whom he hath choſen, them he hath called; whom he hath called, them he hath juſtified; whom he hath juſtified, them he hath glorified. Why then, as witneſſeth the apoſtle, are the faithful crowned? becauſe by the Lord's mercy and not by their own endeavour they are both choſen and called and juſtified. Away therefore with this vain fear, that there ſhall no more be any deſervings, if free will ſhall not ſtand. For it is moſt fooliſh to be frighted away, and to flee from that to which the ſcripture calleth us. If (ſaith he) thou haſt received all things, why boaſteſt thou, as if thou hadſt not received them? 1 Cor. iv. 7. Thou ſeeſt that for the ſame cauſe he taketh all things from free will, to leave no place for deſervings: but as the goodneſs and liberality of God is manifold, and impoſſible to be exhauſted, thoſe graces which he beſtowed on us, becauſe he maketh them ours, he rewardeth as if they were our own virtues.

A third reaſon arguing that if man's will were not naturally free unto good & evil, but neceſſarily ſubject to the one or the othor, either all men ſhould be good or all men evil. As in truth all men are by nature evil, that ſome are made good, it is by grace and not through the freedom of their will.

3. Moreover they bring forth that which may ſeem to be taken out of Chryſoſtome: if this be not the power of our will, to chuſe good or evil, then they that are partakers of the ſame nature, muſt either all be evil or all be good. And not far from that is he, *Ho.* 22. *in Gen. Lib.* 2. *cap.* 4. *Of the calling of the Gentiles*, which is carried about under the name of Ambroſe, when he maketh this argument, that no man ſhould ever depart from the faith, unleſs the grace of God did leave unto us the ſtate of mutability: wherein it is ſtrange that ſo excellent men fell beſide themſelves. For how chanceth it came not in Chryſoſtome's mind, that it is God's election that ſo maketh difference between men? As for us, we fear not to grant that which Paul, Rom. iii. 10. with great eagerneſs affirmeth, that all together are perverſe and given to wickedneſs: but with him we adjoin this that by God's mercy it cometh to paſs that all abide not in perverſeneſs. Therefore whereas naturally we are ſick of one diſeaſe, they only recover health upon whom it hath pleaſed God to lay his healing hand. The reſt whom by juſt judgment he paſſeth over, pine away in their own rottenneſs till they be conſumed. Neither is it of any other cauſe that ſome continue to the end, and ſome fall in their courſe begun. For continuance itſelf is the gift of God, which he giveth not to all indifferently, but dealeth it to whom it pleaſeth himſelf. If a man aſk for a cauſe of the difference, why ſome continue conſtantly, and ſome fail by unſtedfaſtneſs, we know none other cauſe, but that God ſuſtaineth the one ſort ſtrengthened by his power that they periſh not, and doth not give the ſame ſtrength to the other ſort, that they may be examples of inconſtancy.

A fourth argument for free-will to prove that exhorting and threatening

4. Further they preſs us, ſaying, that exhortations are vainly taken in hand, that the uſe of admonitions is ſuperfluous, that it is a fond thing to rebuke, if it be not in the power of

are in vain except man have power in himself to obey: whereas God himself who threateneth & exhorteth men, teacheth then nevertheless withal, that an obedient heart is his free gift.

of the sinner to obey. When the like things in time past were objected against Augustine he was compelled to write the book of Correption and grace. Where although he largely wipes them away, yet he bringeth his adversaries to this sum: O man, in the commandment learn what thou oughtest to do; in correction learn that by thine own fault thou hast it not: in prayer learn whence thou mayest receive that which thou wouldest have. Of the same argument in a manner is the book of the Spirit and Letter, where he teacheth that God measureth not the commandments of his law by the strength of man, but when he hath commanded that which is right, he freely giveth to his elect power to fulfil it. And this is no matter of long disputation. First we are not only in this cause, but also Christ and all the apostles. Now let the other look how they will get the mastery in striving, that match themselves with such adversaries. Doth Christ, who testifieth (John xv. 5.) that we can do nothing without him, any thing the less rebuke and chastise them, that without him did evil? Doth he less exhort every man to apply himself to good works? How severely doth Paul (2 Cor. iii. 3.) inveigh against the Corinthians for neglecting of charity? and yet he prayeth for charity to be given to the same men from God. He testifieth in the epistle to the Romans, (Rom. ix. 16.) that it is neither of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercy, and yet he ceaseth not afterwards to admonish, to exhort, and to rebuke. Why do they not therefore speak to the Lord, that he do not so lose his labour in requiring of men those things which he himself alone can give, and in punishing those things which are done for want of his grace? Why do they not admonish Paul to spare them, in whose power it is not to will or to run, but in the mercy of God, going before them which now hath forsaken them? As if the Lord had not a very good reason of his doctrine, which offereth itself readily to be found of them that reverently seek it, but how much doctrine, exhortation and rebuking do work of themselves, to the changing of the mind, Paul declareth, when he writeth, (1 Cor. iii. 7.) that neither he that planteth is any thing, nor he that watereth, but the Lord that giveth the increase only, effectually worketh. So we see that Moses severally stablisheth the commandments of the law, and the prophets do sharply call upon them, and threaten the transgressors, whereas they yet confess, that men do then only wax wise, when a heart is given them to understand, that it is the proper work of God to circumcise the hearts, and instead of stony hearts to give hearts of flesh, to write his law in the bowels of men: finally in renewing of souls to make that his doctrine may be effectual.

The use of exhortations both unto wicked and to godly men.

5. Wherefore then serve exhortations? For this purpose, if they be despised of the wicked with an obstinate heart, they shall be for a witness unto them when they shall come to the judgment seat of the Lord, yea and even now already they beat and strike their conscience; for howsoever the most froward man laugheth them to scorn, yet can he not disprove them; but thou wilt say, what may silly miserable man do, if the softness of heart, which was necessarily required to obedience, be denied him? Nay rather, why doth he excuse himself, when he can impute the hardness of heart to none but to himself? Therefore the wicked that are willingly ready to mock them out if they might, are thrown down with the force of them whether they will or no. But the chief profit towards the faithful is to be considered: in whom as the Lord worketh all things by his spirit, so he leaveth not the instruments of his word, and useth the same not without effect. Let this therefore stand which is true, that all the strength of the godly resteth in the grace of God, according to that saying of the prophet: (Ezek. xi. 19.) I will give them a new heart, that they may walk in them. But thou wilt say, Why are they now admonished of their duty, and not rather left to the direction of the holy Ghost? Why are they moved with exhortation, since they can make no more haste than the stirring forward of the holy Ghost worketh? Why are they chastised if at any time they be gone out of the way, since they fell by the necessary weakness of the flesh? O man, what art thou to appoint a law for God? If it be his pleasure, that we be prepared by exhortation to receive the self same grace, whereby is wrought that the exhortation is obeyed, what hast thou in this order to bite or carp at? If exhortations and rebukings did nothing else profit with the godly, but to reprove them of sin, they were even for that thing only to be counted not altogether unprofitable. Now forasmuch as by the holy Ghost working inwardly, they must avail to enflame the desire of goodness,

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to ſhake off ſluggiſhneſs, to take away the pleaſure and venemous ſweetneſs of wickedneſs, and on the other ſide to beget a hatred of the troubleſomeneſs thereof: who dare cavil that they are ſuperfluous? If any man require a plainer anſwer, let him take this: God worketh after two ſorts in his elect, inwardly by his ſpirit, outwardly by his word: By his ſpirit, by enlightening their minds, by framing their hearts to the love and keeping of juſtice, he maketh them a new creature; by his word, he ſtirreth them to deſire, to ſeek and attain the ſame renewing, by them both he ſheweth forth the effectual working of his hand, according to the proportion of his diſtribution. When he ſendeth the ſame word to the reprobate, though not for their amendment, yet he maketh it to ſerve for another uſe: that both for the preſent time they may be preſſed with witneſs of conſcience, and may againſt the day of judgment be made more inexcuſable. So though Chriſt pronounce (John vi. 44.) that no man cometh to him, but whom the Father draweth, and that the elect do come when they have heard and learned of the Father: yet doth not he neglect the office of a teacher, but with his voice diligently calleth them, whom it neceſſarily behoveth to be inwardly taught by the holy Ghoſt, that they may any thing profit. And Paul teacheth, (2 Cor. ii. 16.) that teaching is not in vain with the reprobate, becauſe it is to them the ſavour of death to death, but a ſweet ſavour to God.

The want of free will in man and of ability to perform the law doth not prove the law to be given in vain.

6. They are very laborious in heaping together of teſtimonies of ſcripture: and that they do of purpoſe, that when they cannot oppreſs us with weight, they may yet with number. But as in battles, when it cometh to hand ſtrokes, the weaker multitude how much pomp and ſhew ſoever it hath, is with a few ſtripes diſcomfited and put to flight: ſo ſhall it be very eaſy for us to overthrow them with all their rout. For, becauſe the places that they abuſe againſt us, when they are once divided into their orders, do meet upon a few ſpecial points, we ſhall with one anſwer ſatisfy many of them: therefore it ſhall not be needful to tarry upon diſſolving every one of them particularly. Their chief force they ſet in the commandments, which they think to be ſo tempered to our ſtrengths, that whatſoever is proved to be required by the one, it neceſſarily followeth, that it may be performed by the other. And therefore they run through every of the commandments, and by them do meaſure the proportion of our ſtrength. For (ſay they) either God mocketh us when he chargeth us with holineſs, godlineſs, obedience, chaſtity, love and meekneſs; and when he forbiddeth us uncleanneſs, idolatry, unchaſteneſs, wrath, robbery, pride, and ſuch like; or he requireth only thoſe things that are in our power. Now we may divide into three ſorts in manner all the commandments that they heap together. Some require our firſt converſion to God, ſome ſpeak ſimply of the keeping of the law; ſome command us to continue in the grace of God that we have received. Firſt let us ſpeak of them all in general, and then deſcend to the ſpecial ſorts. To extend the power of man to the commandments of the law, hath indeed long ago begun to be common, and hath ſome ſhew: but it proceeded from moſt rude ignorance of the law. For they that think it a hainous offence, if it be ſaid that the keeping of the law is impoſſible, do reſt forſooth upon this moſt ſtrong argument, that elſe the law was given in vain. For they ſpeak in ſuch ſort, as if Paul had no where ſpoken of the law. For, I beſeech them, what mean theſe ſayings, (Gal. iii. 10.) that the law was given becauſe of tranſgreſſions; (Rom. iii. 20.) That by the law is the knowlege of ſin: (Rom. vii. 7.) that the law maketh ſin: (1 Tim. i. 5.) that the law entered, that ſin might abound: was it meant that the law was to be limited to our ſtrength, leſt it ſhould be given in vain? or rather that it was ſet far above us, to convince our weakneſs? Truly by the ſame man's definition, (1 Theſ. iii. 12.) the end and fulfilling of the law is charity. But when he wiſheth the minds of the Theſſalonians to be filled with charity, he doth ſufficiently confeſs, that the law ſoundeth in our ears without profit, unleſs God inſpire the whole ſum thereof in our hearts.

The uſe which the law of God ſtandeth us in, although our weakneſs do not ſerve to fulfil it.

7. Truly, if the ſcripture did teach nothing elſe, but that the law is a rule of life whereunto we ought to frame our endeavours, I would alſo without delay agree to their opinion: but whereas it doth diligently and plainly declare unto us the manifold uſe of the law; it is convenient rather to conſider by that interpretation, what the law may do in man. For ſo much as concerneth this preſent cauſe: it teacheth that ſo ſoon as it hath appointed what we ought to do, the power to obey cometh of the goodneſs of God, and therefore moveth us to prayer, whereby we may require to have it given us. If there were only the commandment and no pro-

promiſe, then were our ſtrengths to be tried whether they were ſufficient to anſwer the commandment, but ſince there are promiſes joined withal, which cry out, that not only our aid, but alſo all our whole power conſiſteth in the help of God's grace, they do teſtify enough and more, that we are altogether unfit, much more inſufficient to keep the law. Wherefore let this proportion of our ſtrength with the commandments of God's law be no more enforced, as if the Lord had meaſured the rule of juſtice, which he purpoſed to give in his law, according to the rate of our weakneſs. Rather by his promiſes we ought to conſider, how unready we are of ourſelves, who in every reſpect do ſo much need his grace. But who (ſay they) ſhall be perſuaded that it is like to be true, that the Lord appointed his law to ſtocks and ſtones? neither doth any man go about to perſuade it. For the wicked are neither ſtocks nor ſtones, when being taught by the law that their luſts do ſtrive againſt God, they are proved guilty by their own witneſs. Nor yet the godly, when being put in mind of their weakneſs, they fly unto grace. For which purpoſe ſerve theſe ſayings of Auguſtine. (*In Enchir. ad Laur. de grat. & arb. cap.* 16. *Ho.* 29. *in Jo.*) The Lord commandeth thoſe things that we cannot do, that we may know what we ought to aſk of him. Great is the profit of the commandments, if ſo much be given to free will, that the grace of God be the more honoured Eph. ii. 4. Faith obtaineth that which the law commandeth, yea the law therefore commandeth, that faith may obtain that which was commanded by the law; yea, God requireth faith itſelf of us, and findeth not what to require unleſs he give what to find. Again, let God give what he commandeth, and command what he will.

Our firſt converſion unto God, our obedience when we are converted, and our continuance in obeying, commanded in the law, and yet his gift which doth command them.

8. That ſhall more plainly be ſeen in rehearſing the three ſorts of commandments which we touched before. The Lord oftentimes commandeth both in the law and in the prophets, that we be converted unto him. Joel ii. 12. But on the other ſide the prophet anſwereth, Jer. xxxi. 18. convert me Lord, and I ſhall be converted; for after that thou didſt convert me, I repented, &c. He commandeth us to circumciſe the uncircumciſed ſkin of our heart; and by Moſes Deut. x. 16. he declareth that this circumciſion is done by his own hand. He every where requireth newneſs of heart, but in another place he teſtifieth that it is given by himſelf. Ezek. xxxvi. 26. That which God promiſeth (ſaith Auguſtine *Lib. de Doct. Chriſt.* 3.) we do not by free will or by nature, but he himſelf doth it by grace. And this is the ſame note, that he himſelf rehearſeth in the fifth place among the rules of Ticonius, that we do juſtly make difference between the law and the promiſes, or between the commandments and grace. Now let them go that gather by the commandments whether man be able to do any thing toward obedience in ſuch ſort that they deſtroy the grace of God, by which the commandments themſelves are fulfilled. The commandments of the ſecond ſort are ſimple, by which we are bidden to honour God, to ſerve and cleave unto his will; to keep his commandments, to follow his doctrine. But there are innumerable places that do teſtify that it is his gift whatſoever righteouſneſs, holineſs, godlineſs, or purity may be had. Of the third ſort was that exhortation of Paul and Barnabas to the faithful, which is rehearſed by Luke, that they ſhould abide in the grace of God. But from whence that ſtrength of conſtancy is to be had, the ſame Paul teacheth in another place. That remaineth, ſaith he, brethren, (Eph. vi. 16.) be ye ſtrong through the Lord. In another place he forbiddeth us to grieve the ſpirit of God, (Eph. iv. 30.) wherewith we are ſealed up unto the day of our redemption. But becauſe the thing that he there requireth, could not be performed by men, therefore he wiſheth it to the Theſſalonians 1 Theſſ. ii. from God, namely that he would reckon them worthy of his holy calling: and fulfil the purpoſe of his goodneſs, and the work of faith in them. Likewiſe in the ſecond epiſtle to the Corinthians, 2 Cor. viii. 11. ſpeaking of alms, he frequently commendeth their pious and charitable diſpoſition, yet a little after, he thanketh God who put it in the heart of Titus to take upon him to give exhortation. If Titus could not ſo much as uſe the office of his mouth, to exhort others, but only ſo far as God did put unto him, how ſhould others have been willing to do, unleſs God himſelf had directed their hearts?

The ſhifts which defenders of free-will uſe to evade the foreſaid teſtimonies of ſcripture.

9. The craftier ſort of them do cavil at all theſe teſtimonies: becauſe there is nothing, ſay they, to hinder us from joining our endeavours or to hinder God from aſſiſting our weak and feeble efforts. They cite alſo

places out of the prophets, where the effect of our converſion ſeemeth to be divided between God and ourſelves. Turn ye to me, and I will turn to you. What manner of aſſiſtance the Lord bringeth us, we have above ſhewed, and it is not needful here to repeat it. This one thing I would have granted to me, that it is vainly gathered, that there is required in us a power to fulfil the law, becauſe God doth command the obedience of it: For as much as it is evident, that for the fulfilling of all the commandments of God, the grace of the lawgiver is both neceſſary for us and promiſed unto us. Thereby then it appeareth that at the leaſt there is more required of us than we are able to pay. And that ſaying of Jeremiah, (Jer. xiii. 3.) cannot be wiped away with any cavil; that the covenant of God made with the ancient people was void, becauſe it was only literal, and that it could no otherwiſe be ſtabliſhed, than when the ſpirit cometh unto it, who frameth the heart to obedience. Neither doth that ſaying, turn ye to me, and I will turn unto you, favour their error. For there is meant, not that turning of God, wherewith he reneweth our hearts to repentance, but wherewith he by proſperity of things doth declare himſelf favourable and merciful; as by adverſity he ſometimes ſheweth his diſpleaſure. Whereas therefore the people being vexed with many ſorts of miſeries, and calamities, did complain that God was turned away from them; he anſwereth, that they ſhall not be deſtitute of his favour, if they return to uprightneſs of life, and to himſelf who is the pattern of righteouſneſs: therefore the place is wrongfully wreſted, and it is drawn to this purpoſe, that the work of our converſion ſhould ſeem to be divided between God and man. Theſe things we have comprehended ſo much the more briefly becauſe the proper place for this matter ſhall be where we treat of the law.

The uſe of conditional promiſes although it be not in our own power to fulfil the condition whereon they depend.

10. The ſecond ſort of their arguments is much like unto the firſt. They alledge the promiſes whereby God doth covenant with our will, of which ſort are, Amos v. 14. Seek good and not evil, and ye ſhall live. If ye will and do hear, ye ſhall eat the good things of the earth; but if ye will not, the ſword ſhall devour you, becauſe the Lord's mouth hath ſpoken it. Again, Iſa. v. 16. if thou put away thine abominations out of my ſight, then ſhalt thou not be driven out; (Jer. iv. 1.) If thou ſhalt obey diligently the voice of the Lord thy God, and obſerve and do all his commandments which I command thee this day, then the Lord thy God will ſet thee on high above all the nations of the earth. Deut. xxviii. 1. Lev. xxvi. 3. And on others the like. They do inconveniently and as it were in mockery think, that theſe benefits which the Lord doth offer in his promiſes, are aſſigned to our own will; unleſs it were in us to ſtabliſh them or make them void. And very eaſy it is to amplify this matter with eloquent complaints, that the Lord doth cruelly mock us, when he pronounceth that his favour depends upon our will, if the ſame will be not in our own power: And that this liberality of God ſhould be a goodly thing forſooth, if he ſo ſet his benefits before us, that we have no power to uſe them; and a marvellous aſſuredneſs of his promiſes, which depend upon a thing impoſſible, ſo as they might never be fulfilled. But of ſuch promiſes as have a condition adjoined, we will ſpeak in another place: ſo that it ſhall be plain, that there is no abſurdity in the impoſſible fulfilling of them. And for ſo much as concerneth this place: I deny that God doth unkindly mock us, when he moveth us to deſerve his benefits, whom he knoweth to be utterly incapable of doing it. For whereas the promiſes are offered both to the faithful and to the wicked, they have their uſe with both ſorts. As God with his commandments pricketh the conſciences of the wicked, that they ſhould not too ſweetly take pleaſure in their ſins, without any remembrance of his judgments: ſo in his promiſes he doth in a manner take them to witneſs, how unworthy they are of his goodneſs. For who can deny that it is moſt rightful and convenient, that the Lord do good to them of whom he is honoured, and puniſh the deſpiſers of his majeſty, according to his ſeverity? Therefore God doth well and orderly when in his promiſes he adjoineth this condition to the wicked that are bound with the fetters of ſin, that they ſhall then only enjoy his benefits, if they depart from their wickedneſs: or for this purpoſe only, that they may underſtand that they are worthily excluded from theſe things, that are due to the true worſhippers of God. Again, becauſe he ſeeketh by all means to ſtir up the faithful to call upon his grace, it ſhall not be inconvenient, if he attempt the ſame thing alſo by promiſes, which we have ſhewed that he hath done to great profit with commandments towards them. Being informed of the will of God, by his commandments, we are put in mind of our miſery, which do with all our heart too far diſſent from the

ſame,

ſame, and we are with all incited to call upon his ſpirit, by which we may be directed into the right path. But becauſe our ſluggiſhneſs is not ſufficiently ſharpened with commandments, there are added promiſes which with a certain ſweetneſs may allure us to the love of them. And that the more deſire that we have of righteouſneſs, we may be the more fervent to ſeek the favour of God. Lo how in theſe requeſts (if you will; If you ſhall hear,) the Lord neither giveth us power to will nor to hear, and yet mocketh us not for our want of power.

The unthankful may juſtly be upbraided with refuſing the offer that God doth make of all good things, though without his grace which offereth they have no power to attain the things that are offered.

11. The third ſort of their arguments, hath alſo great affinity with the two former. For they bring forth the places wherein God reproacheth the unthankful people, and ſaith that they themſelves only were the cauſe that they received not of his tender love all kind of good things. Of which ſort are the places (Num. xiv. 43.) The Amalekites and the Canaanites are before you, with whoſe ſword you ſhall fall, becauſe ye would not obey the Lord, becauſe I called and ye anſwered not, I will do to this houſe as I did to Silo. Again, (Jer. xxxii. 13.) this nation hath not heard the voice of the Lord their God, nor hath received diſcipline, therefore it is caſt away from the Lord. Again, (Jer. xxxii.) becauſe ye have hardened your heart and would not obey the Lord, all theſe evils are happened unto you. How (ſay they) could ſuch reproaches be laid againſt them who might readily anſwer? As for us we loved proſperity, and feared adverſity. But whereas for to obtain the one and avoid the other we obeyed not the Lord, nor hearkened to his voice; this was the cauſe thereof, for that it was not at our liberty ſo to do, becauſe we were ſubject to the dominion of ſin. Vainly therefore are theſe evils laid to our charge, which it was not in our power to avoid. But leaving the pretence of neceſſity, wherein they have but a weak and poor defence, I aſk of them whether they can purge themſelves of all fault, For if they be found guilty of any fault, then the Lord doth not without cauſe reproach them, that it came to paſs, by their perverſeneſs, that they felt not the effects of his clemency. Let them anſwer therefore, whether they can deny, that their froward will was the cauſe of their ſtubbornneſs. If they find the ſource of the evil within themſelves, why gape they to find out foreign cauſes, that they might ſeem not to have been authors of their own deſtruction? But if it be true that by their own fault and none others, ſinners are both deprived of the benefits of God, and chaſtiſed with puniſhments, then is there great reaſon why they ſhould hear theſe reproaches at the mouth of God; that if they go obſtinately forward in their faults, they may learn in their miſeries rather to accuſe and abhor their own wickedneſs, than to blame God of unjuſt cruelty: that if they have not caſt off all willingneſs to learn, they may be weary of their ſins, by the deſervings whereof they ſee themſelves miſerable and undone, and may return into the way, and acknowledge the ſame with earneſt confeſſion which the Lord rehearſeth in chiding them. For which purpoſe it appeareth by the ſolemn prayer of Daniel, which is in the ninth chapter, that thoſe chidings of the prophets which are alledged, did avail with the godly. Of the firſt uſe we ſee an example in the Jews, to whom Jeremiah is commanded to declare the cauſe of their miſeries, whereas yet it ſhould not have fallen otherwiſe than the Lord had foretold. (Jer. vii. 27.) Thou ſhalt ſpeak all theſe words unto them, but they will not hearken to thee: thou ſhalt alſo call unto them, but they will not anſwer thee. To what end then did they ſing to deaf men? that being even loath and unwilling, yet they ſhould underſtand that it was true that they heard, that it were wicked ſacrilege if they ſhould lay upon God the blame of their evils which were to be found in themſelves. By theſe few ſolutions thou mayeſt eaſily deliver thyſelf from the infinite heap of teſtimonies, which in order to erect an image of free-will, the enemies of the grace of God are wont to gather together, as well out of the commandments as out of the proteſtations againſt the profeſſors of the law. It is to their reproach ſpoken in one of the pſalms concerning the Jews: (Pſal. lxxviii. 8.) A froward generation that have not made their heart ſtraight. Alſo in another pſalm (Pſal. lv. 8.) the prophet exhorteth the men of his age, not to harden their hearts, and that becauſe all the fault of obſtinacy remaineth in the perverſeneſs of men. But it is fooliſhly collected from hence, that the heart is pliable to either ſide, the preparing whereof is only of God. The prophet ſaith; cix. 112. I have inclined my heart to keep thy mandments, becauſe he had willingly and with a chearful earneſt affection of mind addicted himſelf to God, and yet he doth not boaſt himſelf to be the author of his own inclination, which he con-

feſſeth in the ſame pſalm to be the gift of God. Therefore we muſt bear in mind the admonition of Paul, (Phil. ii. 12.) where he biddeth the faithful to work out their own ſalvation with fear and trembling, becauſe it is the Lord that worketh both to will and to do. Indeed he aſſigneth them offices, to be doing, that they ſhould not give themſelves to ſluggiſhneſs of the fleſh; but in that he commandeth them to have fear and carefulneſs, he ſo humbleth them, that they may remember that the ſame thing which they are commanded to do, is the proper work of God, wherein plainly he expreſſeth, that the faithful work paſſively, as I may ſo call it, in ſo much as power is miniſtred them from heaven, that they ſhould claim nothing at all to themſelves. Wherefore when Peter (2 Pet. i. 5.) exhorteth us that we ſhould add power in faith, he granteth not unto us a ſecond office, as if we ſhould do any thing ſeparately by ourſelves, but only he awaketh the ſlothfulneſs of the fleſh, wherewith commonly faith it ſelf is choaked. To the ſame purpoſe ſeemeth that ſaying of Paul (2 Theſſ. i. 9.) Quench not the ſpirit; for ſlothfulneſs doth frequently creep upon the faithful, if it be not corrected. But if any man conclude thereupon, that it is in their own choice to cheriſh the light being offered them, his ignorance ſhall be eaſily confuted; becauſe the ſelf-ſame diligence that Paul requireth, (2 Cor. vii.) proceeds only from God. For we are alſo frequently enjoined to cleanſe ourſelves from all filthineſs; whereas the holy Ghoſt doth claim to himſelf alone the office of making holy. Finally that by way of granting, the ſamething is conveyed to us that properly belongeth to God, is manifeſt from the words of John; (John xvii. 15.) whoſoever is of God, ſaveth himſelf. The advancers of free-will take hold of this ſaying, as if we were ſaved partly by the power of God, and partly by our own: as though we had not from heaven the very ſame ſafe keeping, whereof the Apoſtle maketh mention. For which cauſe, Chriſt alſo prayeth his Father, (John xvii. 15.) to ſave us from evil, and we know that the godly, while they war againſt Satan, do get the victory by no other armour and weapons, but by the armour and weapons of God. Wherefore when Peter commanded us, to purify our ſouls in the obedience of truth, he ſoon after adds as by way of correction, (by the holy Ghoſt.) 1 Pet. i. 22. Finally, how all mans ſtrength is of no force in the ſpiritual combat, John briefly ſheweth, when he ſaith, (1 John iii. 9.) that they who are begotten of God, cannot ſin, becauſe the ſeed of God abideth in them. And in another place, (1 John v. 4.) he rendereth a reaſon why: for that our faith is the victory that overcometh the world.

12. Yet there is alledged a teſtimony out of the law of Moſes, which ſeemeth to be much againſt our ſalvation. For after the publiſhing of the law, he proteſteth unto the people in this manner. (Deut. xxx. 11.) The commandment that I command thee this day, is not hid from thee, neither far off: it is not in heaven, but hard by thee, it is in thy mouth and in thy heart, thou ſhouldſt do it. Truly, if this be taken to be ſpoken of the bare commandments, I grant they be of no ſmall weight to this preſent matter. For though it were eaſy to mock it out with ſaying, that here is ſpoken not of the eaſineſs and readineſs of obſervation, but of knowlege; yet even ſo, peradventure it would alſo leave ſome doubt. But the apoſtle who is no doubtful expoſitor, taketh away all doubt from us, who affirmeth that Moſes here ſpake of the doctrine of the goſpel. (Rom. x. 8.) But if any obſtinate man will ſay, that Paul violently wreſted thoſe words, that they might be drawn to the goſpel, although his boldneſs ſo to ſay ſhall not be without impiety, yet is there ſufficient matter beſide the authority of the apoſtle to convince him withal. For if Moſes ſpake of the commandments only, then he puffed up the people with a moſt vain confidence. For what ſhould they elſe have done, but thrown themſelves down headlong, if they had taken upon them the keeping of the law by their own ſtrength, as a thing not hard for them? Where is then that ſo ready eaſineſs to keep the law, where there is no acceſs unto it, but by a headlong fall to deſtruction? Wherefore there is nothing more certain, than that Moſes in theſe words did mean the covenant of mercy, which he had publiſhed together with the ſtrict demand of the law. For in a few verſes before (Deut. xxx. 8.) he had taught, that our hearts muſt be circumciſed by the hand of God, that we may love him. Therefore he placed that eaſineſs, whereof he ſoon after ſpeaketh, not in the ſtrength of man, but in the help and ſuccour of the holy Ghoſt, who performeth his work mightily in our weakneſs. Although the place is not ſimply to be underſtood of the com-

When Moſes doth ſeem to intimate a kind of readineſs in man to fulfil the law of God: he meaneth by the law the promiſes of the goſpel, which are eaſily received not in reſpect of our hability but of God's mercy which worketh mightily in framing our hearts.

commandments, but rather of the promiſes of the goſpel, which are ſo far from ſtabliſhing a power in us to obtain righteouſneſs, that they utterly overthrow it. Paul conſidering that ſame, proveth by this teſtimony, that ſalvation is offered us in the goſpel, not under that hard and impoſſible condition, wherewith the law dealeth with us, that is, that they only ſhall attain it who have fulfilled all the commandments, but under a condition that is eaſy, ready, and plain to come unto. Therefore this teſtimony maketh nothing to challenge freedom to the will of man.

That God is ſaid to withdraw himſelf, and to try wehther men will ſeek after him, is no argument that of themſelves they can ſeek unto him: but that he by hiding his face doth bring them to ſee that without his grace they are nothing.

13. There are alſo certain other places wont to be objected, whereby is ſhewed that God ſometime, withdrawing the ſuccour of his grace, trieth men, and waiteth to ſee to what end they will apply their endeavours, as is that place in Hoſea (Hoſ. v. 14.) I will go to my place till they put it in their heart and ſeek my face. It were a fond thing (ſay they) if the Lord ſhould conſider whether Iſrael would ſeek his face, unleſs their minds were pliable that they might after their own will incline themſelves to the one ſide or the other. As though this were not a thing commonly uſed with God in the prophets, to make a ſhew as if he did deſpiſe and caſt away his people, till they have amended their life. But what will the adverſaries gather out of ſuch threatenings? If they mean to gather, that the people being forſaken of God, may purpoſe their own ſalvation: all the ſcripture ſhall cry out againſt them in ſo doing. If they confeſs that the grace of God is neceſſary to converſion, why ſtrive they with us? But they ſo grant it neceſſary, that ſtill they will have man's power preſerved unto him. How prove they that? truly not by this place, nor any like to it. For it is one thing, to depart aſide from man, and to look what he will do being given over and left to himſelf, and another thing to help his little ſtrength after the meaſure of his weakneſs. What then (will ſome man ſay) do theſe manners of ſpeaking mean? I anſwer that they are as much in effect, as if God had ſaid; Foraſmuch as I prevail nothing with this ſtubborn people by admoniſhing, exhorting and rebuking, I will withdraw myſelf a while: and ſit ſtill and ſuffer them to be afflicted: I will ſee if at length, after long miſeries, they will begin to remember me, to ſeek my face. The Lord's going far away, ſignifieth the taking away of prophecy: his looking what men will do, ſignifieth that he keeping ſilence, and as it were hiding himſelf, doth for a time exerciſe them with diverſe afflictions. Both theſe things he doth to humble us the more. For we ſhould ſooner be dulled than amended with the ſcourges of adverſity, unleſs he did frame us to that tractableneſs by his ſpirit. Now whereas the Lord being offended, and in a manner wearied with our obſtinate ſtubborneſs, doth for a time leave us (that is by taking away his word in which he is wont to give us a certain preſence of himſelf) and doth make a proof what we would do in his abſence, it is falſely gathered from hence that there is any ſtrength of free will that he ſhould behold and try, foraſmuch as he doth it to no other end, but to drive us to acknowlege our own being nothing.

As the evil works which we do are ours, ſo the good works which are termed ours we do however, ſo that to do is ours by nature, but to do well by grace, which is given us from above.

14. They bring alſo for their defence the continual manner of ſpeaking, that is uſed both in the ſcriptures and in the converſation of men. For good works are called ours, and it is no leſs ſaid that we do the thing that is holy and pleaſing to God, than that we commit ſins. But if ſins be juſtly imputed to us, as proceeding from us, truly in righteous actions alſo ſomewhat by the ſame reaſon ought to be aſſigned unto us. For it were abſurd to ſay that we do thoſe things, to the doing of which, being utterly incapable of our own inclination, we are moved by God like ſtones. Therefore though we aſcribe the principal part to the grace of God, yet theſe ways of ſpeaking do ſhew that our endeavour hath alſo yet a ſecond part. If that thing only were ſtill enforced, that good works are called ours, I would object again, that the bread is called ours, which we pray to have given us of God. What will they get by the title of poſſeſſion, but that by the bountifulneſs and free gift of God, the ſame thing becometh ours, which otherwiſe is not due unto us? Therefore either let them laugh at the ſame abſurdity in the Lord's prayer, or let them not reckon this to be laughed at, that good works are called ours, in which we have no property, but by the liberality of God. But this is ſomewhat ſtronger, that the ſcripture frequently affirms that we our ſelves do worſhip God, obey the law and apply good works. Since theſe

are the duties properly belonging to the mind and will: how could it agree that these things are both referred to the holy Ghost, and also attributed to us, unless there were a certain communicating of our endeavour with the power of God? Out of these snares we shall easily unwind ourselves, if we well consider the manner how the spirit of the Lord worketh in the godly. The similitude wherewith they enviously press us is from the purpose, for who is so fond to think that the moving of man differeth nothing from the casting of a stone? Neither doth any such thing follow from our doctrine. We reckon among the natural powers of man, to allow and refuse, to will and not to will, to endeavour and to resist, that is to allow vanity and to refuse perfect goodness, to will evil and to be unwilling to good, to endeavour ourselves to wickedness, and to resist righteousness. What doth the Lord herein? If it be his will to use that perverseness as an instrument of his wrath, he directeth and appointeth it to what end he will, that he by an evil hand may execute his good work. Shall we then compare a wicked man that serveth the power of God, when he laboureth only to obey his own lust, to a stone that being thrown by the violence of another, is carried neither with moving nor sense nor will of his own? We see how much difference there is. But what doth he in good things, of which is our principal question? when he erecteth his kingom in them, he by his spirit restraineth man's will, that it be not carried up and down with wandering lusts, according to the inclination of nature: and that it may be inclined to holiness and righteousness, he boweth, frameth, fashioneth aud directeth it to the rule of his righteousness; and that it should not stumble or fall, he doth stablish and confirm it with the strength of his spirit. For which reason Augustine saith: Thou wilt say unto me: then are we wrought upon and do not work. Yea, thou both workest and art wrought, and thou workest well when thou art wrought of that which is good. The spirit of God that worketh thee, helpeth them that work, and giveth himself the name of a helper, for that thou also workest somewhat. In the first part he teacheth, that man's working is not taken away by the moving of the holy Ghost, because will is of nature, which is ruled to aspire to goodness. But where he by and by addeth, that by the name of help, may be gathered that we also do work somewhat, we ought not so to take it, as if he did give any thing separately to us: but because he would not cherish slothfulness in us, he so matcheth the working of God with ours, that to will may be of nature, and to will well of grace. Therefore he said a little before, unless God help us, we shall not be able to overcome, no nor yet to fight at all.

15. Hereby appeareth, that the grace of God (as the word is taken when we speak of regeneration) is the rule of the spirit, to direct and govern the will of man. And it cannot govern it, unless it correct it, reform it, and renew it (from whence we say that the beginning of regeneration is that that which is ours might be destroyed) and unless it move it, stir it, drive it forward, carry it, and hold it. Whereupon we do truly say, that all the actions that proceed from it, are wholly the only work of the same grace. In the mean time we deny not that it is very true that Augustine teacheth, that will is not destroyed by grace, but rather repaired. For both these things do stand very well together: that mens will be said to be restored, when the faultiness and perverseness thereof being reformed, it is directed to the true rule of justice: and also that a new will be said to be created in man, forasmuch as it is so defiled and corrupted, that it needeth utterly to put on a new nature. Now is there no cause to the contrary, but that we may well be said to do the same thing that the Spirit of God doth in us, although our own will do of itself give us toward it nothing at all that may be separated from his grace. And therefore we must keep that in mind which we have elsewhere alleged out of Augustine, that some do in vain labour to find in the will of man some good thing that is properly his own. For whatsoever mixture men study to bring from the strength of free will to the grace of God, it is nothing but a corrupting of it, as if a man would mingle wine with dirty and bitter water. But although whatsoever good is in the will of man it proceedeth from the mere inspiration of the Holy Ghost, yet because it is naturally planted in us to will, it is not without cause said, that we do those things whereof God challengeth the praise to himself. First, because it is ours whatsoever by his goodness he worketh in us, so that we understand it to be not of ourselves: and then because the mind is ours the will is ours, the endeavour is ours, which are by him directed to good.

Those things which the grace of the Spirit worketh in us we our selves are said to do, because the faculties whereby we work and the very act of working are ours, although the moving and the framing them to good be wholly and merely his.

16. Those other testimonies *That which is*

beside

ſpoken to Cain concerning the ſubjection of appetite is far from proving free-will.

beſide theſe, that they ſcrape together here and there, ſhall not much trouble even mean wits that have well conceived only the ſolutions above ſaid. They allege that ſaying out of Geneſis, Gen. iv. 7. Thine appetite ſhall be under thee, and thou ſhalt bear rule over it. Which they expound of ſin, as if the Lord did promiſe to Cain, that the force of ſin ſhould not get the upper hand in his mind, if he would labour in ſubduing of it. But we ſay, that it better agreeth with the order of the text, that this be taken to be ſpoken of Abel. For there God's purpoſe was to reprove the wickedneſs of the envy that Cain had conceived againſt his brother. And that he doth two ways. One, that in vain he imagined miſchief to excel his brother in God's ſight, before whom no honour is given but unto righteouſneſs: the other, that he was too much unthankful for the benefit of God which he had already received, who could not endure his brother, although he had him ſubject under his authority. But leſt we ſhould ſeem therefore to embrace this expoſition, becauſe the other is againſt us: let us admit that God ſpake of ſin. If it be ſo, then God either promiſeth or commandeth that which he there declareth. If he command, then have we already ſhewed, that thereby followeth no proof of the power of man. If he promiſe, where is the fulfilling of the promiſe? For Cain became ſubject to ſin, over which he ſhould have had dominion. They will ſay, that in the promiſe was included a ſecret condition, as if it had been ſaid, that he ſhould have the victory if he would ſtrive for it. But who will receive theſe crooked compaſſes? For if this dominion be meant of ſin, then no man can doubt that it is ſpoken by way of commandment, wherein is not determined what we are able to do, but what we ought to do, yea though it be above our power. Although both the matter itſelf and the order of grammar do require, that there be a compariſon made of Cain and Abel, becauſe the elder brother ſhould not have been ſet behind the younger, unleſs he had become worſe by his own wicked doing.

St. Paul's words ſpeaking in one place of man's will and God's mercy, in another of their labour with God

17. They uſe alſo the teſtimony of the apoſtle, who ſaith, that it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercy. Rom. ix. 16. Whereby they gather that there is ſomewhat by man's will and endeavour, which of itſelf though it be weak, being aſſiſted by the mercy of God is not without proſperous ſucceſs. But if they did ſoberly weigh what matter Paul there treateth of, they would not ſo unadviſedly abuſe this ſentence.

whoſe ſervice God uſeth, foully abuſed by maintainers of free will.

I know that they may bring forth Origin and Jerom for maintainers of their expoſition: and I could on the other ſide ſet Auguſtin againſt them, (*Lib. 7. in Epiſt. ad Rom.*) But what they have thought it maketh no matter to us, if we know what Paul meant. There he teacheth (*Jerom dial. in Pela.*) that ſalvation is prepared only for them, to whom the Lord vouchſafeth to grant his mercy: and that ruin and deſtruction is prepared for all thoſe that he hath not choſen. He had under the example of Pharaoh declared the ſtate of the reprobate, and had alſo confirmed the certainty of free election by the teſtimony of Moſes, I will have mercy upon whom I will have mercy. Now he concludeth, that it is not of him that willeth, or of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercy. If it be thus underſtood, that will or endeavour are not ſufficient, becauſe they are too weak for ſo great a weight, that which Paul ſaith, had not been aptly ſpoken: therefore away with theſe ſubtilties: to ſay, It is not of him that willeth nor of him that runneth, therefore there is ſome will, there is ſome running. For Paul's meaning is more ſimply, thus. It is not will, it is not running that gets us the way to ſalvation, herein is only the mercy of God. For he ſpeaketh no otherwiſe in this place than he doth to Titus, where he writeth, Tit. iii. 4. that the goodneſs and kindneſs of God appeareth, not by works of righteouſneſs which we have done, but for his infinite mercy. They themſelves that make this argument, that Paul meant that there is ſome will and ſome running, becauſe he ſaid, that it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, would not give me leave to reaſon after the ſame faſhion, that we have done ſome good works, becauſe Paul ſaith, that we have not attained the goodneſs of God by the good works that we have done. If they ſee a fault in this argument, let them open their eyes, and they ſhall perceive that their own is not without the like deceit. For that is a ſure reaſon that Auguſtine, (*Epiſt.* 107. *ad Vitalem*) reſteth upon, if it were therefore ſaid, that it is not of him that willeth nor of him that runneth, becauſe neither the will nor the running is ſufficient. Then it may be turned on the contrary part that it is not of the mercy of God, becauſe it alone worketh not. Since this ſecond is an abſurdity, Auguſtine doth juſtly conclude,

clude, that this is ſpoken to this meaning, that there is no good will of man, unleſs it be prepared of the Lord, not that but we ought both to will and to run, but becauſe God worketh both in us. No leſs unaptly do ſome wreſt that ſaying of Paul: 1 Cor. iii. 9. We are workers with God, which without doubt ought to be reſtrained only to the miniſters: and that they are called workers with him, nor that they bring any thing of themſelves, but becauſe God uſeth their ſervice, after that he hath made them meet and furniſhed with neceſſary gifts.

A ſentence of Eccleſiaſticus wreſted alſo to the ſame purpoſe.

18. They bring forth Eccleſiaſticus, who, as it is not unknown is a writer whoſe authority is doubted. But although we refuſe it not (which yet we may lawfully do) what doth he teſtify for free will? He ſaith, Eccl. xv. 14. that man ſo ſoon as he was created, was left in the hand of his own counſel: that commandments were given him, which if he obſerved, he ſhould again be preſerved by them: that before man was ſet life and death, good and evil: that whatſoever he would, ſhould be given him. Be it ſo, that man received from his creation power to obtain either life or death. What if on the other ſide we anſwer that he loſt it? Truly my mind is not to ſpeak againſt Solomon, Eccl. vii. 29. who affirmeth that man at the beginning was created upright, and he ſought unto himſelf many inventions. But becauſe man in ſwerving loſt as it were by ſhipwreck both himſelf and all his good things, it followeth not by and by, that all that is given to his firſt creation belongeth to his nature when corrupted and degenerate. Therefore I anſwer not to them only, but alſo to Eccleſiaſticus himſelf, whatſoever he be, If thou mean to inſtruct man, to ſeek within himſelf power to attain ſalvation, thy authority is not of ſo great force with us, that it may be any prejudice, be it never ſo ſmall, againſt the undoubted word of God. But if thou only ſtudy to reſtrain the malice of the fleſh, which in laying the blame of her own evils upon God, uſeth to ſeek a vain defence for itſelf, and therefore thou anſwereſt, that uprightneſs was given unto men, whereby it may appear that himſelf was cauſe of his own deſtruction, I willingly agree unto it: ſo that again thou agree in this with me, that now by his own fault he is ſpoiled of thoſe ornaments, wherewith God had clothed him at the beginning: and that we confeſs together, that now he more needeth a phyſician than a defender.

The will of man through the wound of original ſin was not left half dead and half alive, as ſome would gather by the parable of the wayfaring man, whom thieves left lying in the high-way.

19. Yet they have nothing oftner in their mouth than the parable of Chriſt (Luke x. 30.) of the wayfaring man, whom thieves laid abroad half dead in the way. I know that it is commonly thought almoſt by all writers, that the calamity of mankind is repreſented under the figure of that wayfaring man. Thereupon do our adverſaries gather an argument, that man is not ſo maimed with the robbery of ſin and the devil, but that he keepeth ſtill remaining the leavings of his former good things, foraſmuch as it is ſaid, that he was left half alive. For where is that half life, unleſs ſome portion both of right reaſon and will remained? Firſt, if I would not give place to their allegory, I beſeech you, what would they do? For there is no doubt that it was deviſed by the fathers beſide the natural ſenſe of the Lord's words. Allegories ought to go no further than they have the rule of ſcripture going before them: ſo far is it off that they be by themſelves ſufficient to ground any doctrines. And there want not reaſons whereby I can, if I pleaſe, overthrow this device, for the word of God leaveth not to man half a life, but teacheth that he is utterly dead, foraſmuch as concerneth bleſſed life. And Paul, Eph. ii. 5. when he ſpeaketh of our redemption, doth not ſay that we were healed when we were half dead and half alive, but that we were raiſed up again, when we were dead. He calleth not upon them that are half alive, to receive the light of Chriſt, but them that ſleep and are buried. And in like manner ſpeaketh the Lord himſelf, John v. 25. when he ſaith, that the hour is come when the dead ſhall riſe again at his voice. With what face would they ſet this light alluſion againſt ſo many plain ſentences? But let this allegory have the force of a certain teſtimony, yet what ſhall they wring out of us thereby? Man is half alive, therefore he hath ſomewhat left ſafe. I grant he hath a wit capable of underſtanding, although it pierce not to the heavenly and ſpiritual wiſdom: he hath true judgment of honeſty: he hath ſome feeling of the Godhead, howbeit that he attain not the true knowlege of God. But to what purpoſe come all theſe things? Truly they bring not to paſs that the ſame ſaying of Auguſtine be taken from us, which is alſo approved by common conſent of the ſchools: that after man's fall the freely given good things, whereupon ſalvation dependeth, are taken away from him, and that his natural gifts are corrupted and defiled. Let therefore this truth remain with us undoubted, which

which can be ſhaken by no engines, that the mind of man is ſo eſtranged from the righteouſneſs of God, that it conceiveth, coveteth, and enterpriſeth all wickedneſs, filthineſs, uncleanneſs, and miſchief: that his heart is ſo thoroughly ſoaked in poiſon of ſin, that it can breathe out nothing but corrupt ſtink: But if at any time they do utter any goodneſs in ſhew, yet ſtill the mind remaineth always wrapped in hypocriſy and deceitful crookedneſs, and the heart entangled with inward perverſeneſs.

CHAP. VI.

That man being loſt, muſt ſeek for redemption in Chriſt.

Except we know the fatherly goodneſs of God ſhining in the face of Jeſus Chriſt, which knowlege is attained unto by the goſpel, other knowing of God, ſo far forth as he may be known by his creatures, neither hath been to any one's ſalvation ſince the fall of Adam, neither can be to ours ſufficiently available.

SINCE all mankind hath periſhed in the perſon of Adam, that excellency and nobility of beginning which we have ſpoken of, would ſo little profit us, that it would rather turn to our greater ſhame, till God appear the redeemer in the perſon of his only begotten Son, which acknowlegeth not men defiled and corrupted with ſin to be his work. Therefore ſince we are fallen from life into death, all that knowlege of God the creator whereof we have treated, were unprofitable, unleſs there followed alſo faith, ſetting forth God a father unto us in Chriſt. Truly this was the natural order that the frame of the world ſhould be a ſchool unto us to learn godlineſs, from whence might be made a paſſage for us to eternal life and perfect felicity: but ſince our apoſtacy, whitherſoever we turn our eyes upward and downward, the curſe of God ſtill preſenteth itſelf unto our ſight, which while it poſſeſſeth and enwrappeth innocent creatures by our fault, muſt needs overwhelm our own ſouls with deſperation. For although God's will is that his fatherly favour toward us do ſtill many ways appear: yet by beholding of the world we cannot gather that he is our father when our conſcience inwardly pricketh us, and ſheweth that there is in ſin juſt cauſe of forſaking, why God ſhould not account or reckon us for his children. Beſide that there is in us both ſlothfulneſs and unthankfulneſs: becauſe both our minds, as they be blinded, do not ſee the truth, and alſo as all our ſenſes be perverſe, we maliciouſly defraud God of his glory. Therefore we muſt come to that ſaying of Paul, 1 Cor. i. 22. becauſe in the wiſdom of God the world knew not God by wiſdom, it pleaſed God by the fooliſhneſs of preaching to ſave them that believe. The wiſdom of God he calleth this honourable ſtage of heaven and earth, furniſhed with innumerable miracles, by beholding whereof we ought wiſely to have known God. But becauſe we ſo ill profited therein, he calleth us back to the faith of Chriſt, which for that it ſeemeth fooliſh, the unbelievers do diſdain. Wherefore although the preaching of the croſs do not agree with man's wit, yet ought we humbly to embrace it, if we deſire to return to God our Creator and maker, that he may begin again to be our father. Truly ſince the fall of the firſt man, no knowlege of God availed to ſalvation, without the mediator. For Chriſt ſpeaketh not of his own age only, but comprehendeth all ages, when he ſaith, John xvii. 3. that this is the eternal life, to know the father the one true God, and him whom he hath ſent Jeſus Chriſt. And ſo much the fouler is their ſluggiſhneſs, who take upon them to ſet open heaven to all prophane and unbelieving men, without his grace, whom the ſcripture every where teacheth to be the only gate whereby we enter into ſalvation. But if any will reſtrain that ſaying of Chriſt only to the publiſhing of the goſpel, we have in readineſs wherewith to confute him. For this hath been a common ſentence in all ages and among all nations, that without reconciliation they that are eſtranged from God, and pronounced accurſed, and the children of wrath, cannot pleaſe God. And here may be alſo alleged that which Chriſt anſwered to the woman of Samaria, John iv. 21. Ye worſhip ye know not what, but we worſhip that which we know; becauſe ſalvation is from the Jews. In which words he both condemneth of falſhood all the religions of the Gentiles, and alſo aſſigneth a reaſon why, for that the redeemer was promiſed under the law only to the choſen people. Whereupon it followeth, that no worſhip ever pleaſed God, but that which had reſpect unto Chriſt. For which cauſe alſo Paul affirmeth, Eph. ii. 12. that all the nations of the Gentiles were without God, and void of the hope of life. Now whereas John teacheth that life was from the be-

beginning in Christ, and that all the world fell from it, we must return to the same fountain Christ. And therefore Christ, insomuch as he is the reconciler, affirmeth himself to be the life. And truly the entrance of heaven belongeth to none, but to the children of God. But it is not meet that they be accounted in the place and degree of children, that are not grafted into the body of the only begotton son. And John plainly testifieth, that they who believe in his name, are made the children of God. But because it is not directly my purpose yet to discourse of faith in Christ, therefore it shall for this time be sufficient to have touched it by the way.

That the fathers under the law never promised any happiness to the church otherwise than by Christ.

2. And therefore God never shewed himself merciful to his ancient people, nor ever did put them in any hope of grace without the mediator. I omit to speak of the sacrifices of the law, wherein the faithful were openly and plainly taught, that salvation is no where else to be sought, but in the cleansing which was performed by Christ alone. Only this I say, that the blessed and happy state of the church hath been always grounded upon the person of Christ. For though God comprehended all the issue of Abraham in his covenant, yet doth Paul, Gal. iii. 16. wisely reason, that Christ is properly that seed in whom all nations were to be blessed, forasmuch as we know that not all they were reckoned his seed, that were begotten of him according to the flesh. For (to speak nothing of Ishmael and others) how came it to pass that of the two sons of Isaac, that is, Esau and Jacob, brethren born at one birth, while they were yet together in their mother's womb, that one was chosen, the other refused? Yea, how came it to pass that the elder was rejected and the younger only took place? And how also came it to pass, that the greater part should be forsaken? It appeareth therefore that the seed of Abraham was principally reckoned in one person, and that the promised salvation did never stand sure till it came to Christ, whose office is to gather together the things that were scattered abroad. Therefore the first adoption of the chosen people did depend upon the grace of the mediator. Which though it be not in so plain words expressed by Moses, yet it sufficiently appeareth that it was commonly known to all the godly For before that there was any king created among the people, Hanna the mother of Samuel, speaking of the felicity of the godly, even then said thus in her song: 1 Sam. ii. 10. God shall give strength to his king, and shall exalt the horn of his anointed. In which words she meaneth that God shall bless his church. Wherewith also agreeth the oracle that is within a little after adjoined: the priest whom I shall appoint shall walk before mine anointed. Neither is it to be doubted, but that the will of the heavenly Father was to have the lively image of Christ to be seen in David and his posterity. Therefore meaning to exhort the godly to the fear of God, he biddeth them to kiss the son. Psal. ii. 12. Wherewith this saying of the gospel also agreeth: He that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father. John v. 23. Therefore although by falling away of ten tribes the kingdom decayed: yet it behoved the covenant to stand which God had made in David and his successors: as also he said by the prophets: 1 Kings xi. and xii. 24. I will, not altogether cut off the kingdom, for David my servant's sake, and for Jerusalem's sake whom I have chosen: but there shall remain one tribe to thy son. Where the same thing is repeated the second and third time. It is also expresly added: 1 Kings xi. 29. I will afflict the seed of David, but not forever. Within a little space of time after, it is said: 1 King. xv. 4. For David his servant's sake God hath given a light in Jerusalem, to raise up a son, and to keep Jerusalem in safety. Now when the state grew toward destruction, it was said again: 1 King xi. 34. God would not scatter Judah for David his servant's sake, because he had spoken that he would give a light to him and his sons for ever. Finally, this is the sum, that all other being passed over, only David was chosen, upon whom the good pleasure of God should rest. As in another place it is said, Psal. lxxvii. 60, 67. He hath refused the tabernacle of Silo, and the tabernacle of Joseph, and he hath not chosen the tribe of Ephraim; but he hath chosen the tribe of Judah, the mount Zion which he hath loved. He hath chosen his servant David to feed Jacob his people, and Israel his inheritance. To conclude, it pleased God so to save his church, that the safety and preservation thereof should hang upon that one head, and therefore David crieth out, The Lord the strength of his people, the strength of the salvations of his Christ. And by and by he addeth a prayer: Save thy people and bless thine inheritance: meaning that the state of the church is by an inseparable knot joined to the government of Christ. And in the same meaning in another place: Psal. xx. 10. Lord save us: Let the king hear us in the day that we shall call upon him. In which words he plainly teacheth, that the faithful did upon none other confidence flee to the help of God, but because they were hidden under the succour of the king. Which is gathered by another

another Pſalm. Pſal. cxviii. 25, 26. Lord ſave us: Bleſſed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Where it is plain enough that the faithful are called back unto Chriſt, that they may hope that they ſhall be ſaved by the hand of God. The ſame reſpect hath the other prayer, where all the church calleth upon the mercy of God: Pſal. lxxx. 18. Let thy hand be upon the man of thy right hand, upon the ſon of man, whom thou haſt preſerved (or appointed) to thyſelf. For though the author of the Pſalm bewaileth the ſcattering abroad of the whole people, yet he prayeth for their reſtitution in the head alone. Where, when the people was led away into exile, the land waſted, and all things to human appearance deſtroyed, Lam. iv. 20. Jeremiah lamenteth the overthrow of the church, he doth principally complain that by deſtruction of the kingdom all hope was cut off from the faithful. Chriſt (ſaith he) the ſpirit of our mouth is taken in our ſins, to whom we ſaid: in thy ſhadow we ſhall live among the nations. Hereby now it ſufficiently appeareth that becauſe God cannot be merciful to mankind without the mediator, therefore Chriſt was always ſet before the holy fathers in time of the law, to whom they might direct their faith.

The ancient prophets never ſpake of the churches deliverance out of miſery, but they taught withal, that through Chriſt they were delivered.

3. Now, where comfort is promiſed in affliction, ſpecially where the deliverance of the church is deſcribed, there the banner of confidence and hope is advanced in Chriſt alone. God went out to the ſaving of his people with his Meſſiah, ſaith Habakkuk, (Hab. iii. 13.) And ſo oft as the prophets make mention of the reſtoring of the church, they call back the people to the promiſe made to David, concerning the everlaſting continuance of the kingdom. And no wonder. For otherwiſe there had been no aſſurance of the covenant. For which purpoſe ſerveth that remarkable anſwer of Iſaiah, (Iſa. vii. 14.) For when he ſaw that the unbelieving king Ahaz refuſed that which he had declared to him of the raiſing of the ſiege of Jeruſalem and of preſent ſafety, as it were ſuddenly, he paſſed over to Meſſias. Behold a virgin ſhall conceive and bring forth a ſon, meaning indirectly that though the king and his people by their frowardneſs refuſed the promiſe offered unto them, as though they did of purpoſe bend themſelves to diſcredit the truth of God, yet the covenant ſhould not be void, but that the redeemer ſhould come at his appointed time. Finally, it was the care of all the prophets, to the end they might ſhew that God would be merciful, always to ſet out that kingdom of David, whereupon depended redemption and everlaſting ſalvation. So Iſaiah ſaith; (Iſa. lv. 3.) I will make a covenant with you, even the ſure mercies of David. Behold I have given him for a witneſs unto the people, that is, becauſe the faithful when their ſtate is at the worſt, could not otherwiſe have any hope, but by the means of him being witneſs, that God would be appeaſable toward them. Likewiſe Jeremiah to raiſe them up being in deſpair, ſaith: (Jer. xxiii. 6.) Behold the days come, wherein I will raiſe up unto David a righteous branch, and then ſhall Judah be ſaved, and Iſrael ſhall dwell in ſafety. And Ezekiel ſaith, (Ezek. xxxiv. 23.) I will raiſe up one ſhepherd over my ſheep, even David my ſervant. I the Lord will be a God to them, and my ſervant David for a ſhepherd. And I will make a covenant of peace with them. Alſo in another place, (Ezek. xxxvii. 25.) after he had ſpoken of the incredible renewing, he ſaith; my ſervant David ſhall be their king, and there ſhall be one ſhepherd over all, and I will make an everlaſting covenant of peace with them. I gather here and there a few places out of many, becauſe I only mean, to have the readers put in mind, that the hope of all the godly hath always been repoſed no where elſe but in Chriſt. And all the other prophets alſo ſpeak agreeably to this, as it is ſaid in Hoſea. (Hoſ. i. 12.) The children of Judah and the children of Iſrael ſhall be gathered together, and ſhall appoint to themſelves one head. Which he afterward more plainly expoundeth, (Hoſ. iii. 5.) The children of Iſrael ſhall return, and ſhall ſeek for the Lord their God, and David their king. And Micah (Micah ii. 13.) ſpeaking of the return of the people expreſly ſaith, the king ſhall go before them, and the Lord in their head. So Amos, (Amos ix. 16.) meaning to praiſe the renewing of the people, ſaith: I will in that day raiſe up the tabernacle of David that is fallen down, and I will hedge up the gaps, and raiſe up the places overthrown, even becauſe that was the only ſtandard of ſalvation, to have the royal glory to riſe up again on high in the ſtock of David, which is fulfilled in Chriſt. Therefore Zechariah, as his age was nearer to the appearing of Chriſt, ſo doth he more plainly cry out: (Zech. ix. 9.) Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Jeruſalem: ſhout, O daughter of Jeruſalem: behold thy king cometh unto thee: he is juſt, and having ſalvation. Which agreeth with the place of the Pſalm before alleged: (Pſal. xxviii. 8.)

The Lord is their ſtrength and he is the ſaving ſtrength of his anointed. Lord ſave us. Where ſalvation, is derived from the head to the whole body.

It was a common principle generally received amongſt the Jews, though not ſo perfectly underſtood as behoved, that their deliverer ſhould be Chriſt, without whoſe knowlege all other nations vainly worſhipped God.

4. It was God's will to have the Jews inſtructed with theſe prophecies, that to ſeek for their deliverance, they ſhould bend their eyes directly to Chriſt. And though they had ſhamefully revolted, yet could not the remembrance of the general principle be aboliſhed, that God by the hand of Chriſt, as he had promiſed to David, would be the deliverer of the church, and ſo the covenant ſhould be of his own free grant, whereby God hath adopted his choſen. Hereby it came to paſs, that this ſong ſounded in the mouth of the children when Chriſt a little before his death entered into Jeruſalem, Hoſanna to the ſon of David. For it appeareth that it was commonly known and ſpoken of, and according to common uſe that they ſung that the only pledge of God's mercy remained unto them, in the coming of the redeemer. For this cauſe Chriſt himſelf, to make his diſciples plainly and perfectly believe in God, biddeth them to believe on himſelf, (John. xiv. 1.) Believe ye in God (ſaith he) then believe alſo in me. For though (to ſpeak properly) faith aſcends up from Chriſt to the Father, yet he meaneth that the ſame faith although it reſt upon God, doth by little and little vaniſh away unleſs he become a mean to hold it in aſſured ſtedfaſtneſs. Otherwiſe the majeſty of God is too high for mortal men, which creep upon the ground like worms, to attain unto it. Wherefore I allow that common ſaying, that God is the object of faith, but in ſuch ſort that it needeth correction. Becauſe Chriſt is not in vain called (Col. i. 15.) the inviſible image of God, but by this title we are put in mind, that if we find not God in Chriſt, ſalvation cannot be known unto us. For although among the Jews, the Scribes and Phariſees had darkened with falſe inventions, that which the prophets had ſpoken concerning the Redeemer: yet Chriſt took it for a thing confeſſed as received by common conſent, that there was none other remedy in a diſpaired caſe, and none other mean of delivering the church, but by giving the Mediator. Indeed that was not commonly known among the people as it ought to have been, which Paul teacheth, (Rom. x. 4.) that Chriſt is, the end of the law. But how true and aſſured it is doth plainly appear by the law and the prophets. I ſpeak not yet of faith, becauſe there ſhall be elſewhere a more convenient place for it. Only let the readers hold this as faſt ſtabliſhed, that the firſt degree of godlineſs be, to acknowlege God to be a father unto us, to defend, govern, and cheriſh us, till he gather us together into the everlaſting inheritance of his kingdom: and that hereby it plainly appeareth which we ſaid even now, that the knowlege of God which bringeth ſalvation, ſtandeth not without Chriſt, and that therefore from the beginning he hath been ſet forth unto all the elect, that they ſhould look upon him, and that in him ſhould reſt all their truſt. According to this meaning writeth Irenæus, that the Father who is unmeaſurable, is in his Son meaſured, becauſe he hath applied himſelf to the meaſure of our capacity, leaſt he ſhould drown our minds with the unmeaſurableneſs of his glory. Which thing the mad men not conſidering, do wreſt a profitable ſentence to a wicked fancy, as though there were in Chriſt but a portion of the Godhead derived from the whole perfection: whereas it meaneth nothing elſe, but that God is comprehended in Chriſt alone. That ſaying of John hath always been true. (1 John ii. 31.) He that hath not the Son, neither hath he the Father. For though in old time many did boaſt that they worſhipped the ſovereign God, the maker of heaven and earth: yet becauſe they had no mediator, it was impoſſible that they ſhould truly taſte of the mercy of God, and ſo be perſuaded that he was their father. Therefore becauſe they knew not the head that is Chriſt, the knowlege of God was but vain among them, whereby alſo it came to paſs, that at length falling into groſs and filthy ſuperſtitions, they betrayed their own ignorance. As at this day the Turks although they report with full mouth, that the creator of heaven and earth is their God, yet do they thruſt an idol in the place of the true God while they depart from Chriſt.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

That the law was given, not to hold ſtill the people in it, but to nouriſh the hope of ſalvation in Chriſt, until his coming.

The law was given by Moſes to nouriſh men in hope of ſalvation by Chriſt, as appeareth by the often mention which he maketh of the covenant, and by the whole form of ceremonies and ſervice therein preſcribed, which without ſpiritual relation unto this were vain and idle.

BY this continual proceſs that we have rehearſed, may be gathered, that the law was added about four hundered years after the death of Abraham, not for this intent to lead away the choſen people from Chriſt: but rather to keep their minds in expectation until his coming, to kindle a deſire of him, and to confirm them in looking for him, that they ſhould not wax faint with long tarrying. I mean by this word law, not only the ten commandments, which preſcribe a rule how to live godlily and righteouſly, but alſo the form of religion delivered by the hand of Moſes. For Moſes was not made a lawgiver to aboliſh the bleſſing promiſed to the kindered of Abraham: but rather we ſee how every where he putteth the Jews in remembrance of the free covenant made with their fathers whoſe heirs they were, as if he had been ſent to renew the ſame. That was moſt plainly ſet forth by the ceremonies. For what were more vain and fond, than for men to offer up loathſome ſtink of the fat of cattle, to reconcile themſelves to God thereby? to flee to the ſprinkling of water or blood to waſh away their filthineſs? Finally, all the ſervice of God appointed in the law (if it be conſidered by itſelf, and do not contain ſhadows and figures, which the truth ſhould anſwer unto) ſhall be but downright mockery. Wherefore not without cauſe both in Stephen's (Acts v. 44.) ſermon, and in the epiſtle to the Hebrews, (Heb. viii. 5.) is that place ſo diligently weighed. Where God commandeth (Exod. xxv. 40.) Moſes to make all things pertaining to the tabernacle, according to the pattern that had been ſhewed him in the mount. For if there had not been ſome ſpiritual thing appointed that they ſhould tend unto, the Jews ſhould no leſs have fondly ſpent their labour in them, than the Gentiles did in their trifles. Prophane men that never earneſtly applied to the ſtudy of godlineſs, cannot without lothſome tediouſneſs abide to hear ſo many ſundry faſhions of uſages: and they not only wonder why God wearieth his people with ſuch a heap of ceremonies, but alſo they deſpiſe and ſcorn them as childrens plays. And the cauſe is, for that they conſider not the end, from which if the figures of the law be ſeparated, they muſt needs be condemned of vanity. But that ſame figure ſheweth that God did not therefore command ſacrifices becauſe he would occupy them that worſhipped him with earthly exerciſes, but rather to raiſe up their minds higher. Which may alſo plainly appear by his nature: for as he is ſpiritual, ſo he is delighted with no other worſhipping but what is ſpiritual. This do the ſayings of the prophets teſtify, wherein they rebuke the Jews of ſluggiſhneſs, for that they thought that any ſacrifices were of any value with God. Is that becauſe their purpoſe is to derogate any thing from the law? No, but according as they were true expoſitors of the law, ſo they would by this mean have mens eyes directed to the mark from which the common people ſtrayed. Now by the grace offered to the Jews it is certainly gathered, that the law was not void of Chriſt. For Moſes did ſet forth unto them this end of the adoption, (Exod. x. 6.) that they ſhould become a prieſtly kingdom to God. Which they could not obtain unleſs there were had for the mean thereof a great and more excellent reconciliation than by the blood of beaſts. For what is more improbable than Adam's children, who by inheritably deſcending infection are all born the bond ſlaves of ſin, to be advanced to royal dignity, and ſo to become partakers of the glory of God, unleſs that ſo excellent a benefit ſhould come unto them from ſome other than from themſelves? Alſo how could the right of prieſthood remain in force among them, who by reaſon of the pollution of ſin were abominable to God, unleſs they had been conſecrate in a holy head? Wherefore Peter doth very aptly turn that ſaying of Moſes, where he teacheth, that the fulneſs of grace, the taſte whereof the Jews had taken under the law, was given in Chriſt: (1 Pet. ii. 9.) Ye are (ſaith he) a choſen kindred, a kingly prieſthood. For to this end tendeth that turning of the words, to ſhew that they, to whom Chriſt appeared by the goſpel, have obtained more than their fathers, becauſe they are all endued both with prieſtly and kingly

honour, that truſting upon their mediator they may freely be bold to come forth into the ſight of God.

How the law both ceremonial and moral led the people of God unto Chriſt.

2. And here by the way it is to be obſerved, that the kingdom which at length was erected in the houſe of David, is part of the law, and contained under the miniſtry of Moſes. Whereupon followeth, that as well in all the kindred of the Levites as in the poſterity of David Chriſt was ſet before the eyes of the old people as in a double looking-glaſs. For, as I ſaid juſt now, they could not otherwiſe be before God either kings or prieſts, who were both the bond-ſlaves of ſin and death, and defiled by their own corruption. Hereby appeareth that that ſaying of Paul, (Gal. iii. 24.) is moſt true, that the Jews were holden as under the keeping of a ſchoolmaſter, till the ſeed came for whoſe ſake the promiſe was given. For, becauſe Chriſt was not yet familiarly known, they were like unto children, whoſe weakneſs could not yet bear a full knowlege of heavenly things, but how they were by ceremonies as it were led by the hand to Chriſt, is ſpoken before, and may be better underſtood by many teſtimonies of the prophets. For although it was commanded them to come daily with new ſacrifices to appeaſe God: yet Iſaiah promiſeth that all their ſins ſhall be cleanſed with one only ſacrifice. Wherewith Daniel accordingly ſaith: (Dan. ix.) The prieſts appointed of the tribe of Levi, did enter into the ſanctuary: but of the only prieſt it was once ſaid, (Pſal. cx. 4.) that by an oath he was choſen of God to be a prieſt for ever, according to the order of Melchizedec. At that time the anointing with oil was viſible: but Daniel by his viſion pronounceth that there ſhall be another manner of anointing. And becauſe I will not dwell upon many examples, the author of the epiſtle to the Hebrews even from the fourth chapter to the eleventh doth largely and plainly enough ſhew, that the ceremonies are nothing worth and vain till we come to Chriſt. As concerning the ten commandments: that leſſon of Paul, (Rom. x. 4.) is likewiſe to be kept in mind, that Chriſt is the end of the law unto ſalvation, to every one that believeth. And another leſſen, (2 Cor. iii. 6.) that Chriſt is the ſpirit that quickeneth the letter which of it ſelf ſlayeth. For in the firſt of theſe two, he meaneth that righteouſneſs is vainly taught by commandments until Chriſt do give it both by free imputation and by the ſpirit of regeneration. Wherefore he juſtly calleth Chriſt the fulfilling or end of the law. Becauſe it ſhould avail us nothing to know what God requireth of us, unleſs he did ſuccour us fainting and oppreſſed under the yoke and intollerable burden. In another place (Gal. iii. 19.) he teacheth, that the law was made for tranſgreſſions, that is to bring men to humility being proved guilty of their own damnation. And, becauſe this is the true and only preparation to ſeek Chriſt, whatſoever he teacheth in divers words do all very well agree together. But becauſe he then was debating with perverſe teachers, who fancied that we do deſerve righteouſneſs by the works of the law, to confute their error, he was forced ſometimes to ſpeak preciſely of the bare law, which yet otherwiſe is clothed with the covenant of free adoption.

Although the law do promiſe and would no doubt perform life unto them that keep the law, yet can we look for no fruit at all by thoſe promiſes, but feel our own miſery thereby the more increaſed becauſe of our weakneſs which anſwereth not the righteouſneſs preſcribed by the law.

3. But now it is good to know, how being taught by the moral law, we are made more inexcuſable, that our own guiltineſs may move us to crave pardon. If it be true that we are taught perfection of righteouſneſs in the law: then this alſo followeth, that the abſolute keeping thereof is perfect righteouſneſs before God, that is whereby a man may be deemed and accounted righteous before the heavenly throne of judgment. Wherefore Moſes when he had publiſhed the law, doubted not to proteſt before heaven and earth, that he had ſet before Iſrael life and death, good and evil. And we may not deny, but that the reward of eternal ſalvation belongeth to the upright obedience of the law, as the Lord hath promiſed it. Again, yet it is good to examine, whether we perform that obedience, upon deſert whereof we may conceive a truſt of that reward. For to what ſmall purpoſe is it, to ſee the reward of eternal life ſet in keeping of the law, unleſs we further know whether we may by that way attain to eternal life? But herein the weakneſs of the law doth ſhew it ſelf. For becauſe that keeping of the law is found in none of us all, we are excluded from the promiſes of life, and do fall into curſe only. I do not now tell what doth come to paſs, but what needs muſt come to paſs. For whereas the doctrine of the law is far above the power of man, he may indeed afar off, look

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at the promiſes, but yet not gather any fruit of them. Therefore this one thing remaineth, that by the goodneſs of them he may the better conſider his own miſery, while he conſidereth, that all hope of ſalvation being cut off, death doth certainly hang over him. On the other ſide terrible penal laws do preſs us, which do hold entangled and faſt bound, not only a few of us, but every one without exception; they preſs us, I ſay, and do purſue us, with an unrelenting rigour, ſo that we may ſee death juſt preſent in the law.

The promiſes of the law being conditional, are not of none effect unto us, though we be unable to perform the condition, becauſe our not performing it through mercy pardoned, and our weak obedience accepted and rewarded, as if it were full performance.

4. Therefore if we look only upon the law, we can do nothing but be diſcouraged, be confounded, and deſpair, foraſmuch as by it we are all damned and curſed, and kept far off from the bleſſedneſs that he offereth to them that worſhip him. Wilt thou ſay then, doth the Lord ſo mock us? For how little doth it differ from mocking, to ſhew forth a hope of felicity, to allure and exhort men unto it, to proteſt that it is laid open for us, when in the mean time the entry unto it is ſhut up and inacceſſible? I anſwer; although the promiſes of the law, in ſo much as they are conditional, are ſuſpended upon the perfect obedience of the law, which can no where be found, yet are they not given in vain. For when we have learned that they ſhall be void and of no effect unto us, unleſs God embrace us with his free goodneſs without regard of our works, and unleſs we do embrace by faith the ſame goodneſs given us by the goſpel, then want they not their efficacy, yea with their condition annexed. For then he doth ſo freely give all things unto us, that he addeth this alſo to the heap of his bountifulneſs, that not refuſing our half full obedience, and remitting ſo much as it wanteth of full performance, he ſo maketh us to enjoy the fruit of the promiſes of the law, as if we ourſelves had fulfilled the condition. But we will at this preſent proceed no further in this matter, becauſe we ſhall come more largely to treat of it, when we ſhall ſpeak of the juſtification of faith.

The law is therefore ſaid to be impoſſible for man to perform becauſe no man ever hitherto hath been, and the ſcripture teacheth, that no man ſhall be ſo perfect.

5. Whereas we ſaid that it is impoſſible to keep the law, that is in few words to be both explained and proved. For it is wont among the people commonly to be accounted an opinion of great abſurdity, ſo far that Jerom doubteth not to pronounce it accurſed; what Jerom thought, I do not ſtay upon; as for us, let us ſearch what is truth. I will not here make long circumſtances of divers ſorts of poſſibilities. I call that impoſſible, which both never hath been, and alſo is hindered by the ordinance and decree of God, that it never hereafter may be. If we record from the fartheſt time of memory, I ſay that there hath none of the holy men, that being clothed with the body of death, hath ever attained to that full perfection of love, to love God with all his heart, with all his mind, with all his ſoul, with all his ſtrength: Again, that there hath been none that hath not been troubled with concupiſcence. Who can ſay nay? I ſee indeed what manner holy men fooliſh ſuperſtition doth imagine unto us, even ſuch whoſe pureneſs the heavenly angels do ſcarcely ſurpaſs: but againſt both the ſcripture and proof of experience. I ſay alſo, that there ſhall none hereafter be, that ſhall come to the mark of true perfection, unleſs he be looſed from the burden of his body. For this point there are clear teſtimonies of ſcripture. Solomon ſaid, 1 Kings viii. 6. that there is not a righteous man upon the earth that ſinneth not. And David ſaid, Pſal. cxliii. Every living man ſhall not be juſtified in thy ſight. Job in many places affirmeth the ſame. But Paul moſt plainly of all: Gal. iii. 10. that the fleſh luſteth againſt the ſpirit, and the ſpirit againſt the fleſh. And by no other reaſon he proveth that all that are under the law are ſubject to the curſe, but becauſe it is written that curſed are all they that do not abide in all the commandments thereof: meaning, or rather taking it as a thing confeſſed, that no man can abide in them. And whatſoever is before ſpoken in the ſcriptures, that muſt be holden for perpetual, yea and neceſſary. With ſuch ſubtilty did the Pelagians trouble Auguſtine, ſaying, that there is wrong done to God to ſay that he doth command more than the faithful are able by his grace to perform. Auguſtine, (*Lib. de not. & gratia.*) to avoid their cavillation confeſſed, that the Lord might indeed, if he would, advance a mortal man to the pureneſs of angels: but that he neither hath done ſo at any time, nor will do, becauſe he hath otherwiſe affirmed in the ſcriptures. And that do I alſo not deny. But I add further, that it is inconvenient to diſpute of his power againſt his truth, and that therefore this ſentence is not ſubject to cavillations if a man ſhould ſay that

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that thing is impoſſible to be, whereof the ſcriptures do pronounce that it ſhall not be. But if they diſpute of the word: when the diſciples aſked the Lord who may be ſaved, he anſwered: with men indeed it is impoſſible, but with God all things are poſſible. Matth. xix. 25. Alſo Auguſtine, (*Lib de ſpiritu. & litera.*) with a moſt ſtrong reaſon ſtrenuouſly defendeth, that in this fleſh we never yield to God the due love that we owe him. Love (ſays he) ſo followeth knowlege, that no man can perfectly love God, but he that hath firſt fully known his goodneſs. We, while we wander in this world, ſee by a glaſs and in a dark ſpeech: it followeth therefore, that our love is unperfect. Let this therefore remain out of controverſy, that in this fleſh it is impoſſible to fulfil the law, if we behold the weakneſs of our own nature, as it ſhall yet alſo in another place, Rom. viii. 3. be proved by Paul.

The firſt uſe of the moral law to make men know their own unrighteouſneſs, that they be not beſotted through ſelf-complacence, nor deceived with a vain ſhadow of holineſs inſtead of that which is ſound and perfect.

6. But that the whole matter may be more plainly ſet forth: let us in a compendious order gather up together the office and uſe of the law which they called Moral. Now, as far as I underſtand, it is contained in theſe three parts. The firſt is, that while it ſheweth to every man the righteouſneſs of God, that is, the righteouſneſs which only is acceptable to God, it admoniſh, certify, prove guilty, yea, and condemn every man of his own unrighteouſneſs. For ſo is it needful that man blinded and intoxicated with the love of himſelf, be driven both to the knowlege and confeſſion of his own weakneſs, and uncleanneſs: foraſmuch as if his vanity he not evidently convinced, he ſwelleth with mad confidence of his own ſtrength, and can never be brought to think of the ſlenderneſs thereof, ſo long as he meaſureth it by the proportion of his own will. But ſo ſoon as he beginneth to compare his ſtrength to the ſtrictneſs of the law, there he findeth matter to abate his courage. For however he before conceived a great opinion of it, yet by and by he feeleth it to pant under ſo great a burden, and then to ſhake and faulter, at laſt even to fall down and faint. So being taught by the diſcipline of the law, he putteth off that arrogancy wherewith before he was blinded. Likewiſe he is to be healed of another diſeaſe of pride, whereof we have ſaid that he is ſick. So long as he is ſuffered to ſtand in his own judgment, he deviſeth hypocriſy inſtead of righteouſneſs, wherewith being contented, he riſeth up in courage by I know not what imaginary righteouſneſs, againſt the grace of God. But ſo ſoon as he is compelled to try his life by the balance of the law, then leaving the preſumption of the counterfeit righteouſneſs, he ſeeth himſelf to be an infinite ſpace diſtant from holineſs: Again that he floweth full of infinite vices whereof before he ſeemed clean. For the evils of luſt are hidden in ſo deep and crooked private corners, that they eaſily deceive the ſight of man. And not without cauſe the apoſtle ſaith, Rom. vii. 7. that he knew not luſt, except the law had ſaid: Thou ſhalt not luſt: becauſe except it be by the law diſcloſed out of her lurking holes, it deſtroyeth miſerable man ſo ſecretly, that he feeleth not the deadly dart thereof.

It is no diſhonour to the law of God to ſay that it doth but repreſent unto us our indiſpoſitions to obey, our diſobeying, and our curſed eſtate through diſobedience: becauſe in this we are taught both how our own wickedneſs hindereth us from enjoying the bleſſedneſs of the law, and how the mercy of God aboundeth in giving us that bleſſedneſs from which our own wickedneſs doth in itſelf exclude us.

7. So the law is like a certain looking glaſs wherein we behold, firſt our weakneſs, and by that our wickedneſs, and laſt of all by them both our accurſedneſs, even as a glaſs repreſenteth unto us the ſpots of our face. For when power faileth man to follow righteouſneſs, then muſt he needs ſtick faſt in the mire of ſins. And after ſin by and by followeth condemnation. And of how much the greater tranſgreſſion the law holdeth us guilty and convict, with ſo much the more grievous judgment it condemneth us. For this purpoſe maketh the ſaying of the apoſtle, Rom. iii. 23. that by the law is the knowlege of ſin. For there he ſpeaketh only of the firſt office of the law, the proof whereof is in ſinners not yet regenerate. And like to this are theſe two ſayings, Rom. v. 20. that the law entered that ſin might abound, and therefore 2 Cor. iii. that it is the miniſtration of death that worketh wrath and ſlayeth. For without doubt ſo much more groweth iniquity with how much more underſtanding of ſin the conſcience is ſtriken, becauſe unto breach of law is added obſtinacy againſt the maker of the law. It followeth therefore that the law armeth the wrath of God to the deſtruction of the ſinner, becauſe of itſelf it can do nothing but accuſe, condemn and deſtroy. And as Auguſtine writeth, (*De correp. & grat. vide Ambroſ. cap. 1. de Jac. & vita bea. cap. 6.*) if the

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ſpirit of grace be abſent, the law is preſent with us, only to this end, to accuſe and kill us. And yet when this is ſaid, neither is the law diſhonoured thereby, nor any thing taken from the excellency thereof. Truly if our will were wholly framed and diſpoſed to the obedience of the law, then plainly the only knowlege of it were ſufficient to ſalvation. But forasmuch as our carnal and corrupt nature fighteth, as an enemy with the ſpiritual law of God, and is no way amended by the diſcipline thereof, this followeth that the law was given for ſalvation, (if it had found fit hearers) turneth to the occaſion of ſin and death. For ſince we are all proved to be tranſgreſſors of it, the more plainly that it revealeth the righteouſneſs of God, ſo much the more on the other ſide it diſcovereth our iniquity: the more ſurely that it confirmeth the reward of life and ſalvation laid up for righteouſneſs, ſo much the more certain it maketh the deſtruction of the wicked. So far is it off therefore that theſe ſayings ſhould be to the diſhonour of the law, that they much avail to the more glorious commendations of God's goodneſs. For truly it hereby appeareth that we are hindered by our own wickedneſs, and perverſeneſs, that we enjoy not the bleſſedneſs of life ſet openly abroad for us by the law. Whereby the grace of God that helpeth us without the ſuccour of the law, is made ſo much the ſweeter, and the mercy more lovely that giveth it unto us, whereby we learn that he is never wearied with often doing us good and heaping new gifts upon us.

The end why the law doth bring men to the ſight of their own miſery is not that they might deſpair, but that forſaking all confidence in themſelves, they might rely upon the mercy of God in Jeſus Chriſt alone.

8. And whereas the iniquity and condemnation of us all is ſealed by the teſtimony of the law, it is not done for this purpoſe (if at leaſt we well profit in it) to make us fall down with deſpair, or with diſcouraged minds to tumble down head long. Indeed the reprobate are amazed after that manner, but that is by reaſon of their obſtinacy, but with the children of God there behoved to be another end of inſtruction. I grant the apoſtle teſtifieth that we are all condemned by the judgment of the law, Rom. iii. 19. that every mouth may be ſtopped, and that all the world may become guilty before God. But yet the apoſtle in another place teacheth, Rom. xi. 32. that God hath concluded all under unbelief, not to deſtroy all, or to ſuffer all to periſh, but that he might have mercy on all, that leaving the fooliſh opinion of their own ſtrength, they might underſtand, that they ſtand and are holden up by the alone hand of God; that they being naked and empty, may flee to his mercy, that they may rely wholly upon it, hide themſelves wholly in it, take hold of it alone inſtead of righteouſneſs and merits, which is laid open in Chriſt for all men whoſoever they be that with true faith do deſire and look for it. For God in the commandments of the law appeareth but a rewarder of perfect righteouſneſs, whereof we are all deſtitute, and on the other ſide a rigorous judge of wicked doings. But in Chriſt his face ſhineth full of grace and lenity, even towards the wretched and unworthy ſinners.

9. Of the uſe and advantage of imploring the grace of his help, Auguſtine, *Epiſt.* 89. doth frequently ſpeak, as when he writeth to Hilary, The law commandeth that endeavouring to do the things commanded, and being wearied with our weakneſs under the law, we ſhould learn to aſk the help of grace. Again to Aſelius: *Epiſt.* 200. The uſe of the law is to convince man of his own weakneſs, and compel him to crave the phyſic of grace that is in Chriſt. Again, to Innocent of Rome, *Epiſtle* 95. The law commandeth, and grace miniſtreth ſtrength to perform. Again to Valentine, God commandeth thoſe things that we cannot do, that we may learn to know what to aſk of him. Again: The law was given to accuſe you, that, being accuſed, you ſhould fear, that, fearing, you ſhould crave pardon, and not preſume in your own ſtrength. Again, (*Lib. de correp. & gratia*) The law was given for this purpoſe, of great to make little, to ſhew that thou haſt no ſtrength of thine own to righteouſneſs, that thou as poor, unworthy and needy, ſhouldſt flee unto grace. After he turneth his ſpeech to God, and ſaith: Do ſo, Lord, do ſo, merciful Lord, command that which cannot be fulfilled; yea, command that which cannot but by thy grace be fulfilled, that when men cannot fulfil it by their own ſtrength, every mouth may be ſtopped, and no man may think himſelf great. Let all be little ones, and let all the world be guilty before thee. But I am not wiſe to heap ſo many teſtimonies, ſince that holy man hath written a book properly of that matter, which he hath intituled, *Of the ſpirit and letter.* The ſecond uſe he doth not ſo lively deſcribe, either becauſe he knew that it did depend upon the former, or becauſe he did not ſo well underſtand it, or becauſe he wanted

Man being condemned of ſin by the law, the effect thereof in the good is the craving of help from God, in the bad their deſpairing of themſelves without aſpiring to any helper.

ted words with which distinctly and plainly to express his meaning of it, which yet he rightly conceived: but this first office of the law is not idle even in the reprobate also. For though they go not thus far forward with the children of God, that after the subduing of their flesh, they be renewed and flourish again in the inward man, but amazed with the first terror do lie still in despair; yet it serveth to shew forth the equity of God's judgment, that their consciences are tossed with such ways. For they ever willingly desire to make shift against the judgment of God. Now while the same is not yet opened, they yet so astonished with the testimonies of the law and their conscience do discover in themselves what they have deserved.

The second office of the law is the bridling of their unrulinesse thro' fear of punishment, whom the spirit of sanctification hath not yet endued with an inward hearty desire otherwise to serve God.

10. The second office of the law, is that they who are touched with no care of that which is just and right, unless they be compelled, when they hear the terrible penal ordinances therein may be restrained at least with fear of punishment. But they are restrained, not because their inward mind is moved or affected withal, but because being as it were bridled, they withhold their hand from outward work, and do keep in their perverseness within them, which otherways they would have outragiously poured out. Thereby they become truly neither the better, nor the more righteous before God. For although being hindered either by fear or shame, they dare not put that in practice which they have conceived in their mind, nor openly blow abroad the rage of their lust: yet have they not a heart framed to the fear and obedience of God, yea, the more that they restrain themselves, so much the more ardently are they kindled within, they burn, they boil, ready to do any thing, and to break forth any whither, if this terror of the law did not stay them. And not that only, but also they most spitefully hate the law, and do detest God the lawmaker, so that if they could, they would very fain take him away, whom they cannot abide, neither when he commandeth righteous things, nor when he revengeth himself on the despisers of his majesty. In some indeed more darkly, and in some more plainly, but in all generally that are not regenerate, is this feeling, that they are drawn to the following of the law not by willing submission, but resisting and against their wills, only by violence of fear. But this constrained and enforced righteousness is necessary for the public common state of men, the quiet whereof is herein provided for, while care is taken that all things be not confounded with uproar, which would come to pass, if all things were lawful for all men. Yea, it is not unprofitable for the children of God to be exercised with this discipline, so long as they before their calling being yet destitute of the spirit of sanctification, are still wanton with the folly of the flesh. For when they are drawn back, though it be but from outward licentiousness, by the terror of God's vengeance, although for that they are not yet tamed in mind, they go for the present time but a little forward, yet they partly grow in use to bear the yoke of Christ, so that when they are called, they are not altogether rude and undisciplined, as to a thing unknown. This office the apostle (1 Tim. i. 9.) seemeth properly to have touched, when he saith that the law was not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly, and for sinners, for unholy and profane, for murderers of fathers, and murderers of mothers, for manslayers, for whoremongers, sodomites, robbers of children, liars and perjured men, and whatsoever else is against sound doctrine. For he saith, that it is a stay to the wild outraging lusts of the flesh, that else would stray abroad without measure.

Both sorts of men disciplined by the terror of the law as well they that would otherwise think too highly of their own righteousness, as they who too boldly would follow the sway of their own lust.

11. But to both may that be applied which he saith in another place, Gal. iii. 24. that the law was to the Jews a schoolmaster to Christ, for there are two sorts of men, whom with her discipline she leadeth by the hand to Christ. The one sort, of whom we first spake, because they are too full of reliance on their own strength or righteousness, are not meet to receive the grace of Christ, unless they be first emptied: therefore the law bringeth them down to humility by knowlege of themselves, that so they may be prepared to desire that which before they thought they wanted not. The other sort need a bridle to be holden back, lest they so give loose the reins to the wantonness of their flesh, that they fall off altogether from all study of righteousness. For where the spirit of God doth not yet govern, there sometimes lusts do so boil, that it is in great peril lest they throw down the soul that is subject to them into the forgetfulness and despising of God: and so would it come

come to pass if God did not with this remedy provide for it. Therefore those whom he hath appointed to the inheritance of his kingdom, if he do not by and by regenerate them, he keepeth them by the works of the law under fear, until the time of his visitation, not that chaste and pure fear such as ought to be in children, but yet a profitable fear for this that they may according to their capacity be taught by introduction to true godliness. Of this we have so many proofs, that it needeth no example. For whosoever hath any time continued in not knowing of God, will confess that this happened unto them, that they were holden by the bridle of the law in some fear and obedience of God, until the time that being regenerate by his spirit, they began heartily to love him.

The third office of the law respecting properly them that are regenerated by the spirit of grace, is first to instruct them what the will of God is, and secondly to beget in them an eager desire still more and more to go forward in observing it.

12. The third use, which is also the principal use, and more nearly respects the proper end of the law, concerneth the faithful, in whose hearts the spirit of God doth already live and reign. For although they have the law written and engraven in their hearts by the finger of God, that is to say, are so disposed and inclined by the direction of the spirit that they desire to obey God, yet do they still two ways profit in the law. For it is to them a very good mean, whereby they may daily better and more assuredly learn what is the will of the Lord which they aspire unto, and may be confirmed in the understanding thereof. As if a servant be already bent with all the affection of his heart, to please his master: yet hath he need diligently to search out and mark the manners of his master, that he may frame and apply himself unto them. And let none of us exempt himself from this need. For no man hath hitherto attained to so great wisdom, but that he may by daily instruction of the law get new profit in proceeding to the purer knowlege of God's will. Then because we need not only doctrine but also exhortation: this other advantage shall the servant of God take by the law, to be by the often meditation thereof stirred up to obedience, to be strengthened in it, to be holden back from the slippery way of offending. For after this manner must these holy ones drive forward themselves, which with how great chearfulness so ever they travel Godward according to the spirit, yet they are always loaden with the sluggishness of the flesh, that they proceed not with such full readiness as they ought. To this flesh is the law given as a whip, that like a slow and dull ass it may be pricked forward to work. Yea to the spiritual man, because he is not yet rid of the burden of the flesh, it shall be a continual incitement that suffereth him not to stand still. Even to this use David had respect, when he did extol the law of God with those notable praises, (Psal. xix. 8.) The law of the Lord is perfect converting the soul; the statutes of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart: the commandment of the Lord is pure enlightening the eyes, &c. Again, Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path. Psal. cxix. 105. with numberless others which he rehearseth throughout the whole of that Psalm. Neither are these things against the sayings of Paul, wherein is shewed, not what use the law ministreth to the regenerate, but what it is able to give to man of itself. But here the prophet reporteth with how great profit the Lord doth instruct them by reading of his law, to whom inwardly in inspireth a readiness to obey. And he taketh hold not of the commandments only, but also the promises of grace annexed to the things which only maketh the bitterness to wax sweet. For what were less amiable than the law, if it should only with requiring and threatning trouble souls carefully with fear, and vex them with terror? But specially David sheweth, that he in the law conceived the mediator, without whom there is no delight or sweetness.

The Law because it engendereth death, is not therefore to be shaken off, but must be followed as a rule which serveth to direct all the actions of our life.

13. Which while some unskilful men cannot discern, they boldly shake away all Moses, and bid the two tables of the law farewel, because they think it is not proper for christians to cleave to that doctrine that containeth the ministration of death. Let this prophane opinion depart far out of our minds. For Moses taught excellently well, that the same law which with sinners can beget nothing but death, ought in the holy to have a better and more excellent use. For thus, when he was ready to die, he openly said to the people: (Deut. xxxi. 6.) Lay your hearts upon all the words that I do testify to you this day, that ye may commit them to your children, that ye may teach them to keep, to do, and to fulfil all the things that are written in the

volume of this law, becauſe they are not vainly commanded you, but that every one ſhould live in them. But if no man can deny that there appeareth in it an abſolute pattern of righteouſneſs, then either we muſt have no rule at all, by which to live juſtly and uprightly, or elſe it is not lawful for us to depart from it. For there are not many rules of life, but one rule of life, which is perpetual and cannot be altered. Therefore, (Pſal. i. 2.) whereas David maketh the life of a righteous man continually employed in the meditation of the law, let us not refer that to one age only, becauſe it is moſt meet for all ages to the end of the world: and let us not therefore be frightened away, or flee from being inſtructed by it, becauſe it appointeth a much more exact holineſs than we ſhall perform, while ſhall carry about the perſon of our body. For now it executeth not againſt us the office of a rigorous exacter that will not be ſatisfied, but with his full taſk performed: but in this perfection to which it exhorteth us, it ſheweth us a mark, toward which in all our life to aim, is no leſs profitable for us, than agreeable with our duty. In which endeavour if we fail not, it is well. For all this life is a race, the ſpace whereof being run out, the Lord will grant us to attain to that mark, toward which our endeavours are directed a far off.

The abrogating of the law of God, to the faithful is their deliverance from the curſe threatened in the law, not from the duty of continual endeavouring to fulfil that which the law injoineth.

14. Now therefore, whereas the law hath toward the faithful a power to exhort, not ſuch a power as may bind their conſciences with a curſe, but ſuch as with often calling on, may ſhake off ſluggiſhneſs and urge imperfection to awaken it: many when they mean to expreſs this deliverance from the curſe thereof, do ſay, that the law is abrogate to the faithful. (I ſpeak yet of the moral law) not that it doth no more command them that which is right, but only that it be no more unto them that which it was before, that is, that it do no more, by making afraid and confounding their conſciences, damn and deſtroy them. And truly ſuch an abrogation of the law, Paul doth plainly teach, and alſo that the Lord himſelf ſpake of it, appeareth by this that he would not have confuted that opinion that he ſhould diſſolve the law, unleſs it had been commonly received among the Jews. But foraſmuch as it could not riſe cauſeleſly and without any colour, it is likely that it proceeded from a falſe underſtanding of his doctrine, as in a manner all errors are wont to take occaſion of truth but leſt we ſhould alſo ſtumble at the ſame ſtone, let us diligently make diſtinction, what is abrogate in the law, and what remaineth yet in force. Where the Lord proteſteth (Mat. v. 17.) that he came not to deſtroy the law but to fulfil it: and that till heaven and earth paſs away, not one jot of the law ſhould paſs away till all ſhould be fulfilled; he ſufficiently confirmeth that by his coming nothing ſhould be taken away from the due obſervance of the law. And for good cauſe: ſince he came rather for this end, to heal offences. Wherefore the doctrine of the law remaineth for all chriſtians, inviolable, which by teaching, admoniſhing, rebuking and correcting may frame and prepare us to every good work.

The bonds of the law from which we are looſed are thoſe exactions, the rigour and extremity whereof, if it were not mitigated, would cauſe deſpair, and not thoſe injunctions of obedience, the authority whereof doth and muſt ſtand in force for ever.

15. As for thoſe things that Paul ſpeaketh of the curſe, it is evident that they belong not to the very inſtruction, but only to the force of binding the conſcience. For the law not only teacheth, but alſo with authority requireth that which it commandeth. If it be not performed, yea if duty be ſlackened in any part, it bendeth her thunder bolt of a curſe. For this cauſe the apoſtle ſaith, (Gal. iii. 10.) that all they that are of the works of the law, are ſubject to the curſe, becauſe it is written: (Deut. xxvii. 26.) curſed is every one, that fulfilleth not all. And he ſaith, that they are under the works of the law, that do not ſet righteouſneſs in the forgiveneſs of ſins, by which we are looſed from the rigour of the law. He teacheth therefore that we muſt be looſed from the bonds of the law, unleſs we will miſerably periſh under them. But from what bonds? the bonds of that rigorous and ſharp exacting, that releaſeth nothing of the extremity of the law, and ſuffereth not any offence to paſs unpuniſhed. From this curſe (I ſay) that Chriſt might redeem us, he was made a curſe for us. For it is written: (Gal. iii. 13.) Curſed is every one that hangeth upon a tree. In the chapter following indeed he ſaith, (Gal. v. 4.) that Chriſt was made ſubject to the law, to redeem them that were under the law, but all in one meaning, for he ſoon after adds, that by adoption we might receive the right of children.

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What is that? that we ſhould not be oppreſſed with perpetual bondage, that ſhould hold our conſcience faſt ſtrained with anguiſh of death. In the mean time this always remaineth unſhaken, that there is nothing withdrawn of the authority of the law, but that it ought ſtill to be received of us with the ſame reverence and obedience.

The exerciſe of the ceremonial law taken away yet the holineſs thereof confirmed by the performance of that which was therein ſhadowed.

16. Of ceremonies it is otherwiſe, which we abrogate not in effect, but in uſe only. And this, that Chriſt by his coming hath made an end of them, is ſo far from diminiſhing in the leaſt from their holineſs, that it rather ſetteth them forth, and maketh them glorious. For as they ſhould have given but a vain ſhew to the people, unleſs the power of the death and reſurrection of Chriſt had been ſhewed therein, ſo if they had not ceaſed, we could not at this day diſcern to what purpoſe they were ordained. Therefore Paul to prove that the obſervation of them now is not only ſuperfluous, but alſo hurtful, (Col. ii. 17.) teacheth that they were ſhadows whereof we have the body in Chriſt. We ſee therefore how in the aboliſhing of them, the truth ſhineth better than if they did ſtill afar off, and as it were with a vail ſpread before, ſhew a figure of Chriſt that hath already plainly appeared. And therefore (Mat. xxvii. 51.) the vail of the temple at the death of Chriſt was torn in two pieces and fell down: becauſe now the true and expreſs image of the heavenly good things was come to light, which before had been but imperfectly begun with dark rude draughts, as the author of the epiſtle to the Hebrews ſaith (Heb. x. 1.) To this end ſerveth that ſaying of Chriſt, (Luke xvi. 26.) that the law and the prophets were unto the time of John, and that from that time forward, the kingdom of God began to be joyfully preached: not meaning that the holy fathers were without the preaching that containeth the hope of ſalvation, and of eternal life, but becauſe a far off, and under ſhadows only they did behold that which we at this day ſee in the full light. But why it behoveth that the church of God ſhould climb up higher from thoſe firſt inſtructions, John the Baptiſt declareth, (John i. 15.) for that the law is given by Moſes, but grace and truth came by Jeſus Chriſt. For although the purging of ſins was truly promiſed in the antient ſacrifices, and the ark of the covenant was a ſure pledge of the fatherly favour of God, yet all this had been but a ſhadow, if it had not been grounded upon the grace of Chriſt, wherein is found, perfect and eternal ſtedfaſtneſs. Let this then remain ſure, that although the ceremonial uſages of the law have ceaſed to be obſerved, yet by the end of them it is the better known how great was the profit of them before Chriſt's coming, which in taking away the uſe of them hath ſealed the force and effect of them with his death.

In what ſenſe the ceremonial law is termed a hand writing againſt them who did obſerve it.

17. Somewhat more difficult is this point that Paul takes notice of. And he hath renewed you together with him, when ye were dead by ſins, and the uncircumciſion of your fleſh, forgiving you all your offences, blotting out the hand writing that remained in the decrees againſt us, which was contrary unto us, and he hath taken it away, faſtening it to the croſs, &c. For it ſeemeth to ſtretch the aboliſhing of the law ſomewhat further that now we have nothing to do with the decrees thereof. For they err who expound it of the moral law whoſe unappeaſed rigour or rather the doctrine thereof they think to be taken away. Some conſidering the words of Paul more deeply do think that it is properly ſpoken of the ceremonial law, and do ſhew that this word decree, doth more than once ſignifie ſo in Paul. For to the Epheſians (Eph. ii. 14.) he ſayeth thus: he is our peace, that maketh both to be one, that maketh void the law of commandments conſiſting in the decrees, that he might make two in himſelf into one new man. Without queſtion he is there ſpeaking of the ceremonies, for he calleth it the partition by which the Jews were ſeparated from the Gentiles: wherefore I grant that thoſe firſt expoſitors are juſtly reproved by theſe: but yet methinks that theſe do not ſufficiently well ſet forth the mind of the apoſtle. For I like not at all, to have theſe two places compared together in all points, when his purpoſe was to advertiſe the Epheſians of their adoption into the fellowſhip of Iſrael, he teacheth that the impediment is removed by which they were formerly kept aſunder, that was in ceremonies. For the uſages of waſhings and ſacrifices, wherewith the Jews were made holy unto the Lord, do ſeparate them from the Gentiles. But in the epiſtle to the Coloſſians, who ſeeth not that he toucheth a higher myſtery? Indeed the point of diſpute there is about Moſaical obſervations to which the falſe apoſtles did labour to bring the chriſtian people. But, as in the e-

piſtle to the Galatians he ſearcheth that controverſy further off, and as it were bringeth it back to the firſt head thereof, ſo doth he alſo in this place. For if in the ceremonies you conſider nothing elſe but a neceſſity of the uſe of them, to what purpoſe was it, to call it a hand writing againſt us? moreover to ſet the whole ſum in a manner of our redemption in this, that it ſhould be cancelled? Wherefore the matter it ſelf crieth out, that here is ſome more ſecret thing to be conſidered. And I truſt that I have attained the natural underſtanding of it if at leaſt this be granted me to be true, which in one place is moſt truly written by Auguſtine, yea that he hath taken out of the plain words of the apoſtle, (Heb. vii. 9, 10.) that in the Jewiſh ceremonies was rather a confeſſion than a cleanſing of ſins. For what did they elſe by ſacrifices, but confeſs themſelves in their conſcience guilty of death, that did put cleanſings in their place? What did they with their cleanſings, but teſtify themſelves to be unclean? And ſo was the hand writing of their ſin and uncleanneſs oft renewed by them, but there was no diſcharge in that teſtifying thereof. For which cauſe the apoſtle writeth that at length by mean of the death of Chriſt, was performed the redemption of the offences that remained under the old teſtament. Therefore the apoſtle (Heb. ix. 15.) doth worthily call the ceremonies hand-writings againſt thoſe that obſerve them: foraſmuch as by them they did openly ſeal to their own damnation and uncleanneſs. And it hindereth not, that they were alſo partakers of the ſame grace with us. For this they obeyed in Chriſt, not in the ceremonies, which there the apoſtle doth diſtinguiſh from Chriſt, becauſe being at that time uſed, they did obſcure the glory of Chriſt. Thus learn we, that the ceremonies, if they be conſidered by themſelves, are well and fitly called hand-writings againſt the ſalvation of men, becauſe they were as ſolemn inſtruments that teſtified their being bound. When the falſe apoſtles went about to bind the chriſtian church to them again: Paul did not without cauſe admoniſh the Coloſſians, by fetching the ſignification of them further off, to what point they ſhould fall back again, if they ſuffered themſelves in ſuch ſort to be entangled by them. For therewithal was was the benefit of Chriſt wreſted away from them, in as much as he having once performed the eternal cleanſing, hath utterly aboliſhed thoſe daily obſervations which were only of force to ſeal ſinners, but could do nothing to the putting away of them.

CHAP. VIII.

An expoſition of the moral law.

The worſhip due to God, and the unrighteouſneſs which is in us, becauſe the inward law naturally written in our hearts cannot ſufficiently teach, therefore God himſelf hath given a law which doth.

HERE I think it ſhall not be from the purpoſe, to inſert the ten commandments of the law with a ſhort expoſition of them, becauſe thereby both that ſhall better appear which I have touched, that the ſame obſervation of them which God hath once appointed, remaineth yet in force: and then alſo we ſhall have beſides that a proof of the ſecond point, that the Jews did not only learn by it what was the true force of godlineſs, but alſo by the terror of the judgment ſince they ſaw themſelves unable to keep it, they were compelled whether they would or no, to be drawn to the Mediator. Now in ſetting forth the ſum of thoſe things that are required in the true knowlege of God, we have already taught, that we cannot conceive him according to his greatneſs, but that by and by his majeſty preſenteth itſelf unto us, to bind us to the worſhip of him. In the knowlege of our ſelves we have ſet this for the chief point, that being void of the opinion of our own ſtrength, and clean ſtripped of the truſt of our own righteouſneſs, and on the other ſide diſcouraged and beaten down with conſcience of our own needineſs, we ſhould learn perfect humility and abaſement of ourſelves. The Lord ſetteth forth both theſe points in the law, where firſt challenging to himſelf due power to govern, he calleth us to the reverence of his divine majeſty, and appointeth out unto us wherein it ſtandeth and conſiſteth: and then publiſhing a rule of his righteouſneſs, (againſt the righteouſneſs whereof our nature as it is perverſe and crooked, doth always ſtrive, and beneath the perfection whereof our power as of itſelf it is weak and feeble to do good, lieth a great way below) he reproveth us both of weakneſs and unrighteouſneſs. Moreover, that inward law which we have already ſaid is engraven and as it were imprinted in the hearts of all men, doth after a certain

a certain manner inform us of the ſame things that are to be learned of the two tables. For our conſcience doth not ſuffer us to ſleep a perpetual ſleep without feeling, but that it inwardly is a witneſs and admoniſher of thoſe things that we owe to God and layeth before us the difference of good and evil, and ſo accuſeth us when we depart from our duty. But man being wrapped in ſuch darkneſs of errors as he is, ſcarce even ſlenderly taſteth by that law of nature, what worſhip pleaſeth God: but truly he is very far diſtant from the right knowlege thereof. Beſide that, he is ſo ſwollen with arrogancy and ambition, and ſo blinded with ſelf love, that he cannot yet look upon, and as it were, deſcend into him ſelf to learn to ſubmit and humble himſelf, and confeſs his own miſery. Therefore (as it was neceſſary both for our dulneſs and ſtubborneſs) the Lord hath ſet us a law written, which ſhould both more certainly teſtify that which in the law natural was too obſcure, and alſo ſhould ſhake away our drouſineſs, and more lively touch our mind and remembrance.

By the law we underſtand that we owe God obedience and that he loveth righteouſneſs which we muſt ſeek after, not excuſing our ſelves by our incapacity which is no excuſe.

2. Now it is eaſy to underſtand what is to be learned of the law, that is, that as God is our creator ſo of right he hath the place of our father and Lord, and that by this reaſon we owe to him glory reverence, love, and fear. Yea, and alſo that we are not at our own liberty, to follow whither ſoever that luſt of our mind doth move us, but that we ought to depend upon his beck, and to reſt only upon that which pleaſeth him. Then we learn, that he delighteth in righteouſneſs, that he abhorreth wickedneſs, and therefore that unleſs we will with wicked unthankfulneſs fall away from our creator, we muſt neceſſarily obſerve righteouſneſs all our life long. For if then only we yield unto him the reverence that we owe, when we prefer his will before our own, it followeth, that there is no other due worſhip of him, but the obſervation of righteouſneſs, holineſs and purity. Neither may we pretend this excuſe that we want power, and like waſted debtors are not able to pay. For it is not convenient that we ſhould meaſure the glory of God by our own power: for whatſoever we be, he always remains like to himſelf a lover of righteouſneſs, a hater of wickedneſs. Whatſoever he requireth of us (becauſe he can require nothing but that which is right) by bond of nature we muſt of neceſſity obey: but that we are not able, is our own fault. For if we be holden bound of our own luſt wherein ſin reigneth, ſo that we are not looſe at liberty to obey our father, there is no cauſe why we ſhould alledge neceſſity for our defence, the evil whereof is both within us, and to be imputed unto our ſelves.

The law bringeth men by ſhip wreck to the haven.

3. When we have thus far profited by the teaching of the law, then muſt we by the teaching of the ſame law alſo deſcend unto our ſelves: whereby at length we may carry away two things. The firſt is, by comparing the righteouſneſs of the law with our life, to learn, that we are far off from being able to ſatisfy the will of God, and that therefore we are not worthy to have place among his creatures, much leſs to be reckoned among his children. The ſecond is, in conſidering our ſtrength, to learn that it is not only ſufficient to fulfil the law, but alſo utterly none at all. Hereupon followeth both a diſtruſt of our own ſtrength, and a care and fearfulneſs of mind. For conſcience cannot bear the burthen of iniquity, but that by and by the judgment of God is preſent before it: and the judgment of God cannot be felt, but that it ſtriketh unto us a dreadful horror of death. And likewiſe being conſtrained with proofs of her own weakneſs, it cannot chooſe but by and by fall into deſpair of her own ſtrength. Both theſe affections do beget humility and ſelf diffidence ſome where elſe. So at length it cometh to paſs, that man made afraid with feeling of eternal death, which he ſeeth to hang over him by the deſerving of his own righteouſneſs, turneth himſelf to the only mercy of God, as to the only haven of ſalvation: that feeling that it is not in his power to pay that he oweth unto the law, deſpairing in himſelf, he may take breath again and begin to crave and look for help.

The uſe of the promiſes and threatnings of the law.

4. But the Lord not contented to have procured a reverence of his righteouſneſs hath alſo added promiſes and threatnings to fill our hearts with love of him, and with hatred of wickedneſs. For, becauſe our minds is too blind, to be moved with the only beauty of goodneſs, it pleaſed the moſt merciful father of his tender kindneſs to allure us with ſweetneſs of rewards to love and long for him. He pronounceth therefore, that with him are rewards laid up for virtue, and that he ſhall not ſpend his labour in vain, whoſoever he be, that ſhall obey his commandments. He proclaimeth on the other ſide, that he not only abhorreth unrighteouſneſs, but alſo

alſo that it ſhall not eſcape unpuniſhed, for that he will be a revenger of the contempt of his majeſty. And to exhort us by all means he promiſeth as well the bleſſings of this preſent life as alſo eternal bleſſedneſs to their obedience that keep his commandments. and to the tranſgreſſors thereof, he threateneth both preſent miſeries and the puniſhment of eternal death. For the ſame promiſe, (Lev. xviii. 4.) he that doth theſe things ſhall live in them; and alſo the threatening that anſwereth it, (Ezek. xviii. 4. 20.) the ſoul that ſinneth, that ſame ſhall die, do without doubt belong to the immortality or death that is to come, and which ſhall never have an end: whereſoever is mentioned the good will or wrath of God, under the one is contained the eternity of life, under the other eternal deſtruction. Of preſent (Lev. xxvi. 4.) bleſſings and (Deut. xxviii. 1.) curſes there is a longer catalogue recited in the law. And in the penal ordinances appeareth the ſovereign purity of God, that can ſuffer no iniquity: but beſides that in his promiſes his great love of righteouſneſs appears, (which he cannot find in his heart to deprive of it's reward) there is in the ſame promiſes manifeſted alſo his marvellous goodneſs. For whereas we and all ours are indebted unto his majeſty, by good right whatſoever he requireth of us, he demandeth it as due debt, but the payment of debt is not worthy of reward. Therefore he departeth with his own right, when he offereth reward to our obedience, which we do not yield of ourſelves as things that were not due: but what thoſe promiſes do bring unto us, is partly ſaid already, and partly ſhall appear more plainly in place fit for it. It ſufficeth for this preſent if we remember and conſider, that there is in the promiſes of the law, no ſmall commendations of righteouſneſs, that it may the more certainly appear how much the obſervation of it is pleaſing in the ſight of God: that the penal ordinances are made to ſhew God's greater deteſtation of unrighteouſneſs, leaſt the ſinner delighted with the ſweet flatterings of vices, ſhould forget that the judgment of the lawmaker is prepared for him.

God by making his will and commandment the only rule of our obedience excludeth all our own additional inventions of pleaſing him as unpleaſant and unacceptable

5. Now whereas the Lord giving a rule of perfect righteouſneſs, hath applied all the parts thereof to his own will, therein is declared that nothing is to him more acceptable than obedience, which is ſo much more diligently to be obſerved as the wantonneſs of man's mind is more ready to deviſe now and then divers ſorts of worſhipping to gain his favour withal. For in all ages that irreligious affectation of religion, becauſe it is naturally planted in the wit of man, hath ſhewed and yet doth ſhew forth itſelf, that men do always delight to invent a way to obtain righteouſneſs beſide the word of God; whereby it cometh to paſs that the commandments of the law have but ſmall place among the works that are commonly called good works, while that innumerable rout of men's works occupieth almoſt all the room. But what other thing meant Moſes than to reſtrain ſuch licentiouſneſs when after the publiſhing of the law he ſpake thus to the people: (Deut. xii. 28.) give heed, and hear all the things that I command thee, that it may go well with thee and to thy children after thee for ever, when thou ſhalt do that which is good and pleaſant before thy God. What I command thee, that only do: add not unto it, nor diminiſh it. And before, Deut. iv. 9. when he had proteſted that this was his wiſdom and underſtanding before other nations, that he had received judgments, righteouſneſs, and ceremonies of the Lord, he ſaid further, keep therefore thy ſelf and thy ſoul carefully, that thou forget not the words which thine eyes have ſeen, and that at no time they fall out of thy heart. For, becauſe God did foreſee, that the Iſraelites would not reſt, but that after they had received the law, they would beſide it travel in bringing forth new righteouſneſs, if they were not ſeverely holden back: therefore he pronounceth that herein is contained the perfection of righteouſneſs, which ſhould have been the ſtrongeſt ſtay to hold them back, and yet they did not ceaſe from that boldneſs ſo much forbidden them. But what of us? we are ſurely comprehended within the ſame charge: for doubtleſs that continueth ſtill whereby the Lord hath challenged to his law the abſolute doctrine of righteouſneſs, yet we not contented therewith, do monſtrouſly labour with inventing and deviſing new good works one upon another. For the healing of this fault, the beſt remedy ſhall be, if this thought ſhall be ſtedfaſtly ſettled in us, that the law is given us from God to teach us a perfect righteouſneſs: that therein is taught no righteouſneſs, but the ſame that is examined, by the appointed rule of God's will; that therefore new forms of works are vainly attempted to gain the favour of God, the true worſhip of whom conſiſts only in obedience, but rather that ſuch ſtudy of good works as wandereth out of the law of God,

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is an insufferable defiling of God's righteousness and of the true righteousness. Augustine, (*Lib.* 4. *de civit. Dei cap.* 12. *de bono conjugali cont. adver. Legis & proph.* 6.) also saith most truly, who calleth the obedience that is done to God, sometimes the mother and keeper, sometimes the original of all virtues.

The first rule for the right understanding of the law is, that it requireth not only outward but inward holiness: which is plain to him that marks the difference between God and mortal law-makers.

6. But when we have expounded the law of the Lord, then more fitly and with more profit shall that be confirmed which I have before spoken of the office and use of the law. But before that I begin to speak to every particular commandment distinctly by itself, it will be of use now to give such lessons as serve to the universal knowlege thereof. First let us hold for determined, that the life of man is instructed in the law not only to outward honesty, but also to inward and spiritual righteousness. Which thing whereas no man can deny, yet there are few who do rightly observe it. That cometh to pass, because they look not upon the law-maker, by whose nature the nature of the law also ought to be weighed. If any king do by proclamation forbid to commit fornication, to kill or to steal: in this case I grant that if a man do only conceive in his mind a lust to commit fornication, to sin, or to steal, and do not commit any of these things indeed, he is out of the compass of this prohibition. And the reason is, for that because the foresight of a mortal law-maker, could not extend but to outward civility: his commandments are not broken, but when the outward offences are committed. But God (whose eye nothing escapeth, and who regardeth not so much the outward shew as the cleanness of the heart) under the prohibition of fornication, manslaughter and theft, forbiddeth lust, wrath, hatred, coveting, what is another's, guile, and whatsoever is like to these. For insomuch as he is a spiritual law-maker, he speaketh no less to the soul than to the body. But the manslaughter of the soul, are wrath and hatred; the thief of the soul, is evil desire and covetousness; the fornication of the soul, is lust. But human laws also (perhaps some will say) have regard to intention and inclination, and not to successes of fortune. I grant, but yet are such intention and inclination, as have outwardly broken out. They consider with what intent every outward act hath been done, but they search not the secret thoughts. Therefore they are satisfied when a man only withholdeth his hands from offending. On the other side, because the heavenly law is made for our minds, therefore the restraint of the mind is principally needful to the keeping thereof. But the common sort of men, even when they mightily dissemble their contempt of the law, do frame their eyes, their feet, their hands, and all the parts of their bodies to some observation of the law, in the mean time they hold their heart most far off from all obedience, and think themselves well discharged, if they conceal from men that which they do in the sight of God. They hear it said: Thou shalt not kill: Thou shalt not commit adultery: Thou shalt not steal: they draw not out their sword to kill: they join not their bodies with harlots: they lay not their hands upon other mens goods. All this is well hitherto. But in their whole hearts they breath, out murders, they boil in lust, they cast their eyes aside at all mens goods, and devour them with coveting. Now wanteth that which was the chief point of the law. Whence, I pray you, cometh so gross dulness, but that leaving the law-maker, they rather measure righteousness by their own wit? Against these doth Paul mightily cry out, affirming (Rom. vii, 14.) that the law is spiritual, whereby he meaneth, that it not only demandeth an obedience of the soul, mind and will, but also requireth an angelic pureness, which having all the filthiness of the flesh clean wiped away, may savour nothing but of the spirit.

This Christ sheweth by expounding the law, not by teaching a new and another law perfecter and better as some perniciously imagine.

7. When we say that this is the meaning of the law, we thrust not in a new exposition of our own, but we follow Christ the best expositor of the law. For when the Pharisees had infected the people with a false opinion, that he performeth the law that hath with outward work committed nothing against the law, he reproveth this most pernicious error, and pronounced that unchaste looking at a woman is fornication: he protested that they are murderers who hate their brother, for he maketh them guilty of judgment that have but conceived wrath in their mind, and them guilty of the counsel that in murmuring or grudging have uttered any token of a displeased mind: and them guilty of hell fire, that with taunts and railing break forth into open anger. They that have not discerned these things, have imagined Christ to be ano-

ther Moſes, the giver of the law of the goſpel which ſupplied the imperfection of the law of Moſes. Whereupon cometh that common principle of perfection of the law of the goſpel, which ſurpaſſeth the old law, which is a moſt pernicious opinion. For hereafter, where we ſhall gather a ſum of the commandments, it ſhall appear by Moſes himſelf, how reproachfully they diſhonour the law of God. Truly it ſheweth that all the holineſs of the fathers did not much differ from hypocriſy, and it leadeth us away from that only and perfect rule of righteouſneſs. But it is very eaſy to confute that error: for that they thought that Chriſt did add unto the law, whereas he did but reſtore the law to her integrity, while he made it free, and cleanſed it being obſcured with lies, and defiled with the leaven of the Phariſees.

The ſecond rule to underſtand the law by, is that in every commandment, more is meant than the naked words do literally import, and how much more, the ſcope of each commandment compared with the matter thereof together with the contrary will ſhew.

8. Let this be our ſecond obſervation, that there is always more contained in the commandments and prohibitions, than is literally expreſſed, which yet is ſo to be tempered, that it be not like a Leſbian rule, whereby licentiouſly wreſting the ſcriptures we may make of every thing what we pleaſe. For many bring to paſs by this unmeaſured liberty of running at large, that with ſome the authority of the ſcripture groweth in contempt, and others deſpair of underſtanding it. Therefore if it be poſſible, we muſt take ſome ſuch way, that may by right and perfect path lead us to the will of God, we muſt I ſay ſearch how far our expoſition may exceed the bounds of the words, that it may appear that it is not an addition of mens invention added to the word of God, but rather that the pure and natural meaning of the lawgiver is faithfully rendered. Truly in a manner in all the commandments it is ſo manifeſt; that there are figurative ſpeeches, meaning more in expreſſing part that he may worthily be laughed at that will reſtrain the meaning of the law to the narrowneſs of the words. It is evident therefore, that ſober expoſition doth paſs beyond the words: but how far, that remaineth hard to judge, unleſs there be ſome meaſure appointed: wherefore I think this to be the beſt meaſure, that if it be directed to the intent of the commandment, that is, that in every commandment be conſidered, why it was given us. As for example: every commandment is either by way of bidding, or of forbidding: the truth of both ſorts ſhall forthwith be found, if we conſider the intent or the end thereof. As the end of the fifth commandment is, that honour is to be given to them to whom God appointeth it. This therefore is the ſum of the commandment, that it is right and pleaſeth God, that we honour them to whom he hath given any excellency, and that he abhorreth contempt and ſtubbornneſs againſt them. The intent of the firſt commandment is, that God alone be honoured. The ſum therefore of the commandment ſhall be, that true godlineſs, that is to ſay, true worſhip of his majeſty pleaſeth God, and that he abhorreth ungodlineſs. So in every commandment we muſt look upon what matter it treateth: then muſt we ſearch out the end, till we find what the law-maker doth teſtify therein properly to pleaſe or diſpleaſe him: and laſt of all muſt we draw an argument from the ſame to the contrary, after this manner: if this pleaſeth God, then the contrary diſpleaſeth him: if this diſpleaſe him, then the contrary pleaſeth him: if he command this, then he forbiddeth the contrary: if he forbid this, then he commandeth the contrary.

That the forbidding of evil in the law, implieth a commanding of the contrary duties which are good.

9. That which is now ſomewhat darkly touched, ſhall in expounding of the commandments become very plain by practice, wherefore it ſufficeth to have touched it, ſaving that this laſt point, is to be ſhortly confirmed with ſome proof thereof, becauſe otherways either it ſhould not be underſtood, or, being underſtood, it might perhaps at the beginning ſeem to ſound like an abſurdity. This needeth no proof, that when a good thing is commanded, the evil is forbidden that is contrary to it: for there is no man but he will grant it me. And every one of common judgment will not much ſcruple to admit, that when evil things are forbidden, the contrary duties are commanded. It is an univerſal opinion that virtues are commended, when the contrary vices are condemned. But we require ſomewhat more than thoſe forms of ſpeech do ſignify commonly among the people. For they for the moſt part take the virtue contrary to any vice, to be the abſtaining from the ſame vice: we ſay that it proceedeth farther, that is to contrary duties and actions. Therefore in this commandment, Thou ſhalt not kill, the common ſenſe of men will conſider nothing elſe, but that we muſt abſtain from all

all doing of hurt, or inclination to do hurt. I ſay that there is further contained, that we ſhould by all the means in our power, ſuccour the life of our neighbour. And, leaſt I ſpeak without a reaſon, I prove it thus: God forbiddeth that our brother be hurt or ill uſed, becauſe he willeth that our neighbour's life be dear and precious unto us: he doth therefore require withal thoſe duties of love that may be done by us for the preſervation of it. And ſo may we ſee how the end of the commandment doth always diſcover unto us all that we are therein commanded or forbidden to do,

The cauſe why God hath forbidden the very ſecret motion unto ſin by the name of the groſs and actual deed, is that the foulneſs of ſuch terms might make us the better to underſtand the uglineſs of thoſe faults which being expreſt by more proper and ſoft names we would make leſs account of.

10. But why God, in ſuch as it were half commandments, hath by figures rather ſecretly ſignified, than expreſſed what his will was, whereas there are wont to be many reaſons rendered thereof, this one reaſon pleaſeth me above the reſt. Becauſe the fleſh always endeavoureth to extenuate the filthineſs of ſin and to coulour it with fair pretences, ſaving where it is even palpable for groſſneſs, he hath ſet forth for an example in every kind of offence that which was moſt wicked and abominable, at the hearing whereof our very ſenſes might be moved with horror thereby to imprint in our minds a more hainous deteſtation of every ſort of ſin. This many times deceiveth us in conſidering of vices, that if they be any thing ſecret we make them ſeem ſmall. Theſe deceits the Lord doth diſcloſe, when he accuſtometh us to refer all the whole multitude of vices to theſe principal heads which do beſt of all ſhew, how much every kind is abominable. As for example, wrath and hatred are not thought ſo hainous evils, when they are called by their own names, but when they are forbidden us under the name of man-ſlaughter, we better underſtand how abominable they are before God, by whoſe word they are ſet in the degree of ſo horrible an offence: and we moved by his judgement, do accuſtom our ſelves better to conſider the hainouſneſs of thoſe faults that before ſeemed but light unto us.

The reaſon of dividing the law into two parts or tables, whereof the former conteineth the duty which we owe properly unto God, is becauſe his worſhip is the fountain, head and foundation without which there can no good or acceptable duty paſs from man to man.

11. Thirdly is to be conſidered, what meaneth the dividing of the law of God into two tables whereof all wiſe men will judge that there is ſometimes mention made not unfitly from the purpoſe nor without cauſe. And we have a cauſe ready, that doth not ſuffer us to remain in doubt of this matter. For God ſo divided his law into two parts, in which is contained the whole righteouſneſs, that he hath aſſigned the firſt to the duties of religion that do peculiarly pertain to the worſhipping of his Godhead, the other to the duties of charity which belong unto men. The firſt foundation of righteouſneſs is the worſhip of God: which being once overthrown, all the other members of righteouſneſs are torn in ſunder and diſſolved, like to the parts of an houſe unjointed and fallen down. For what manner of righteouſneſs wilt thou call it, that thou vexeſt not men with robbery and extortions, if in the mean time by wicked ſacrilege thou ſpoileſt God's majeſty of his glory? that thou defileſt not thy body with furnication, if with thy blaſphemies thou prophanely abuſes the ſacred name of God? that thou murdereſt no man, if thou laboureſt to deſtroy and extinguiſh the memory of God. Wherefore righteouſneſs is vainly boaſted of without religion, and maketh no better ſhow than if a mangled body with the head cut of ſhould be brought forth for a beautiful ſight. And religion is not only the principal part of righteouſneſs but alſo the very ſoul wherewith it breatheth, and is quickned. For men keep not equity and love among themſelves without the fear of God. Therefore we ſay, that the worſhip of God is the beginning and foundation of righteouſneſs, becauſe when it is taken away, all the equity continence and temperance that men uſe among themſelves, is vain and trifling before God. We ſay alſo that it is the ſource and ſoul of righteouſneſs, becauſe hereby men do learn to live among themſelves ſoberly and without injuring one another if they reverence God as judge of right and wrong. Wherefore in the firſt table he inſtructeth us to godlineſs and the proper duties of religion, wherewith his majeſty is to be worſhipped: in the other he perſcribeth how for the fears ſake of his name, we ought to behave ourſelves in the ſociety of men. And for this reaſon our Lord (as the Evangeliſts, Matth. xxii. 27. Luk. xix. 27. rehearſe it) did in a ſum gather the whole law into two principal points, the one that we ſhould love God with all our heart, with all our ſoul, with all our ſtrength: the other that we love our neighbour as our ſelves. Thus thou ſeeſt how of the two

parts under which he comprehends the whole law, he directeth the one toward God, and appointeth the other toward man.

That in the former table beside a general preface to the law four commandments are contained, in the latter table six.

12. But although the whole law be contained in two principal points, yet to the end to take away all pretence of excuse, it pleased our God to declare in the ten commandments more largely and plainly all things that belong both to the honour, fear and love of himself, and also to that charity which he commandeth us to bear to men for his sake. And thy study is not ill spent to know the division of the commandments, so that thou remember that it is such a matter wherein every man ought to have his judgment free, for which we ought not contentiously to strive with him that thinketh otherwise. But we must needs touch this point, least the readers should either laugh or wonder at the division that we shall use, as new and lately devised. That the law is divided in ten words, because it is oft approved by the authority of God himself, it is out of controversy, wherefore there is no doubt of the number, but of the manner of dividing. They that so divide them, that they give three commandments to the first table, and put other seven into the second, do wipe out of the number the commandment concerning images, or at least they hide it under the first: whereas without doubt it is distinctly given by the Lord for a commandment, and the tenth commandment of not coveting the things of our neighbour, they do fondly divide into two. Besides that it shall be presently given to understand, that such manner of dividing was unknown in the pure age. Others do reckon as we do, four several commandments in the first table, but in place of the first they set the promise without the commandment. As for me, because unless I be convinced by evident reason, I take the ten words in Moses for ten commandments, methinks I see so many divided in very fit order. Therefore, leaving to them their opinion, I will follow that which I best allow, that is, that the same which these latter sort make the first commandment, shall be instead of a preface to the whole law, and then shall follow the commandments, four of the first table, and six of the second, in such order as they shall be rehearsed. Augustine (*Lib. 2 quæst. vet. Test.*) also to Boniface agreeth with us, who in reciting them observes this order: that God only be served with obedience of religion, that no idol be worshipped, that the name of the Lord be not taken in vain, when he had before distinctly spoken of the shadowish commandment of the Sabbath In another place indeed that first division pleaseth him, but for too slender a cause that is, because in the number of three, if the first table consist of three commandments, the mystery of the Trinity more plainly appeareth. Altho' in the same place he scruples not to confess that otherwise he rather liketh our division. Besides these, the author of the unperfect work upon Matthew is of our side. Josephus, undoubtedly according to the common consent of his time, assigneth to either table five commandments. Which is both against reason, because it confoundeth the distinction of religion and charity, and also is confuted by the authority of the Lord himself, who in Matthew rekoneth the commandment (Matth. xix. 19.) of honouring our parents, in the number of the second table. Now let us hear God himself speaking in his own words.

The First Commandment.

"I am the Lord thy God, who hath brought thee "out of the land of Ægypt, out of the house of "bondage. Thou shalt have no strange gods be- "fore my face."

To keep the law from growing into contempt the law-maker in the preface thereunto, useth three means; the first is a declaration of his greatness which to shew he termeth himself the Lord.

13. Whether you make the first sentence a part of the first commandment, or read it separately, it is indifferent unto me, so that you do not deny me that it standeth instead of a preface to the whole law. First in making of laws care is to be taken, that they be not shortly after abrogate by contempt. Therefore God first of all provideth, that the majesty of the law that he shall make, may never at any time come in contempt. For stablishing whereof he useth three manner of arguments. First, he challengeth to himself power and right of dominion, whereby he may constrain his chosen people, that they must of necessity obey him: then he setteth forth a promise of grace with the sweetness thereof to allure them to the study of holiness. Thirdly, he reciteth the benefit that he did for them, to reprove the Jews of unthankfulness, if they do not with obedience requite his kindness. Under the name of Jehovah, the Lord, is meant his authority and lawful dominion. And if all things be of him, and do abide in him, it is right that all things be referred to him, (Rom. xi. 36.) as Paul saith,

ſaith. Therefore we are with this word alone ſufficiently brought under the yoke of God's majeſty, becauſe it were monſtrous for us to ſeek to withdraw our ſelves from under his government, out of whom we cannot be.

The ſecond, a manifeſtation of his love towards them unto whom he gave the law, ſignifying in gracious words that he had betaken himſelf to be wholly theirs.

14. After that he hath ſhewed that it is he that hath power to command, to whom obedience is due, leaſt he ſhould ſeem to draw by neceſſity only, he alſo allureth with ſweetneſs in pronouncing, that he is the God of the church. For there is hidden in this ſpeech a mutual relation, which is contained in the promiſe: I will be to them a God, and they ſhall be to me a people. (Jer. xxxi. 8.) Whereupon Chriſt (Matth. xxii. 32.) proveth that Abraham Iſaac, and Jacob have immortal life, by this that God teſtifieth that he is their God. Wherefore it is as much in effect, as if he ſhould ſay thus: I have choſen you to be my people, not only to do you good in this preſent life, but alſo to give you the bleſſedneſs of the life to come. But to what end this tendeth, it is obſerved in divers places in the law. For when the Lord doth vouchſafe to deal thus mercifully with us, to call us into the company of his people, he chuſeth us (ſaith Moſes) Deut. vii. 6. and xiv. 2. that we ſhould be a peculiar people unto himſelf, a holy people, and ſhould keep his commandments. From whence alſo cometh this exhortation: (Levit. xix. 2.) Be ye holy, for I am holy. Now out of theſe two is derived that proteſtation that is in the prophet: A ſon honoureth his father, and a ſervant honoureth his maſter. If I be a maſter where is my fear? If I be a father, where is my love?

The third, a rehearſal of ſuch a benefit as could not but be unto them that received it, an everlaſting bond of dutiful obedience,

15. Now followeth the rehearſal of his benefit, which ought to be of ſo much more force to move us, as the fault of unthankfulneſs is more deteſtable even among men. He then did put Iſrael in remembrance of a benefit lately done, but ſuch a one as for the miraculous greatneſs thereof being worthy to be had in remembrance for ever, ſhould remain in force with their poſterity. Moreover it is moſt agreeable for this preſent matter. For the Lord ſeemeth to ſay that they were delivered out of miſerable bondage for this purpoſe, that they ſhould with obedience and readineſs of ſervice honour him, the author of their deliverance. He uſeth alſo, (to the end to hold us faſt in the true worſhipping of him alone) to ſet out himſelf with certain titles, whereby he maketh his ſacred majeſty to be diſtinctly known from all idols and falſe gods. For, as I ſaid before, ſuch is our ready inclination to vanity, joined with raſh boldneſs, that ſo ſoon as God is named, our mind cannot take heed to itſelf, but that it by and by falleth away to ſome vain invention. Therefore, when the Lord meaneth to bring a remedy for this miſchief, he ſetteth out his own Godhead with certain titles and ſo doth compaſs us in, as it were within certain grates, leaſt we ſhould wander hither and thither and raſhly forge ourſelves ſome new god, if forſaking the living God, we ſhould erect an idol. For this cauſe ſo oft as the prophets mean properly to point him out, they clothe him and as it were incloſe him, within thoſe marks, whereby he had revealed himſelf to the people of Iſrael. And yet when he is called (Exod. iii. 6.) the God of Abraham, or (Amos i. 2.) the God of Iſrael, when he is ſet in the temple of Jeruſalem among the cherubims, theſe and the like forms of ſpeech do not bind him to one place or to one people, but are ſet only for this purpoſe, to ſtay the thoughts of the godly on that God, who by his covenant, that he hath made with Iſrael, hath ſo repreſented himſelf, that it is no way lawful to vary from ſuch a pattern. But let this remain ſtedfaſtly imprinted, that there is mention made of the deliverance to this end, that the Jews might the more cheerfully give themſelves to the God that doth by right claim them unto him. And we (leaſt we ſhould think that the ſame does not at all belong to us,) ought to conſider, that the bondage of Ægypt is a figure of the ſpiritual captivity, wherein we are all holden bound, until our heavenly deliverer do make us free by the power of his arm, and convey us into the kingdom of liberty. As therefore when in the old time he minded to gather together the Iſraelites that were ſcattered abroad, to the worſhipping of his name, he delivered them out of the intolerable dominion of Pharaoh, wherewith they were oppreſſed: ſo all thoſe to whom at this day he profeſſeth himſelf a God, he doth now deliver from the deadly power of the devil, which was in a ſhadow ſignified by that corporeal bondage. Wherefore there is no man, but his mind ought to be inflamed to hearken to the law which he heareth to have proceeded from the ſovereign king. From whom as all things take their begin-

ning, ſo is it meet that they have alſo their end appointed and directed to him. There is no man (I ſay) but he ought to be raviſhed to embrace the law-maker, to the keeping of whoſe commandments, he is taught that he is peculiarly choſen: from whoſe bounty he looketh both for a plentiful ſtore of all good things, and alſo the glory of immortal life: by whoſe marvellous power and mercy, he knoweth himſelf to be delivered out of the jaws of death.

The firſt commandment where in to eſtabliſh his ſole pre-eminence over his people, he requireth that which is due to be given him, and him alone, as adoration, affiance, invocation, and thankſgiving; which if we do not yield unto him or do unto others with him, either in whole or in part, he hath a revenging eye to behold it, be it never ſo ſmall or ſecret.

16. After that he hath grounded and ſtabliſhed the authority of his law, he ſetteth forth the firſt commandment, "That we "have no ſtrange gods before "him." The end of this commandment is, that God will only have pre-eminence, and wholly enjoy his own authority among his people. And that it may be ſo, he commandeth that there be far from us all ungodlineſs and ſuperſtition, whereby the glory of his Godhead is either diminiſhed or obſcured: and for the ſame reaſon he commandeth, that we worſhip and honour him with true endeavour of godlineſs. And the very ſimplicity of the words themſelves do in a manner expreſs the ſame. For we cannot have God, but we muſt alſo comprehend therein all things that properly belong to him. Whereas therefore he forbiddeth us to have other gods, he meaneth thereby, that we ſhould not give away elſewhere that which is proper to him. For although the things that we owe unto God be innumerable, yet not unfitly they may be brought unto four principal points. Adoration, whereunto, as a thing depending upon it, is adjoined ſpiritual obedience of conſcience: truſt, invocation and thankſgiving. Adoration I call the reverence and worſhip which every one of us yieldeth unto him, when he ſubmitteth himſelf unto his greatneſs: wherefore I do not without cauſe make this a part thereof, that we yield our conſciences in ſubjection to his law. Truſt is an aſſuredneſs of reſting in him by acknowledging of his attributes, when repoſing all wiſdom, righteouſneſs, power, truth and goodneſs in him, we think ourſelves bleſſed with only partaking of him. Invocation, is a reſorting of our mind to his faith and help as to our only ſuccour, ſo oft as any neceſſity preſſeth us. Thankſgiving is a certain thankfulneſs whereby the praiſe of all good things is given unto him. Of theſe, as God ſuffereth nothing to be conveyed away elſewhere, ſo he commanded all to be wholly given to himſelf. Neither ſhall it be enough to abſtain from having any ſtrange God, unleſs thou reſtrain thy ſelf in this, that many wicked contemners are wont, who think the readieſt way, to ſcorn all religions: but true religion muſt go before, whereby our minds may be directed to the living God, with knowlege whereof they being endued may aſpire to reverence, fear and worſhip his majeſty, to embrace the communicating of all his good things, every where to ſeek for his help, to acknowlege and extol with confeſſion of praiſe the magnificence of his works, as to the only mark in all the doings of our life. Then that we beware of perverſe ſuperſtition, whereby our minds departing from the true God, are drawn hither and thither as it were unto divers gods. Wherefore, if we be contented with one God, let us call to remembrance that which is before ſaid, that all falſe gods are to be driven far away, and that the worſhip is not to be torn in ſunder, which he alone claimeth to himſelf. For it is not lawful to take away any thing from his glory, be it never ſo little, but that all things that belong to him may wholly remain with him. The little clauſe that followeth (before my face) encreaſeth the hainouſneſs: for that God is provoked to jealouſy, ſo oft as we thruſt our own inventions in his place, as if an unchaſte woman by bringing in an adulterer openly before her huſband's eyes ſhould the more vex his mind. Therefore when God teſtified that with his preſent power and grace he looked upon the people that he had choſen, the more to deter them from the wicked act of revolting from him, he giveth them warning that there can be no new gods brought in, but that he is witneſs and beholder of their ſacrilege. For this boldneſs is encreaſed with much wickedneſs, that man thinketh that in his flying away he can beguile the eyes of God. On the other ſide, God cryeth out that whatſoever we purpoſe, whatſoever we go about, whatſoever we practiſe, it cometh in his ſight. Let therefore our conſcience be pure even from the moſt ſecret thoughts of departing from him, if we will have our religion to pleaſe the Lord. For he requireth to have the glory of his Godhead whole and uncorrupted not only in outward confeſſion, but alſo in his eyes, which do behold the moſt ſecret corners of hearts.

The

The SECOND COMMANDMENT.

"Thou ſhalt not make to thee any graven image, "nor any likeneſs of thoſe things that are in "heaven above or in earth beneath, or in the "water under the earth. Thou ſhalt not wor-"ſhip them, nor ſerve them."

The end of the ſecond commandment being to keep the worſhip of God pure from prophanation, he forbiddeth firſt to make any image for repreſentation of God, and, ſecondly, to worſhip any image made.

17. As in the firſt commandment he pronounceth that he is the one God beſide whom there are no other gods to be deviſed or had, ſo now he more openly declareth what manner of God he is, and with what kind of worſhip he is to be honoured: that we may not preſume to forge any carnal thing for him. The end therefore of this commandment is, that he will not have the lawful worſhip of him, to be prophaned with ſuperſtitious uſages. Wherefore in ſum, he calleth and draweth us away from the carnal obſervations, which our fooliſh mind is wont to invent, when it conceiveth God according to her own groſſneſs. And therefore he frameth us to the lawful worſhip of him, that is the ſpiritual worſhip and which is appointed by him. He ſpeaketh of the groſſeſt fault that is in this offence, namely outward idolatry. And there are two parts of this commandment. The firſt reſtraineth our liberty, that we do not preſume to make ſubject to our ſenſes or by any form to repreſent God, which is incomprehenſible. The ſecond part forbiddeth us to honour any images for religion's ſake. Moreover he ſhortly reciteth all the forms wherewith he was wont to be expreſſed in ſhape, by the profane and ſuperſtitious nations. By thoſe things that are in heaven, he meaneth the ſun, the moon, and other ſtars, and perhaps likewiſe birds, as expreſſing his meaning in the fourth of Deuteronomy, Deut. iv. 15. he meaneth as well birds as ſtars. Which note I would not have ſpoken of, but that I ſaw ſome unſkifully to apply it to angels. Therefore I omit the other parts becauſe they are ſufficiently known of themſelves. And we have already in the firſt book taught plainly enough, that whatſoever viſible forms of God man doth invent, they are directly contrary to his nature, and that therefore ſo ſoon as images come forth, true religion is corrupted and defiled.

18. The penal ordinance that followeth ought not a little to avail to ſhake of our ſlothfulneſs. For he threatneth: That he is the Lord our God, a mighty and jealous God, that viſiteth the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation, in them that hate his name, and ſheweth mercy unto thouſands of them that love him and keep his commandments. This is as much in effect, as if he ſhould have ſaid, that is he only to whom he ought to adhere. And to induce us to this, he ſpeaketh of his power, that doth not without puniſhment ſuffer itſelf to be contemned or diminiſh. Here is indeed ſet the name *El*, which ſignifieth God. But becauſe it is derived of *power* to expreſs the ſenſe the better, I did not ſcruple ſo to tranſlate it, or to put it into the text. Then he calleth himſelf jealous that can abide no rival. Thirdly, he affirmeth, that he will be a revenger of his majeſty and glory if any do tranſfer it to creatures or to graven images, and that not with a ſhort or ſlender revenge, but ſuch as ſhall extend to the children and childrens children, and childrens childrens children, that is, ſuch as ſhall be followers of their fathers ungodlineſs: as alſo he ſheweth a perpetual mercy and bountifulneſs unto long continuance of poſterity, to thoſe that love him and keep his law: it is a common manner with God to take upon him the perſon of a huſband towards us. For the conjunction wherewith he bindeth himſelf unto us, when he receiveth us into the boſom of his church, is like unto a certain holy wedlock, that muſt ſtand by mutual faithfulneſs. As he doth all the duties of a faithful and true huſband, ſo again he requireth of us ſuch love and chaſtity as ought to be in wedlock, that we yield not our ſouls to Satan, to luſt, and to filthy deſires of the fleſh, to be defiled by them. Whereupon he that rebuketh the apoſtacy of the Jews, complaineth, Jer. iii. that they did throw away chaſtity, and were defiled with adulteries. Therefore, as the huſband, the more holy and chaſte that he himſelf is, the more is he kindled to anger, if he ſee his wife's mind incline to a ſtrange lover: ſo the Lord, Hoſea ii. that hath wedded us

The penalty annexed to the ſecond commandment, which the better to imprint, God mentioneth his power, his jealouſy, his practice in ſhewing both vengeance and mercy, not ſlightly but with long continuance as well of the one as the other: and the reaſon why God of himſelf as in the perſon of an huſband.

unto

unto himself in truth, testifyeth that he hath a most fervently burning jealousy, so oft as neglecting the pureness of his holy marriage, we are defiled with wicked lusts, but specially then when we transfer to any other, or do infect with any superstition the worship of his name, which ought to be most uncorrupted: forasmuch as by this mean we do not only break the faith given in wedlock, but also so defile the very wedding bed with bringing into it adulterers.

That by the punishment which God doth threaten to the children of the disobedient for their fathers fault, that spiritual curse is meant, whereby as the father being destitute of the Spirit liveth wickedly, so the son likewise forsaken of God, followeth the same way to destruction.

19. In the threatning is to be seen what he meaneth by this, when he saith, that he will visit the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation. For besides that it consists not with the equity of God's justice, to punish the innocent for another's offence, God himself also saith, that he will not make the son to bear the wickedness of the father, Ezek. xviii. 20. But this sentence is more than once repeated, of prolonging the punishment of the sins of the ancestors upon the generation to come. For so doth Moses oftentimes speak unto him, Numb. xiv. 8. Lord, Lord, that rendereſt the iniquity of the fathers to the children, unto the third and fourth generation. Likewise Jeremiah, (Jer. xxxii. 18.) Thou that shewest mercy to thousands, that rendereſt the iniquity of the fathers into the bosom of the children after them. Many while they labour much in loosing this knot, think that it is to be understood only of temporal punishments, which if the children suffer for the parents faults, it is no absurdity, for as much as they are often laid upon them for their salvation, which is indeed true. For Isaiah declared to Hezekiah, Isa. xxxix. 7. that his sons should be spoiled of the kingdom, and carried into exile for the sin that he had committed. The houses of (Gen. xii. 17.) Pharaoh and (and xx. 3.) Abimelech were plagued for offending Abraham. But when that is alleged for deciding this question, it is rather a shift than a true exposition. For here and in parallel places he threateneth a more grievous revenge than may be limited within the bounds of this present life. It is therefore thus to be understood: that the just curse of the Lord lieth not only upon the head of the wicked man himself, but also upon his whole family: when the curse once lieth upon them, what is else to be looked for, but that the father being destitute of the Spirit of God, live most wickedly, and the son likewise forsaken of the Lord for the father's fault, does follow the same way of destruction: and finally the child's child, and the child of the child's child, the cursed seed of detestable men do fall headlong after them?

That for God so to plague men in their posterity, it is neither unjust nor repugnant unto that which the prophet hath where he teacheth how childrens teeth are not set on edge by the sowre grapes which their fathers have eaten.

20. First, let us see whether such revenge be unseemly for the justice of God. If all the nature of man be damnable, we know that destruction is prepared for them, to whom the Lord vouchsafeth not to communicate his grace. Nevertheless they do perish by their own unrighteousness, and not by unrighteous hatred of God. Neither is there left any cause to quarrel: Why they are not assisted by the grace of God to salvation as others are. Whereas therefore this punishment is laid upon wicked men and evil doers for their offences that their houses are deprived of the grace of God during many generations: who can accuse God for this most just revenge? But the Lord on the other side pronounceth, that the punishment of the father's sin shall not pass over unto the son. Observe what is there treated of. When the Israelites had been long and continually vexed with many calamities, they began to use for a proverb, that their fathers had eaten a sowre grape, wherewith the childrens teeth were set on edge: whereby they meant that their fathers had committed sins, whereof they, being otherwise righteous, and not deserving it, did suffer the punishment rather by the unappeasable wrathfulness of God, than by a moderate severity. The prophet pronounceth unto them that it is not so: because they are punished for their own offences, and that it standeth not with the justice of God that the righteous son should suffer punishment for the naughtiness of the wicked father. Which thing also is not contained in this present ordinance. For if the visiting, whereof mention is now made, be fulfilled when the Lord taketh away from the house of the wicked his grace, the light of his truth and other means of salvation: in this that the children being blinded and forsaken of him, do go on in the steps of their fathers, they sustain curses for their fathers offences. But inasmuch as they are put to temporal miseries, and at last to eternal destruction, herein they are punished by the just judgment of God,

God not for the sins of others, but for their own iniquity.

The promise of mercy towards them and their, that fear God, begets comfort, is not varied by their issues, swerving sometimes out of kind, and it setteth out the largeness of his mercy to exceed the rigour of his justice.

21. On the other side is offered a promise of enlarging the mercy of God into a thousand generations, which promise is also often found in the scriptures, and is set in the solemn covenant of the church: I will be thy God and of thy seed after thee. Which thing Solomon having respect unto, writeth that the children of the righteous shall be blessed after their death, not only by reason of holy bringing up, which also not a little availeth thereunto, but also for that blessing promised in the covenant, that the grace of God shall rest eternally in the houses of the godly. Hereupon groweth great comfort to the faithful, great terror to the wicked. For if even after death, the remembrance both of righteousness and wickedness be of so great force with God, that the cursing of the one, and the blessing of the other redoundeth unto posterity, much more shall it light and rest upon the heads of the doers themselves. But it maketh nothing against us, that the issue of the wicked many times cometh to good proof, and the issue of the faithful swerveth out of kind: because the lawmaker meant not here to establish such a perpetual rule as should derogate from his free election. For it sufficeth for the comfort of the righteous, and for the terror of the wicked, that the penalty is not vain or of no effect, although it do not always take place. For as the temporal punishments that are laid upon a few wicked men, are testimonies of the wrath of God against sins, and of the judgment that shall one day be given upon all sinners, although many escape unpunished even to the end of their life: so when God giveth one example of this blessing to shew mercy and bountifulness to the son for the father's sake, he giveth a proof of his constant and perpetual favour to them that worship him; and when he once pursueth the wickedness of the father in the son, he sheweth what judgment is prepared for all the reprobate for their own offences. Which assuredness he had in this place principally respect unto. And by the way he commendeth unto us the largeness of his mercy, which he extendeth unto a thousand generations, whereas he assigned but only four generations to vengeance.

The Third Commandment.

"Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy "God in vain."

The end of the third commandment is the holy estimation of God's name which excludeth all ideas and speeches concerning him which are not agreeable to his greatness all irreverend mentioning of his word all carping at his works and if all rash, much more all impious abusing thereof.

22. The end of this commandment, is that his pleasure is to have the majesty of his name hallowed among us. Therefore the sum shall be that we do not defile it with the contemptuous and irreverent use of it. With which prohibiton the commandment hangeth orderly together, that we take study and care godlily to reverence it. Therefore we ought so to order our selves both in our minds and in our tongues, that we neither think nor speak any thing of God himself or his mysteries, but reverently and with much sobriety: that in considering his works we conceive nothing but what is honourable toward him. These three things I say, it behoveth us not negligently to mark, that whatsoever our mind conceiveth of him, whatsoever our tongue uttereth, it may savour of his excellency, and may agree with the holy highness of his name: and finally may serve to advance his magnificence. That we do not rashly or disorderly abuse his holy word and reverend mysteries either to ambition, or to covetousness, or to our own triflings: but that as they bear the dignity of his name imprinted in them, so they may keep their honour and estimation among us. Last of all, that we do not carp against or speak evil of his works, as these wretched men are wont to babble reproachfully against them: but that whatsoever we rehearse done by him, we report it with words of praise of his wisdom, righteousness and goodness. That is to sanctify the name of of God. Where otherwise done it is defiled with vain and perverse abuse, because it is violently carried from the right use to which only it was appointed: and though there be no other hurt done, yet it is spoiled of his dignity, and by little and little brought to contempt. Now, if there be so much evil in this rash readiness to use the name of God out of season, much more mischief is in this, if it be employed to evil uses, as they do that make it to serve the superstitions of Necromancy, cruel execra-

tions, unlawful conjurations, and other wicked enchantments. But ſwearing is chiefly mentioned in the commandment, as the thing wherein the perverſe abuſe of God's name is moſt deteſtable, that thereby we may be the better deterred from all defiling thereof. But that here is commandment given of the worſhip of God, and of the reverence of his name, and not of the truth and equity that is to be kept among men, appeareth from hence that he afterward in the ſecond table condemneth perjury and falſe witneſs, whereby hurt is done to human ſociety: but it were in vain to repeat it again, if this commandment treated of the duty of charity. And alſo the diviſion of the law it ſelf requireth it, becauſe as it is ſaid, God did not in vain appoint two tables for his law, from whence it is gathered that in this commandment he challengeth his own right to himſelf, and defendeth the holineſs of his name, and teacheth not what men owe to men.

The reverence God requireth to be given to his name in oaths.

23. Firſt let us ſee what is an oath. It is a taking of God to witneſs, to confirm the truth of that which we ſpeak. For thoſe curſed ſpeeches that contain manifeſt reproaches againſt God, are unworthy to be reckoned among oaths. That ſuch taking to witneſs, when it is rightly done, is a kind of worſhipping of God, is ſhewed in diverſe places of the ſcripture. As when Iſaiah propheſieth of the calling of the Aſſyrians and Ægyptians into fellowſhip of the covenant with Iſrael, they ſhall ſpeak (ſaith he) in the tongue of Canaan, and ſhall ſwear in the name of the Lord. That is to ſay, in ſwearing by the name of the Lord, they ſhall yield a confeſſion of his religion. Again, when he ſpeaketh of the enlargement of his kingdom, he ſaith, whoſoever ſhall bleſs himſelf, ſhall bleſs himſelf in the God of truth: and he that ſhall ſwear in the land ſhall ſwear in the true God. Jeremiah ſaith, xii. 16. if they ſhall teach the people to ſwear in my name as they have taught them to ſwear by Baal, they ſhall be builded up in the midſt of my houſe. And for good cauſe it is ſaid, that when we call upon the name of the Lord to witneſs, we do witneſs our religion toward him. For ſo we confeſs that he is the eternal and unchangeable truth, whom we call upon, not only as a moſt ſubſtantial witneſs of truth above all others but alſo as the only defence thereof, which is able to bring forth hidden things into light, and then as the knower of hearts. For where human teſtimonies fail, there we flee to God for witneſs, ſpecially where any thing is to be proved that lieth ſecret in conſcience. For which cauſe the the Lord is exceeding angry with them that ſwear by ſtrange Gods, and he judgeth that manner of ſwearing to be an argument of manifeſt revolting from his allegiance: Thy ſons have forſaken me, and do ſwear by them that are no Gods. And he declareth the hainouſneſs of this offence by the threatning of puniſhment: (Jer. v. 7. Zeph. i. 5.) I will deſtroy them that ſwear by the name of the Lord and ſwear by Melchan.

Perjury, a profanation of the name of God.

24. Now then we underſtand that it is the Lord's will that there be in our oaths a reverence of his name: ſo much the more diligent heed is to be taken, that in ſtead of reverencing they do not contain diſhonour, contempt or abaſement of it. For it is no ſmall diſhonour, when perjury is committed in ſwearing by him, wherefore it is called in the law, profanation. For what is left to the Lord when he is ſpoiled of his truth? he ſhall then ceaſe to be God. But truly he is ſpoiled thereof when he is made an affirmer and approver of falſehood. Wherefore, when Joſ. vii. 9. Joſhua minded to drive Achan to confeſs the truth he ſaid: my ſon give glory to the Lord of Iſrael, meaning thereby, that the Lord is grievouſly diſhonoured if a man ſwear falſly by him. And no wonder for we do as much as in us lyeth, in a manner to ſtain his holy name with a lye. And that this manner of ſpeech was uſed among the Jews ſo oft as any was called to take an oath appeareth by the like proteſtation that the Phariſees uſe in the Goſpel of John. John ix. 24. To this heedfulneſs the forms of oaths that are uſed in the ſcriptures do inſtruct us: 1. Sam. xiv. The Lord liveth, 2 King. vi. 31. the Lord do theſe things unto me, and add theſe things, 2. Cor. i. 23. The Lord be witneſs upon my ſoul. Which do prove that we cannot call God for witneſs of our ſayings, but that we alſo wiſh him to take vengeance of our perjury, if we ſpeak deceitfully.

The name of God abuſed when uſed as a witneſs though in truth yet wantonly without any urgent cauſe.

25. The name of the Lord is made vile and common, when it is uſed in ſuperfluous oaths although they be true. For in ſuch caſe it is alſo taken in vain. Wherefore it ſhall not be ſufficient to abſtain from ſwearing falſly, unleſs we do alſo remember, that ſwearing was ſuffered and ordained not for luſt or pleaſure, but for neceſſity's ſake: and therefore they go beyond the lawful uſe thereof, that apply it to things not neceſſary. And there can no other neceſſity be pretended but where it is to ſerve either re-

religion or charity, wherein at this day men do too much licentiously offend, and so much the more intolerably because by very custom it hath ceased to be reckoned for any offence at all, which yet before the judgment seat of God is not slighty considered. For every where without regard the name of God is defiled in trifling conversation, and it is not thought that they do evil, because by long suffered and unpunished boldness, they are come to rest as it were in possession of so great wickedness. But the commandment of the Lord remaineth in force, the penalty abideth in strength, and shall one day have its effect, whereby there is a certain special revenge proclaimed against them that use his name in vain. This commandment is also transgressed in another point, that in our oaths we put the holy servants of God in the place of God, with manifest ungodliness, for so we transfer the glory of his Godhead to them. Deu. vi. 13. & x. 20. Neither is it without cause that the Lord hath given a special commandment to swear by his name, and by special prohibition forbidden, Exod. xxiii. 13. that we should not be heard swear by any strange gods. And the Apostle evidently testifieth the same, when he writeth, that men in swearing do call upon a higher than themselves, and that God who had none greater than his own glory to swear by, did swear by himself.

The folly of Anabaptists in collecting the simple unlawfulness of all oaths out of the words of our Saviour Christ.

26. The Anabaptists not contented with this moderation of swearing, do detest all oaths without exception, because the prohibition of Christ is general, Matt. v. I say unto ye, swear not at all, but let your conversation be yea, yea, and nay, nay, whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil. But by this mean, they do without consideration stumble against Christ: while they make him adversary to his father, and as if he had come down from heaven to repeal his father's decrees. For the eternal God doth not only in the law (Ex. xxii. 11.) permit swearing as a thing lawful, which were enough: but also in necessity doth command it. But Christ affirmeth that he is all one with his father: John vii. 16. that he bringeth no other thing, but that which his father commanded him, that his doctrine is not of himself, &c. What then? will they make God contrary to himself, who shall afterwards forbid and condemn the same thing in mens conduct which he hath before allowed by commanding it? But because there is some difficulty in the words of Christ, let us consider them a little. But herein we shall never attain the truth, unless we consider the intention of Christ, and take heed unto the purpose that he there goeth about. His purpose is not either to release or restrain the law, but to reduce it to the true and original meaning, which had been very much depraved by the false glosses of the Scribes and Pharisees. If we carefully attend to this we shall not imagine Christ did condemn oaths altogether but only those which are transgressions of the rule of the law. Hence it appeareth, that the people at that time did forbear no manner of swearing but perjuries, whereas the law doth not only forbid perjuries, but also all idle and superfluous oaths. The Lord (Matt. v. 34.) therefore the most sure expositor of the law, doth admonish them, that it is not only evil to swear falsely, but also to swear. But how to swear? in vain. But as for these oaths that are commanded in the law, he leaveth them safe and at liberty. They seem to fight somewhat more strongly when they take earnest hold of this word. *At all*, which yet is not referred to the word *swear*, but to the forms of swearing that are after rehearsed. For this was also part of their error, that when they did swear by heaven and earth, they thought that they did not touch the name of God. Therefore after the principal kind of offence against this commandment, the Lord doth also cut off from them all by shifts that they should not think that they have escaped, if not speaking of the name of God they call heaven and earth to witness. For here by the way it is also to be observed, that although the name of God be not expressed, yet men by indirect forms do swear by him, as if they swear by the lively light, by the bread that they eat, by their baptism or other tokens of God's goodness towards them. Neither doth Christ in that place where he forbiddeth them to swear by heaven and earth and Jerusalem, speak it to correct superstition, as some men falsely think, but he rather confuteth their sophistical subtilty who thought it no fault babblingly to throw out indirect oaths, as though they spared the holy name of God, which is ingraven in all his benefits. But otherways it is, where either a mortal man, or a dead man, or an angel is put in the place of God: as among the prophane nations flattery devised that stinking form of swearing by the life or soul of the king: for then the false making of gods doth obscure and diminish the glory of the one only God. But when we mean only, to procure credit to our saying by the holy name of God, although the same be indirectly done, yet in all such trifling oaths his majesty is offended. Christ taketh from this licentiousness, all pretence of excuse, in this, that he forbiddeth

to ſwear at all. And (Jam. v. 12.) James to the ſame purpoſe, reciting the ſame words of Chriſt which I have before alleged, becauſe the ſame raſh boldneſs hath always been in the world, which is a profane miſuſing of the name of God. For if ye refer this word, *at all*, to the ſubſtance, as if without any exception it were altogether unlawful to ſwear: wherefore ſerveth that expoſition which is added afterward: neither by heaven nor by earth, &c? Whereby it ſufficiently appeareth that thoſe cavils are met withal, by which the Jews thought their fault to be excuſed.

Oaths not only publick but alſo private ſoberly and reverently taken allowable and according both to reaſon and to approved examples.

27. Therefore it cannot now be doubtful to ſound judgments, that the Lord in that place did only reprove thoſe oaths that were forbidden by the law. For he himſelf who ſhewed in his life an exemplar of the perfection that he taught, did not ſtick to ſwear when occaſion required. And his diſciples, who (we doubt not) did obey their maſter in all things, followed the ſame example: who dare ſay that Paul would have ſworn, if ſwearing had been utterly forbidden? but when the matter ſo required, he ſware without any ſticking at it, yea, ſometimes adding an execration. But this queſtion is not yet ended, becauſe ſome do think that only public oaths are excepted out of this prohibition, as thoſe oaths that we take when the magiſtrate doth offer them to us and require them of us. And ſuch as princes uſe to take in ſtabliſhing of leagues, or the people when they ſwear allegiance to their prince, or the ſoldier when he is put to an oath for his true ſervice in the war, and ſuch like. And to this ſort they adjoin, and that rightfully, ſuch oaths as are in Paul, to confirm the dignity of the goſpel, for as much as the apoſtles in their office are not private men but public miniſters of God. And truly I deny not that thoſe are the ſafeſt oaths, becauſe they are defended with ſoundeſt teſtimonies of ſcripture. The magiſtrate is commanded in a doubtful caſe to drive the witneſs to an oath, and he on the other ſide to anſwer by oath: and the apoſtle ſaith, that mens controverſies are by this mean ended. In this commandment both theſe have a perfect allowance of their offices. Yea, and we may obſerve, that among the old heathen men, the public and ſolemn oath was had in great reverence, but common oaths that were uſually ſpoken without conſideration, were either nothing or very little regarded, becauſe they thought that in theſe they had not to do with the majeſty of God at all. But yet it were too much dangerous to condemn private oaths, that are in neceſſary caſes ſoberly, holily, and reverently taken, which are maintained both by reaſon and examples. For if it be lawful for private men in a weighty and earneſt matter to appeal to God as judge between them, much more is it lawful to call him to witneſs. Put the caſe: thy brother will accuſe thee of falſe breach of faith, thou endeavoureſt to purge thyſelf according to the duty of charity, and he by no means will ſuffer himſelf to be ſatisfied. If thy reputation be in danger by his obſtinate malicioufneſs, thou ſhalt without offence appeal to the judgment of God, that it will pleaſe him in time to make thine innocency known. Now if the weight of the words be conſidered, it is a leſs matter to call him to witneſs. Therefore I ſee not why in this caſe we ſhould affirm, that the calling him to witneſs is unlawful. And we are not without many examples thereof. For though the oath of Abraham (Gen. xxi. 24.) and Iſaac with Abimelech be ſaid not to ſerve for our purpoſe, becauſe it was made in the name of a public company, yet (xxvi. 31. and xxxi. 53.) Jacob and Laban were private men, who ſtabliſhed a covenant with mutual oath between themſelves. Boaz (Ruth. iii. 13.) was a private man who by the ſame mean confirmed his promiſe of marriage to Ruth. Obadiah (1 Kings xviii. 10.) was a private man, a juſt man and fearing God, who affirmed unto Elijah by oaths, the thing that he meant to perſuade him. Therefore I have no better rule, but that oaths be ſo tempered, that they be not unadviſed, that they be not common without regard, that they be not uſed of raging luſt, nor triffling, but that they ſerve juſt neceſſity, as where the Lord's glory is to be maintained, or the edification of our brother furthered, to which end the commandment of the law tendeth.

The Fourth Commandment.

" Remember that thou keep holy the ſabbath day.
" Six days ſhalt thou labour and do all thy
" works. But on the ſeventh day is the ſab-
" bath of the Lord thy God. In it thou ſhalt
" do no work, &c.

Three cauſes conſiderable in the fourth command-

28. The end of this commandment is, that we being dead to our own affections and works, ſhould be employed in medi-

ment concerning the observation of the sabbath day

meditation of the kingdom of God, and to the same meditation should be exercised, by such means as he hath ordained. But because this commandment hath a peculiar and distinct consideration from the rest, therefore it must have also a distinct manner of exposition. The old writers use to call it a shadowish commandment, for that it containeth the outward observation of the day, which by the coming of Christ was taken away with the other figures. Wherein I grant they say truly, but they touch but half the matter. Wherefore we must fetch the exposition of it further off. And (as I think) I have marked that there are three causes to be considered, whereupon this commandment depends. For first the heavenly lawmaker meant under the rest of the seventh day, to set out in figure to the people of Israel the spiritual rest, whereby the faithful ought to cease from their own works, that they might suffer God to work in them. Secondly, his will was to have one appointed day, wherein they should meet together to hear the law, and execute the ceremonies, or at least bestow it peculiarly to the meditation of his works: that by such calling to remembrance, they might be exercised to godliness. Thirdly, he thought good to have a day of rest granted to servants, and such as lived under the government of others, wherein they might have some ceasing from their labour.

The Sabbath a figure of spiritual rest.

29. But we are many ways taught that the same shadowing of the spiritual rest, was the principal point in the Sabbath. For the Lord requireth the keeping of no commandment in a manner more distinctly, than this: when his meaning is in the prophets to declare that all religion is overthrown, then he complaineth (Num. xiii. 22.) that his Sabbaths are polluted, (Jer. xvii. 12. and 27.) defiled, not kept, nor (Exod. xxxi. 13. and xxxv. 2.) sanctified: as though that piece of service being omitted, there remained no more wherein he might be honoured. He did set forth the observing thereof with high praises. For which cause the faithful did among other oracles marvellously esteem the reviling of the Sabbath. For in (Neh. ix. 14.) thus spake the Levites in a solemn convocation, Thou hast shewed to our fathers thy holy Sabbath, and hast given them the commandments and the ceremonies, and the law by the hand of Moses. You see how it is had in singular estimation among all the commandments of the law. All which things do serve to set forth the dignity of the mystery, which is very well expressed by Moses and Ezekiel. Thus you have in Exodus, See that ye keep my Sabbath day, because it is a token between me and you in your generations: that you may know that I am the Lord that sanctify you: keep my Sabbath, for it is holy unto you. Let the children of Israel keep the Sabbath and celebrate it in their generations, it is an everlasting covenant between me and the children of Israel, and a perpetual token. Yet (in Ezek. xx. 12.) speaketh more at large. But the sum thereof cometh to this effect, that it is for a token whereby Israel should know that God is their sanctifier. If our sanctification be the mortifying of our own will, then appeareth a most apt relation of the outward sign with the inward thing itself, we must altogether rest, that God may work in us: we must depart from our own will, we must resign up our heart, we must banish all lusts of the flesh. Finally, we must cease from all the doings of our own wit, that we may have God working in us: that we may rest in him, as the apostle (Heb. iii. 13. and iv. 9.) also teacheth.

God's appointing the seventh day for the Sabbath, and his ratifying the same, by his own example, was to confirm the perfection of that everlasting rest whereof the sabbath day being a figure is appointed on a day which following in orderly numeration beareth the name of a perfect number.

30. This perpetual ceasing was represented to the Jews, by the keeping of one day among seven: which day, to make it be observed with greater devotion, the Lord commended with his own example. For it availeth not a little to stir up man's endeavour, that he may know that he tendeth to the following of his creator. If any man search for a secret signification in the number of seven: forasmuch as that number is in the scripture the number of perfection, it was not without cause chosen to signify everlasting continuance. Wherewith this also agreeth that Moses in the day that he declared that the Lord did rest from his works, maketh an end of describing the succeeding of days and nights. There may be also brought another probable remark of the number, that the Lord thereby meant to shew that the Sabbath should never be perfectly ended, till it came to the last day. For in it we begin our blessed rest, in it we do

do daily proceed in profiting more and more. But becauſe we have ſtill a continual war with the fleſh, it ſhall not be ended until that ſaying of Iſaiah be fulfilled, concerning the continuing of new moon with new moon, of Sabbath with Sabbath, (Iſa. lxvi. 23.) even then when God ſhall be all in all. (1. Cor. xv. 28.) It may ſeem therefore that the Lord hath by the ſeventh day ſet forth to his people the perfection to come of his Sabbath at the laſt day, that our whole life might by continual meditation of the Sabbath, aſpire to this perfection.

The principal thing in the Sabbath is the myſtery of perpetual reſt: the ceremonial uſe thereof abrogated, the ſuperſtitious obſervation to be avoided.

31. If any man diſlike this obſervation of the number as a matter too curious, I am not againſt him, but that he may more ſimply take it: that the Lord ordained one certain day, wherein his people might under the diſcipline of the law be exerciſed to the continual meditation of the ſpiritual reſt: and that he aſſigned the ſeventh day, either becauſe he thought it ſufficient, or that by ſetting forth the likeneſs of his own example, he might the better move the people to keep it or at leaſt to put them in mind, that the Sabbath tendeth to no other end, but that they ſhould become like unto their creator. For it maketh ſmall matter, ſo that the myſtery remain which is therein principally ſet forth, concerning the perpetual reſt of our works, to conſideration whereof the prophets did now and then call back the Jews that they ſhould not think themſelves diſcharged by carnal taking of their reſt. Beſide the places already alleged, you have thus in Iſaiah: (Iſa. lviii. 13.) If thou turn away thy foot from the Sabbath, that thou do not thine own will on my holy day, and ſhall call the Sabbath a delight, the holy of the Lord, honourable and ſhalt honour him, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleaſure, nor ſpeaking thine own words, then ſhalt thou delight thyſelf in the Lord, &c. But it is no doubt, that by the coming of our Lord Chriſt, ſo much as was ceremonial herein, was abrogate. For he is the truth, by whoſe preſence all figures do vaniſh away, he is the body at ſight whereof the ſhadows are left, he, I ſay is the true fulfilling of the Sabbath, (Rom. vi. 4.) we being buried with him by baptiſm, are graffed into the fellowſhip of his death, that we being made partakers of the reſurrection, we may walk in newneſs of life. Therefore in another place the apoſtle writeth, (Col. ii. 16. 17.) that the Sabbath was a ſhadow of a thing to come: and that the true body, that is to ſay, the perfect ſubſtance of truth is in Chriſt, which in the ſame place he hath well declared. That is not contained in one day, but in the whole courſe of our life, until that we being utterly dead to ourſelves, be filled with the life of God. Therefore ſuperſtitious obſerving of days ought to be far from chriſtians.

32. But foraſmuch as the two latter cauſes ought not to be reckoned among the old ſhadows, but do belong alike to all ages: ſince the Sabbath is abrogate, yet this hath ſtill place with us, that we ſhould meet at appointed days for hearing of the word, for partaking of the ſacrament, and for publick prayer: and then that to ſervants and labourers be granted their reſt from their labour. It is not to be doubted that in commanding the Sabbath, the Lord had care of both theſe things. The firſt of them hath ſufficient teſtimony by the only uſe of the Jews to prove it. The ſecond, Moſes ſpake of in Deuteronomy in theſe words: (Deut. v. 14.) that thy man ſervant and thy maid ſervant may reſt as well as thou: remember that thou thy ſelf didſt ſerve in Ægypt. Again, in Exodus: (Exod. xxv. 12.) that thy ox and thy aſs may reſt, and the ſon of thy bondwoman may take breath. Who can deny that both theſe things do ſerve for us as well as for the Jews? meetings at the church, are commanded us by the word of God, and the neceſſity of them is ſufficiently known in the very experience of life. Unleſs they be certainly appointed and have their ordinary days, how can they be kept? All things by the ſentence of the apoſtle (1 Cor. xiv. 40.) are to be done comely and in order among us. But ſo far is it off, that comlineſs and order can be kept without this policy and moderation, that there is at hand preſent trouble and ruin of the church, if it be diſſolved. Now if the ſame neceſſity be among us, for relief of which the Lord appointed the Sabbath to the Jews: let no man ſay that it belongeth nothing unto us. For our moſt provident and tender Father, willed no leſs to provide for our neceſſity than for the Jews. But thou wilt ſay, why do we not rather daily meet together, that

Although the firſt uſe of the Sabbath which was to ſignify ſpiritual reſt being ceremonial be done away, yet the ſecond and third whereby it was appointed for the people of God to meet and for labourers to ceaſe on it doth ſtill remain.

that the difference of days may be taken away? I would to God, that were granted, and truly ſpiritual wiſdom was a thing worthy to have a daily piece of the time cut out for it. But if it cannot be obtained of the weakneſs of many to have daily meetings, and the rule of charity doth not ſuffer us, to exact more of them, why ſhould we not obey the order which we ſee prefcribed us by the will of God?

The difference between Jews and Chriſtians in obſerving the Sabbath day, they keep it as a ſhadow of a thing ſpiritual, we only for politicał partly, and partly for eccleſiaſtical orders ſake.

33. I am obliged here to be ſomewhat long, becauſe at this day many unquiet ſpirits do raiſe trouble, concerning the Sabbath. They cry out that the chriſtian people are nouriſhed in Jewiſh ſuperſtitions, becauſe they keep ſome obſervation of days. But I anſwer, that we keep thoſe days without any Jewiſh ſuperſtition, becauſe we do in this reſpect far differ from the Jews. For we keep it not with ſtrict religion as a ceremony, wherein we think a ſpiritual myſtery to be figured, but we retain it as a neceſſary remedy for the maintaining of order in the church. But Paul teacheth (Col. ii. 16.) that in keeping of it they are not to be judged chriſtians, becauſe it is a ſhadow of a thing to come. Therefore he feared that he had laboured in vain among the Galatians, (Gal. iv. 10.) becauſe they did ſtill obſerve days. And to the Romans he affirmeth that it is ſuperſtition if any man do make difference between day and day. (Rom. xiv. 5.) But who, ſaving theſe mad men only, doth not ſee, of what obſerving the apoſtle meaneth? For they had no regard to this political end and the order of the church, but whereas they kept them ſtill as ſhadows of ſpiritual things, they did even ſo much darken the glory of Chriſt and the light of the goſpel. They did not therefore ceaſe from bodily labour, becauſe that did call them away from holy exerciſes and meditations, but for a certain religious end, that in ceaſing from work they did dream that they ſtill kept their myſteries of old time delivered them. The apoſtle, I ſay inveigheth againſt this diſordered difference of days, and not againſt the lawful choice of days that ſerveth for the quietneſs of chriſtian fellowſhip: for in the churches that he himſelf did ordain, the Sabbath was kept for this end. For he appointeth the Corinthians (1 Cor. xvi. 2.) the ſame day, wherein they ſhould gather the collection to relieve the brethren at Jeruſalem. If they fear ſuperſtition, there was more danger thereof in the feaſt days of the Jews, than in the Sundays that the chriſtians now have. For ſo as was expedient for the overthrowing of ſuperſtition, the day that the Jews religiouſly obſerved is taken away: and, ſo as was neceſſary for keeping of comelineſs, order, and quiet in the church, another day was appointed for the ſame uſe.

The blameleſs intent of chriſtians, ſubſtituting the Sunday inſtead of the Jews Sabbath, and of others among Chriſtians having other feſtival days appointed for the ſame purpoſes: the principal exerciſes whereby the Sabbath is ſanctified: their trifling vanity who ſee no difference between Jews and Chriſtians but the change of the day, when in the uſe of the day indeed we principally differ.

34. Although the old fathers have not without reaſon of their choice, put in place of the Sabbath day, the day that we call Sunday. For whereas in the reſurrection of the Lord is the end and fulfilling of that reſt, whereof the old Sabbath was a ſhadow: the chriſtians are by the very ſame day that made an end of ſhadows, put in mind that they ſhould no longer ſtick unto the ſhadowiſh ceremony. But yet I do not ſo reſt upon the number of ſeven that I would bind the church to the bondage thereof. Neither will I condemn thoſe churches, that have other ſolemn days for their meetings, ſo that they be without ſuperſtition, which ſhall be, if they be only applied to the obſervation of diſcipline and well appointed order. Let the ſum hereof be this: as the truth was given to the Jews under a figure, ſo is it delivered us without any ſhadows at all. Firſt, that all our life long we ſhould be meditating of a continual Sabbath or reſt from our own works, that the Lord may work in us by his ſpirit: then that every man privately ſo oft as he hath leiſure, ſhould diligently exerciſe himſelf in godly calling to mind the works of God, and alſo, that we all ſhould keep the lawful order of the church appointed, for the hearing of the word, for the miniſtration of the ſacraments and for public prayer: thirdly, that we ſhould not grievouſly oppreſs them that are under us. And ſo do the triflings of the falſe prophets vaniſh away that in the ages paſt have infected the people with a Jewiſh opinion, that ſo much as was ceremonial in this commandment is taken away, which they in their tongue call the appointing of the ſeventh day, but that ſo much as is moral remaineth, which is the keeping of one day

day in the week. But that is nothing elſe in effect, than for reproach of the Jews to change the day, and to keep ſtill the ſame holineſs in their mind. For there ſtill remaineth with us the like ſignification of myſtery in the days as was among the Jews. And truly we ſee what good they have done by ſuch doctrine. For they that cleave to their conſtitutions, do by theſe as much exceed as the Jews in groſs and carnal ſuperſtition of Sabbath: ſo that the rebukings that are read in Iſaiah, (Iſa. i. 13. and lviii.) do no leſs fitly ſerve for them at theſe days, than for thoſe that the prophet reproved in his time. But this general doctrine is principally to be kept, that leſt religion ſhould fall away or wax faint among us, holy meetings are to be diligently kept, and thoſe outward helps are to be uſed that are profitable to nouriſh the worſhipping of God.

The Fifth Commandment.

"Honour thy father and thy mother, that thou "mayeſt live long upon the land which the Lord "thy God ſhall give thee."

The end of the fifth commandment is preſervation of order for which God commandeth all things belonging to the honour, and forbiddeth any thing tending to the diſhonour of ſuperiors whom he beautifieth with amiable titles to ſoften and captivate the minds of men unto obedience & ſubjection under them.

35. The end of this commandment is, that becauſe the Lord delighteth in the preſervation of his order, therefore he willeth that thoſe degrees of preeminence which he hath ordained be not broken, the ſum therefore ſhall be that we reverence thoſe whom the Lord hath ſet over us, that we yield to them honour, obedience and thankfulneſs. Whereupon followeth that it is forbidden us, to withdraw any thing from their dignity, either by contempt or obſtinacy or unthankfulneſs. For ſo doth the word honour, in the ſcripture ſignify very largely: as when the apoſtle ſaith, (1 Tim. i. 5.) that the elders which rule well are worthy of double honour, he meaneth not only that reverence is due unto them, but alſo ſuch recompence as their miniſtry deſerveth. And becauſe this commandment of ſubjection, doth moſt of all diſagree with the perverſeneſs of man's nature, which as it ſwelleth with an ambitious deſire of aſcending high, ſo it hardly endureth to be brought low: therefore he hath ſet that kind of ſuperiority for example, which by nature is moſt amiable and leaſt envious: becauſe he might the more eaſily ſoften and reclaim our minds to the uſe of ſubmiſſion. Therefore the Lord doth by little and little train us to all lawful ſubjection by that which is moſt eaſy to bear, foraſmuch as the rule of all is alike. For to whom he giveth any pre-eminence, he doth communicate his own name with them, ſo far as is neceſſary to preſerve the ſame pre-eminence: the name of Father, God, and Lord, do ſo belong unto him alone, that ſo oft as we hear one of them named, our mind muſt needs be touched with a feeling of his majeſty. Therefore whom he maketh partakers of theſe things, he maketh to gliſter with a certain ſpark of his brightneſs, that they may be honourable every one according to his degree. Therefore in him that is our Father we have to conſider ſomewhat of the nature of God, becauſe he beareth not the name of God without cauſe. He that is our prince or our Lord, hath ſome partaking of honour with God.

36. Wherefore it ought not to be doubted that God doth here ſet a general rule, that as we know any man to be by his ordinance ſet over us, ſo we yield unto him reverence, obedience, thankfulneſs, and ſuch other duties as it lieth in us to do. And it maketh no difference, whether they be worthy or unworthy. For of what ſort ſoever they be, they have not without the providence of God attained that place, by reaſon whereof the law-maker would have them to be honoured. Yet namely he hath given commandment of reverence to parents, that have brought us into this life, to which reverence nature itſelf ought in a manner to inſtruct us. For they are monſters and not men, that break the authority of parents with diſhonour or ſtubbornneſs. Therefore the Lord commanded (Exod. xxi.) all that diſobeyed their parents, to be ſlain, as men unworthy to enjoy the benefit of light, that do not acknowlege by whoſe means they came into it. And by many additions of the law it appeareth to be true that we have obſerved, that there are three parts of honour that he here ſpeaketh of, reverence, obedience, and thankfulneſs. The firſt of theſe the Lord eſtabliſheth when he commandeth (Lev. xx. 9.) him to be killed that curſ-

Unto parents ſo termed in reſpect of their pre-eminence be they good or bad, as alſo unto our natural parents the honour of reverence, obedience and thankfulneſs is required at our hands.

curſeth his father or his mother, for there he puniſheth the contempt and diſhonour of them. The ſecond he confirmeth (Levit. x. 9.) when he appointeth the puniſhment of death for the diſobedient and rebellious children. To the third belongeth that ſaying of Chriſt in the fifteenth of Matthew, that it is (Mat. xv. 4.) the commandment of God that we do good to our parents. And ſo oft as Paul (Col. iii. 20.) maketh mention of a commandment, he expoundeth that therein obedience is required.

What is meant by the promiſe annexed to the fifth commandment, and how it may ſtand with the ſhortneſs of their lives that are moſt obedient.

37. There is annexed a promiſe for a commendation, which doth the rather put us in mind, how acceptable unto God is the ſubmiſſion that is here commanded. For Paul uſeth the ſame incitement to ſtir up our dulneſs when he ſaith: (Eph. vi. 1.) that this is the firſt commandment with promiſe. For the promiſe that went before in the firſt table, was not ſpecial and properly belonging to one commandment, but extended to the whole law. Now this is thus to be taken: the Lord ſpake to the Iſraelites peculiarly of the land which he had promiſed them for their inheritance. If then the poſſeſſion of land was a pledge of God's goodneſs, let us not wonder if it pleaſed God to declare his favour by giving length of life, by which a man might long enjoy his benefit. The meaning therefore is thus: honour thy father and thy mother, that by a long ſpace of life thou mayeſt enjoy the poſſeſſion of that land that ſhall be unto thee for a teſtimony of my favour. But ſince all the earth is bleſſed to the faithful, we do juſtly reckon this preſent life among the bleſſings of God. Therefore this promiſe doth likewiſe belong unto us, for as much as the continuance of this life is a proof of God's good will. For it neither is promiſed to us, nor was promiſed to the Jews, as though it contained bleſſedneſs in it ſelf, but becauſe it is wont to be to the godly a token of God's tender love. Therefore if it chance that a child who obeys his parents be taken out of this life before his ripe age, which is oftentimes ſeen, yet doth God no leſs conſtantly continue in the performance of his promiſe, than if he ſhould reward him with an hundred acres of land, to whom he promiſed but one acre. All conſiſteth in this, that we ſhould conſider that long life is ſo far promiſed us, as it is the bleſſing of God, and that it is his bleſſing ſo far as it is a proof of his favour, which he by death doth much more plentifully and perfectly witneſs and ſhew in effect to his ſervants.

The curſes that fall upon the diſobedient, in which number are all that withdraw their ſubjection from them to whom they owe all ſubmiſſion in the Lord, but no otherways than in the Lord.

38. Moreover when the Lord promiſeth the bleſſing of this preſent life to the children that honour their parents with ſuch reverence as they ought, he doth withal ſecretly ſay, that moſt aſſured curſe hangeth over the ſtubborn and diſobedient children. And that the ſame ſhould not want execution: he pronounceth them by his law ſubject to the judgment of death, and commandeth them to be put to execution: and if they eſcape that judgment, he himſelf taketh vengeance on them by one mean or other. For we ſee how great a number of that ſort of men are ſlain in battles and in quarrels and ſome other tormented in ſtrange unuſual ways, and they all in a manner are a proof that this threatening is not vain. But if any eſcape to old age, ſince contrary to reaſon, in this life being deprived of the bleſſing of God, they do nothing but miſerably languiſh, and are reſerved for greater pains hereafter, they are far from being partakers of the bleſſing promiſed to the godly children. But this is alſo by the way to be obſerved, that we are not commanded to obey them but in the Lord. And that is evident by the foundation before laid: for they ſit on high in that place to which the Lord hath advanced them, by communicating with them a portion of his honour. Therefore the ſubmiſſion that is uſed toward them, ought to be a ſtep toward the honouring of that ſovereign Father. Wherefore if they move us to tranſgreſs the law, then are they deſervedly not to be accounted parents, but ſtrangers who labour to withdraw us from obedience to the true Father. The ſame is to be ſaid of princes, Lords, and all ſorts of ſuperiors. For it is ſhameful and contrary to reaſon, that their pre-eminence ſhould prevail to preſs down his highneſs, ſince theirs as it dependeth wholly upon it, ſo ought only to guide us unto it.

The SIXTH COMMANDMENT.

"Thou ſhalt not kill."

The ſixth commandment tend-

39. The end of this commandment is, that foraſmuch as God hath

ing to the union and thereby to the ſafety of all mankind, doth under the name of murder both forbid all hurt and enjoin all furtherance which may ariſe from man to man: which rule muſt bridle and direct not only outward deeds, but alſo inward thoughts.

hath united all mankind together with a certain bond of union, that every man ought to regard the ſafety of all men, as a thing given him in charge: in ſome therefore, all violence and wrong, yea and all doing of harm, whereby our neighbour's body may be hurt, is forbidden us. And therefore we are commanded, if there be any power of ſuccour in our endeavours to defend the life of our neighbours, that we faithfully employ the ſame, that we procure thoſe things that may make for their quiet, that we watch to keep them from hurt, and if they be in any danger, that we give them our helping hand. If thou conſider that it is God the law-maker that ſo ſaith, then think withal that his meaning is by this rule alſo to govern thy ſoul. For were it fooliſh to imagine, that he who diſcovereth the thoughts of the heart, and principally reſteth upon them, ſhould inſtruct nothing but the body to true righteouſneſs. Therefore murder in the heart is alſo forbidden in this law, and an inward affection to preſerve our brother's life is here commanded. The hand by action bringeth forth the murder of a man, but the mind conceiveth it, when it is infected with wrath and hatred. Look whether thou canſt be angry with thy brother without burning in deſire to do him hurt. If thou canſt not be angry with him, then canſt thou not hate him, foraſmuch as hatred is nothing but an old rooted anger. Although thou diſſemble and go about to wind out thy ſelf by vain circumſtances: yet where anger or hatred is, there is an affection to hurt. If thou wilt ſtill dally out with ſhifts to defend it, it is already pronounced by the mouth of the holy Ghoſt (1 John v.) that he is a manſlayer who hateth his brother in his heart. It is pronounced by the mouth of the Lord Chriſt, that he is in danger of the judgment that is angry with his brother: that he is in danger of the counſel that ſaith Racha: that he is in danger of hell-fire, that ſaith unto him thou fool. (Mat. v. 22.)

Two ſpecial grounds of this commandment, the excellency of man's creation, and the price of his redemption, in regard of which two, if ſo much care be due to his body, to his ſoul how much more?

40. The ſcripture remarketh two points of equity, upon which this commandment is grounded: becauſe man is both the image of God and our own fleſh, wherefore unleſs we will defile the image of God, we muſt have care to touch man none otherwiſe, than as a ſacred thing: and unleſs we will diveſt ourſelves of all humanity, we muſt cheriſh him as our own fleſh. That manner of exhortation that is fetched from the redemption and grace of Chriſt, ſhall be treated of in another place. God willed theſe two things naturally to be conſidered in man, that might perſuade us to the preſervation of him, that we ſhould both reverence the image of God imprinted in him, and embrace our own fleſh. He hath not therefore eſcaped the crime of manſlaughter, that hath kept himſelf from ſhedding of blood. If thou commit any thing in deed, if thou go about any thing with endeavour, if thou conceive any thing in deſire and purpoſe that is againſt the ſafety of another thou art holden guilty of manſlaughter. And again: if thou do not labour to the utmoſt of thy power and as occaſion may offer to defend his life, thou doeſt with like hainouſneſs offend the law. But if there be ſo much care taken for the ſafety of his body, let us hereby gather, how much ſtudy and pains is due to the ſafety of his ſoul, which in the ſight of God doth infinitely excel the body.

The Seventh Commandment.

"Thou ſhalt not commit adultery."

In the ſeventh commandment chaſtity and purity being ſought God by the name of actual intemperance, doth make hateful whatſoever tendeth thereunto, and require a care of continuing our bodies and ſouls in purity, for preſervation whereof marriage is eſtabliſhed.

41. The end of the commandment is, that becauſe God loveth chaſtity and cleanneſs, therefore all uncleanneſs ought to depart far away from us. The ſum therefore ſhall be, that we be defiled with no uncleanneſs or luſtful intemperance of the fleſh. Whereunto anſwereth the affirmative commandment, that we chaſtely and continently order all the parts of our life. But fornication he forbiddeth by name, to which all unchaſte luſt tendeth: that by the filthineſs of that which is more groſs and ſenſible, for ſo much as it alſo defileth the body, he might bring us to abhor all filthy luſt. Since man was created in this eſtate, not to live a ſolitary life, but

but to uſe a helper joined unto him: and ſince that by the curſe of ſin he is driven the more to this neceſſity, the Lord hath in this behalf provided help for man ſo much as was ſufficient, when he ordained marriage, when he ſanctified with his bleſſing the fellowſhip begun by his authority. Whereby followeth, that all other fellowſhip of man and woman out of marriage, is accurſed before him, and that the fellowſhip of marriage it ſelf, was ordained for remedy of neceſſity, that we ſhould not run out into unbridled luſt, Therefore let us not flatter ourſelves, ſince we hear that man cannot be coupled with woman out of marriage, without the curſe of God.

To whom the gift of continence is not given, they muſt uſe the remedy which God hath ordained.

42. Now foraſmuch as by the condition of nature, and by luſt more enkindled ſince the fall of man, we are become doubly ſubject to the deſire of intercourſe with women, except it be thoſe whom God of his ſingular grace hath exempted from it: let every man look well what is given unto him. Virginity, I grant, is a virtue not to be deſpiſed: but ſince it is to ſome denied, and to ſome granted but for a time, let them who are troubled with incontinence, and ſtriving with it, cannot get the upper hand, reſort to the help of marriage, that ſo they may keep chaſtity in the degree of their vocation. For they that cannot conceive this word, if they do not ſuccour their own intemperance with the remedy that is offered and granted them, they ſtrive againſt God and reſiſt his ordinance. And let no man carp againſt me (as many do at this day) that being aided with the help of God, he can do all things. For the help of God is preſent only with thoſe, (Pſal. xix. 1. and 14.) that walk in his ways, that is in their vocation from which they do withdraw themſelves, who forſaking the aids of God, do ſtrive to overcome and maſter their neceſſity with vain raſh boldneſs. The Lord affirmeth that continency is a ſingular gift of God, and of that ſort that are not given generally, nor univerſally to the whole body of the church, but to a few members thereof. For firſt he ſaith, (Matth. xix. 12.) that there are ſome men who have made themſelves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's ſake: that is, that they might the more carefully and freely apply themſelves to ſpiritual and divine things. But, that no body ſhould think that it was in any man's power to make himſelf an eunuch, he ſhewed a little before, that all men are not able to receive it, but they to whom it is peculiarly given from heaven upon, which he concludeth, he that is able to receive it, let him receive it. But Paul (1 Cor. vii. 7.) yet affirmeth it more plainly, where he writeth, that every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that.

They ſin grievouſly againſt God who uſe it not although they keep themſelves unſtained with any bodily unclean act.

43. Whereas we are by open declaration admoniſhed, that it is not in every man's power to keep chaſtity in ſingle life, although with ſtudy and labour he endeavour never ſo much unto it, and that it is a peculiar grace, which God giveth but to certain men, that he may have them the more ready to his work: do we not ſtrive againſt God and nature which he hath inſtituted, if we do not apply the kind of life to the proportion of our power? Here the Lord forbiddeth fornication, therefore he requireth cleanneſs and chaſtity of us. To keep the ſame there is but one way, that every man meaſure himſelf by his own meaſure. Neither let a man deſpiſe marriage as a thing unprofitable or ſuperfluous for him, nor otherwiſe deſire ſingle life, unleſs he be able to live without a wife. And therein alſo let him not provide only for the quiet and eaſe of the fleſh, but only that being looſed from this bond, he may be the more in readineſs and prepared to all religious duties. And foraſmuch as this benefit is given to many but for a time, let every man ſo long abſtain from marriage as he ſhall be meet to live to keep ſingle eſtate. If ſtrength fail him to tame his luſt, let him learn that the Lord hath now laid upon him a neceſſity to marry. This the apoſtle ſheweth (1 Cor. vii. 1. and 9.) when he commandeth that to avoid fornication every man have his own wife, and every woman have her own huſband, that he that cannot live continently ſhould marry in the Lord. Firſt he declareth that the moſt part of men are ſubject to the vice of incontinence: and then of thoſe that are ſubject unto it, he excepteth none, but commandeth all to uſe that only remedy, wherewith unchaſtity is reſiſted. Therefore if they that are incontinent do neglect to help their infirmity by this mean, they ſin even in this that they obey not the commandment of the apoſtle. Neither let him flatter himſelf that toucheth not a woman as though he could not be rebuked of unchaſtity, while in the mean time his mind burneth inwardly with luſt. For Paul (1 Cor. vi. 24.) defineth chaſtity to be a cleanneſs of the mind, joined with chaſtity of the body. An unmarried

woman (saith he) careth for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and spirit. Therefore when he bringeth a reason to confirm that former commandment, he doth not only say, that it is better for a man to take a wife, than to defile himself with the company of a harlot, but he saith, that it is better to marry than to burn.

Marriage to be used as an holy remedy against evil not as a covert of dissolute lust, all acts, causes and signs whereof must be avoided in thought, look, raiment, speech, diet.

44. Now if married people do confess that their fellowship together is blessed of the Lord, they are thereby admnoished not to defile it with intemperate and dissolute lust. For though the honesty of marriage do cover the filthiness of incontinence, yet it ought not forthwith to be a provocation of it. Wherefore let not people imagine, that all things are lawful unto them, but let every husband have his own wife soberly, and likewise the wife her husband, and so doing, let them commit nothing unbecoming the honesty and temperance of marriage. For so ought marriage made in the Lord to be restrained to measure and modesty, and not to overflow into every kind of extream lasciviousness. This wantonness Ambrose (*Amb. li. de phil.*) reproved with a saying very sharp indeed, but not unfit for it, when he calleth the husband the adulterer of his own wife, who in use of wedlock hath no care of shamefacedness or honesty. Last of all, let us consider what lawmaker doth here condemn fornication, who since of his own right he ought to possess us wholly, requireth pureness of the soul spirit and body. Therefore when he forbiddeth to commit fornication, he also forbiddeth wanton attire of body, immodest gestures, and filthy conversation to lay wait to insnare anothers chastity. For that saying is not without good reason, which Archelaus spake to a young man who was clothed in an extremely wanton and gay manner, that it made no matter in what part he were filthily unchaste, if we have a regard unto God that abhorreth all filthiness in whatsoever part either of our soul or body it appeareth. And to put thee out of doubt, remember that the Lord here commendeth chastity. If the Lord requireth chastity of us, then he condemneth whatsoever is contrary. Therefore if thou desire to testify obedience, neither let thy mind burn inwardly with evil lust, nor let thine eyes run wantonly into corrupt affections, nor let thy body be trimmed up for allurement, nor let thy tongue with filthy talk entice thy mind to like thoughts, nor let thy gluttonous belly enflame thee with intemperance. For all these vices are, as it were, certain blots, wherewith the pureness of chastity is bespotted.

The Eighth Commandment.

"Thou shalt not steal."

That every man may have his own we are in the eighth commandment forbidden all practices whatsoever that tends to the unjust loss and danger of others, and all withholding of any duty whereby we are bound to do them good, forasmuch as either of these two doth make us guilty of those things.

45. The end of this commandment is, because God abhorreth unrighteousness, that every man may have his own rendered unto him. The sum therefore shall be that we are forbidden to covet other mens goods, and that therefore we are commanded every man to use his lawful endeavours to preserve to each man his own goods. For thus we ought to think that what every man possesseth is not happened unto him by chance of fortune, but by the distribution of the sovereign Lord of all things: and therefore no man's goods can be gotten from him by evil means, but that wrong be done to the disposition of God. But of thefts there be many kinds: one consists in violence, when the goods of another are by any manner of force and robbing licentiousness taken from him. Another kind consisteth in malicious deceit, where they are guilefully conveyed away. Another sort there is that lies in a more hidden subtilty, when they are wrested from the owner by colour of law. Another sort in flattery, where they are sucked away by pretence of gift. But lest we should tarry too long upon the division of all the several kinds of theft, let us know that all crafty means whereby the possession and money of our neighbours are conveyed unto us when they once go by crooked ways from sincere ness of heart, to a desire to beguile, or by any mean to do hurt, are to be accounted thefts. Although by pleading the law, they may prevail, yet God doth otherwise weigh them. For he seeth the long captious subtilties, wherewith the guileful man beginneth to entangle the simpler mind, till at length he draw him into his nets. He seeth the hard and ungentle laws, wherewith the mightier oppresseth and throweth down the weaker. He seeth the allurements, wherewith as with baited hooks the craftier taketh the unwary. All which things are hidden from the judgment of man, and come not in his knowlege. And this manner of wrong is not only in money, in wares, or in lands, but in every man's right. For we defraud our neighbour of his goods, if we deny him these duties which we are bound

bound to do for him. If any idle Factor or Stewart do devour his master's substance, and is not heedful to the care of his thrift, if he either do wrongfully spoil, or do riotously waste the substance committed unto him, if a servant do mock his master, if he disclose his secrets by any means, if he betray his life and his goods: again, if the master do cruelly oppress his household, they are before God guilty of theft. For he both withholdeth and conveyeth another man's goods, who performeth not that which by the office of his calling he oweth to other.

The duties of all sorts of men for performance of the law.

46. We shall therefore rightly obey this comandment, if being contented with our estate, we seek to get no gain but what is honest and lawful, if we covet not to wax rich with wrong, nor go about to spoil our neighbour of his goods that our own substance may increase, if we labour not to heap up cruel riches and wrong out of other mens blood, if we do not immeasurably scrape together every way, by right and by wrong, that either our covetousness may be filled, or our prodigality satisfied. But on the other side, let this be our perpetual mark, to aid all men faithfully by counsel, and help to keep their own so far as we may: but if we have to do with false and deceitful men, let us rather be ready to yield up some of our own, than to strive with them. And not that only, but let us communicate to their necessities, and with our store relieve their need, whom we see to be oppressed with hard and poor estate. Finally, let every man look how much he is by duty bound unto others and let him faithfully pay it. For this reason let the people have in honour all those that are set over them, let them patiently bear their government, obey their laws and commandments, refuse nothing that they may bear, still keeping God favourable unto them. Again, let them take care of their people, preserve common peace, defend the good, restrain the evil, and so order all things, as to be ready to give account of their office to the sovereign judge. Let the ministers of churches faithfully apply to their ministry, and not corrupt the doctrine of salvation, but deliver it pure and sincere to the people of God, and let them instruct them not only with learning, but also with example of life: finally, let them so be over them, as good shepherds are over the sheep. Let the people likewise receive them as the messengers and apostles of God, give them that honour whereof the highest master hath vouchsafed them, and minister unto them such things as are necessary for their life. Let parents take on them to feed, rule and teach their children, as committed to them of God, and grieve not, nor turn away their minds from them with cruelty, but rather cherish and embrace them with such lenity and tenderness, as becometh their person. After which manner, we have already said, that children owe to their parents their obedience. Let young men reverence old age, even as the Lord willeth that age be honourable. Let old men also govern the weakness of youth with their wisdom and experience, wherein they excel young men, not rating with rough and loud brawling, but tempering severity with mildness and gentleness. Let servants shew themselves diligent and serviceable to obey: and that not to the eye, but from the heart, as serving God himself. Also let masters shew themselves not rongh and hard to please, nor oppress them with too much sharpness, nor reproachfully use them, but rather acknowlege that they are their brethren and their fellow servants under the heavenly Lord, whom they ought mutually to love and gently to intreat. After this manner, I say, let every man consider what in his degree and place he oweth to his neighbours, and let him pay that he oweth. Moreover our mind ought always to have respect to the law-maker, that we may know that this law is made as well for our minds, as for our hands, that men should study to defend and further the good and advantage of other.

The NINTH COMMANDMENT.

"Thou shalt not be a lying witness against thy "neighbour."

To maintain truth we are in the ninth commandment forbidden the abuse of the tongue in hindering our neighbour, and commanded to employ it for his benefit.

47. The end of this commandment is, that because God who is truth abhorreth lying, we ought to observe truth without deceitful colour. The sum therefore shall be, that we neither hurt any man's name either with slanders or false reports, nor hinder him in his goods by lying: finally, that we offend no man, by lust to speak evil, or to be busy: with which prohibition is joined a commandment, that so far as we may, we employ our faithful endeavour for every man in affirming the truth, to defend the safety both of his name and goods. It seemeth that the Lord purposed to expound the meaning of his commandment in the twenty third chapter of Exodus, in these words: (Exod. xxiii. 1.) Thou shalt not use the voice of lying, nor

ſhalt join thy hand to ſpeak falſe witneſs for the wicked. Again (Levit. xix. 15.) thou ſhalt flee lying. Alſo in another place he doth not only call us away from lying in this point that we be no accuſers, or whiſperers in the people, but alſo that no man deceive his brother, for he forbiddeth them both in ſeveral commandments. Truly it is not to be doubted but that as in the commandments before he hath forbidden cruelty, unchaſtity, and covetouſneſs, ſo in this he reſtraineth falſhood. Whereof their are two parts as we have obſerved before. For either we offend the good name of our neighbours by maliciouſneſs and froward mind to backbite, or in lying and ſometimes in evil ſpeaking we hinder their profit. There is no difference whether in this place be underſtood ſolemn and judicial teſtimony, or common teſtimony that is uſed in private converſation. For we muſt always have recourſe to this principle, that of all the general kinds of vices one ſpecial ſort is ſet for an example, to which the reſt may be referred, and that that is chiefly choſen, wherein the filthineſs of the fault is moſt apparent. Altho' it were convenient to extend it more generally to ſlanders and ſiniſter backbitings wherewith our neighbours are wrongfully grieved, for that falſhood of witneſſing which is uſed in judicial courts, is never without perjury, But perjuries inſomuch as they do prophane and defile the name of God, are already ſufficiently met withal in the third commandment. Wherefore the right uſe of this commandment is, that our tongue in affirming the truth, do ſerve both the good name and profit of our neighbours. The equity thereof is more than manifeſt. For if a good name be more precious than any treaſures, whatſoever they be: then is it no leſs hurt to a man to be ſpoiled of the goodneſs of his name than of his goods. And in bereaving his ſubſtance ſometime falſe witneſs doth as much as violence of hands.

The great liberty which men give themſelves in tranſgreſſing this law by their wanton delight to backbite, to ſcoff, to judge, or to hear them that do ſo.

48. And yet it is marvellous with how negligent careleſneſs men do commonly offend in this point, ſo that there are found very few that are not remarkably ſick of this diſeaſe: we are ſo much delighted with a certain poiſoned ſweetneſs both in ſearching out and in diſcloſing the evils of other. And let us not think that it is a ſufficient excuſe, if ſometimes we lie not. For he that forbiddeth thy brother's name to be defiled with lying, willeth alſo that it be preſerved untouched ſo far as the truth wil ſuffer. For howſoever he taketh heed to himſelf only, ſo that he tell no lie, yet in the ſame he ſecretly confeſſeth that he hath ſome charge of him. But this ought to ſuffice us to keep ſafe our neighbour's good name, that God hath a care of it. Wherefore without doubt all evil ſpeaking is utterly condemned, But we mean not by evil ſpeaking, that rebuking which is uſed for chaſtiſement: nor accuſation, or judicial proceſs, whereby remedy is ſought for an evil, nor public reprehenſion which tendeth to put other ſinners in fear, nor diſcovering of faults to them for whoſe ſafety it behoveth that they ſhould be forewarned leſt they ſhould be in danger by ignorance: but we mean only hateful accuſing, which ariſeth of maliciouſneſs and of a wanton inclination to backbite. Alſo this commandment is extended to this point, that we covet not to uſe a ſcoffing kind of pleaſantneſs, but mingled with bitter taunts, thereby bitingly to touch other mens faults under pretence of paſtime, as many do that ſeek praiſe of merry conceits with other mens ſhame yea and grief: alſo when by ſuch wanton railing many times our neighbours are not a little reproached. Now if we bend our eyes to the law-maker, which muſt according to his rightful authority bear rule no leſs over the ears and mind than over the tongue: truly we ſhall find that greedineſs to hear backbitings, and a haſty readineſs to evil judgments are no leſs forbidden. For it were very fond if a man ſhould think that God hateth the fault of evil ſpeaking in the tongue, and doth not diſallow the fault of evil maliciouſneſs in the heart. Wherefore if there be in us a true fear and love of God, let us endeavour ſo far as we may and as is expedient, and as charity beareth, that we give neither our tongue, nor our ears to evil ſpeakings, and bitter jeſtings. leſt we raſhly without cauſe yield our minds to indirect ſuſpicions. But being indifferent expoſitors of all mens ſayings, and doings, let us both in judgment, ears, and tongue gently preſerve their honour ſafe.

The Tenth Commandment.

"Thou ſhalt not covet thy neighbour's houſe, &c."

As the former commandments have delivered a rule of charity to

49. The end of this commandment is, that becauſe the Lord's will is that our ſoul be wholly poſſeſſed with the affection of love: all luſt is to be ſhaken out

of

govern our evil ſtudies and works ſo the laſt commandment requireth the very firſt conceptions of the mind to be framed according to the ſame rule.

of our mind that is contrary to charity. The ſum therefore ſhall be, that no thought creep into us, which may move our minds with a concupiſcence hurtful and turning towards anothers loſs: wherewith on the other ſide agreeth the commandment, that whatſoever we conceive, purpoſe, will or ſtudy upon, be joined with the benefit and advantage of our neighbours. But here as it ſeemeth, ariſeth a hard and cumberſome difficulty. For if it be truly ſaid of us before that under the names of fornication and theft, are contained the luſt of fornication, and the purpoſe to hurt and deceive, it may ſeem ſuperfluouſly ſpoken. that the coveting of other mens goods ſhould afterward be diſtinctly forbidden us. But the diſtinction between purpoſe and coveting, will eaſily looſe us this knot. For purpoſe (as we have meant in ſpeaking of it in the other commandments before) is deliberate conſent of will, when luſt hath ſubdued the mind: but coveting may be without any ſuch either adviſement or aſſent, when the mind is either ſtruck or tickled with vain and perverſe objects. As therefore the Lord hath heretofore commanded, that the rule of charity ſhould govern our wills, ſtudies, and works: ſo now he commandeth the conceptions of our mind to be directed to the ſame rule, that there be none of them crooked and perverſe, that may provoke our mind another way. As he hath forbidden our mind to be bowed and led into wrath, hatred, fornication, robbery, and lying: ſo he doth now forbid us to be moved thereunto.

The laſt commandment which is by ſome rent amiſs into two, containeth not bare conceptions or fancys but ſuch as do bite and ſtir the mind with deſire repugnant to that which perfect charity requireth of which kind of concupiſcence thoſe are rehearſed for examples ſake which are

50. And not without cauſe doth he require ſo great uprightneſs. For who can deny that it is righteous, that all the powers of the ſoul be poſſeſſed with charity? But if any of them do err from the mark of charity, who can deny that it is diſeaſed? Now whence cometh it that ſo many deſires hurtful to thy neighbour, do enter in thy heart but of this, that neglecting him thou careſt only for thyſelf? For if thy mind were altogether throughly poſſeſſed with charity, no part thereof ſhould be open to ſuch imaginations. Therefore it muſt needs be void of charity, ſo far as it receiveth concupiſcence. But ſome man will object that yet it is not meet that fancies that are without order toſſed in mans wit, and at length do vaniſh away, ſhould be condemned for concupiſcence, whoſe place is in the heart. I anſwer that here our queſtion is of that kind of fancies, which while they are preſent before our minds, do together bite and ſtrike our heart with deſire, foraſmuch as it never cometh in our mind, to wiſh for any thing, but that our heart is ſtirred up and leapeth withal. Therefore God commandeth a marvellous ferventneſs of love which he willeth not to be entangled with never ſo ſmall ſnares of concupiſcence. He requireth a marvellouſly framed mind, which he ſuffereth not ſo much as with ſlight provocations to be any thing ſtirred againſt the law of love. To this expoſition Auguſtine did firſt open me the way: becauſe thou ſhouldeſt not think that it is without conſent of ſome grave authority. And though the Lord's purpoſe was to forbid us all wrongful coveting: yet in rehearſing the ſame, he hath brought forth for example thoſe things that moſt commonly do deceive us with a falſe image of delight: becauſe he would leave nothing to concupiſcence when he draweth it from theſe things, upon which it moſt of all rageth and triumpheth. Lo here, is the ſecond table of the law, wherein we are taught ſufficiently what we owe to men for God's ſake, upon conſideration whereof depends the rule of charity. Wherefore you ſhall but vainly call upon thoſe duties that are contained in this table, unleſs your doctrine do ſtay upon the fear and reverence of God, as upon her foundation. As for them who ſeek for two commandments, in the prohibition of coveting, the wiſe reader, though I ſay nothing will judge that by wrong diviſion, they tear in ſunder that which was but one. And it maketh nothing againſt us, that this word, thou ſhalt not covet, is the ſecond time repeated, for after that he had firſt ſet the houſe, then he divideth the parts thereof, beginning at the wife whereby it plainly appeareth, that (as the Hebrews do very well) it ought to be read in one whole ſentence, and that God in effect commandeth, that all that every man poſſeſſeth ſhould remain ſafe and untouched; not only from wrong and luſt to defraud them, but alſo from the very leaſt deſire that may move our minds.

moſt uſual in mens minds.

51. Bet now to what end the whole law tendeth, it ſhall not be hard to judge: that is, to the fulfilling of righteouſneſs, that it might frame the life of man after the

The drift of the law is to teach perfect holineſs which conſiſteth

in pure love towards God and man, and not to ſet down only certain rudiments that were afterwards to be further perfected.

the example of the pureneſs of God. For God hath therein ſo painted out his own nature, as if a man do perform in deeds, that which is there commanded, he ſhall in a manner expreſs an image of God in his life. Therefore when Moſes meant to bring the ſum thereof into the minds of the Iſraelites, he ſaid: And now Iſrael, what doth the Lord thy God require of thee but that thou fear the Lord, and walk in his ways: love him and ſerve him in all thy heart, and in all thy ſoul, and keep his commandments? And he ceaſed not ſtill to ſing the ſame ſong again unto them, ſo oft as he purpoſed to ſhew the end of the law. The doctrine of the law hath ſuch reſpect hereunto, that it joineth man, or as Moſes in another place (Deut. x. 12.) termeth it, maketh man to ſtick faſt to his God in holineſs of life. Deut. vi. 5. and 11. 13. Now the perfection of that holineſs conſiſteth in the two principal points already mentioned. Matt. 22. That we love the Lord our God with all our heart, all our ſoul, and all our ſtrength, and our neighbours as our ſelves. And the firſt indeed is, that our ſoul be in all parts filled with the love of God. From that immediately of itſelf floweth the love of our neighbour. Which thing the Apoſtle ſheweth when he writeth, 1 Tim. i. 15. that the end of the law is love out of a pure conſcience, and a faith not feigned. You ſee how, as it were, in the head is ſet conſcience and faith unfeigned, that is to ſay, in one word, true godlineſs, and that from thence is charity derived. Therefore he is deceived whoſoever thinketh that in the law are taught only certain rudiments and firſt introductions of righteouſneſs, wherewith men became to be taught their firſt ſchooling, but not yet directed to the true mark of good works: whereas beyond that ſentence of Moſes, and this of Paul, you can deſire nothing as wanting of the higheſt perfection. For how far, I pray you, will he proceed that will not be contented with this inſtitution, whereby man is inſtructed to the fear of God, to ſpiritual worſhipping, to obeying of the commandments, to follow the uprightneſs of the way of the Lord: finally, to pureneſs of conſcience, ſincere faith and love? Whereby is confirmed that expoſition of the law, which ſearcheth for, and findeth out in the commandments thereof all the duties of godlineſs and love. For they that follow only the dry and bare principles, as if it taught but the one half of God's will, know not the end thereof, as the apoſtle witneſſeth.

52. But whereas in rehearſing the ſum of the law, Chriſt and the apoſtle do ſometimes leave out the firſt table: many are deceived therein while they would fain draw their words to both the tables. Chriſt in Matthew, chap. v. 13. calleth the chief points of the law, mercy judgment and faith: under the word faith, it is not doubtful to me, but that he meaneth truth or faithfulneſs towards men. But ſome, that the ſentence might be extended to the whole law, take it for religiouſneſs toward God. But they labour in vain. For Chriſt ſpeaketh of thoſe works wherewith man ought to prove himſelf righteous. This reaſon if we obſerve, we will alſo ceaſe to marvel why, when a young man aſked him, what are the commandments by keeping whereof we enter into life: he anſwered theſe things only; Matth. xix. 28. Thou ſhalt not kill. Thou ſhalt not commit adultery. Thou ſhalt not ſteal. Thou ſhalt not bear falſe witneſs. Honour thy father and thy mother. Love thy neighbour as thyſelf. For the obeying of the firſt table conſiſted in a manner all either in the affection of the heart, or in ceremonies: the affection of the heart appeared not, and as for the ceremonies the hypocrites did continually uſe. But the works of charity are ſuch as by them we may declare a perfect righteouſneſs. But this occurs every where ſo frequently in the prophets, that it muſt needs be familiar to a reader, but meanly exerciſed in them. For in a manner always when they exhort to repentance, they leave out the firſt table, and only call upon faith, judgment, mercy and equity. And thus they do not paſs over the fear of God, but they enquire the earneſt proof thereof by the tokens of it. This is well known, that when they ſpeak of the keeping of the law, they do for the moſt part reſt upon the ſecond table, becauſe therein the ſtudy of righteouſneſs and uprightneſs is moſt openly ſeen. It is needleſs to rehearſe the places, becauſe every man will of himſelf eaſily mark that which I ſay.

The reaſon why in the prophets and the goſpel ſo oftentimes when the keeping of the law is ſpoken of the duties only of the ſecond table are expreſsly mentioned.

53. But thou wilt ſay, is it then more available to the perfection of righteouſneſs, to live innocently among men, than with true godlineſs to honour God? No, but becauſe a man doth not eaſily keep charity in all points, unleſs he earneſtly fear God, therefore it is thereby proved that he hath godlineſs alſo. Beſide that, for-

Our charity towards men is a proof and exerciſe teſtifying our religion towards God.

foraſmuch as the Lord well knoweth, that no benefit can come from us unto him, which thing he doth alſo teſtify by the prophet: Pſal. xvi. therefore he requireth not our duties to himſelf, but doth exerciſe us in good works toward our neighbour. Therefore not without cauſe the apoſtle ſetteth the whole perfection of the ſaints in charity, Eph. i. 5. And not inconveniently in another place he calleth the ſame, Col. iii. 14. the fulfilling of the law: adding, that he hath performed the law that loveth his neighbour. Again, Rom. xiii. That all the law is comprehended in one word, Love thy neighbour as thyſelf. For he teacheth no other thing but the ſame which Chriſt doth when he ſaith, Matth. vii. 12. Whatſoever ye will that men do to you, do ye the ſame to them: for this is the law and the prophets. It is certain that in the law and the prophets faith and all that belongeth to the true worſhip of God, holdeth the principal place, and that love is beneath it in the lower degree: but the Lord's meaning is, that in the law is only preſcribed unto us an obſervation of right and equity, wherein we are exerciſed to teſtify our godly fear of him, if there be any in us.

The law doth not teach us to love our ſelves which we do ſo vehemently without teaching that it ſetteth up our affection this way as a mark which we ought to reach in loving others.

54. Here therefore let us ſtick faſt, that then our life ſhall be beſt framed to God's will and the rule of his law, when it ſhall be every way moſt profitable to our brethren. But in the whole law there is not read one ſyllable that appointeth to man any rule of ſuch things as he ſhall do or leave undone to the profit of his own fleſh. And ſurely ſince men are ſo born with ſuch diſpoſitions naturally that they are too much carried all headlong to the love of themſelves, and how much ſoever they fall from the truth yet ſtill they keep that ſelf-love, there needed no law any more to enflame that love, that was naturally of itſelf, too much beyond meaſure. Whereby it plainly appeareth, that not the love of our ſelves, but the love of God and of our neighbour is the keeping of the commandments, and that he liveth beſt and moſt holily, that (ſo near as may be) liveth and laboureth leaſt for himſelf, and that no man liveth worſe and more wickedly than he that liveth and laboureth for himſelf and only thinketh upon and ſeeketh for things of his own. And the Lord, the more to expreſs with how great earneſtneſs we ought to be led to the love of our neighbours, appointed it to be meaſured by the love of our ſelves as by a rule, becauſe he had no other vehementer or ſtronger affection to meaſure it by. And the force of the manner of ſpeaking is diligently to be conſidered. For he doth not, as certain ſophiſters have fooliſhly dreamed, give the firſt degree to the love of ourſelves, and the ſecond to charity, but rather that affection of love which we do all naturally draw to ourſelves he giveth away unto other, whereupon the Apoſtle ſaith that charity ſeeketh not her own, 1 Cor. xiii. 5. And their reaſon is not to be eſteemed worth a hair that the thing ruled is ever inferior to its rule. For God doth not make the love of ourſelves, a rule whereunto charity toward other ſhould be ſubject, but whereas by perverſeneſs of nature, the affection of love was wont to reſt in our ſelves, he ſheweth that now it ought to be elſewhere ſpread abroad, that we ſhould with no leſs chearfulneſs, ferventneſs, and carefulneſs be ready to do good to our neighbour than to ourſelves.

The commandments of the law in ſpeaking of our neighbours, meant not that we ſhould reſtrain the duties of love and charity to our ſpecial acquaintance.

55. Now ſince Chriſt hath ſhewed in the parable of the Samaritan (Luke. x. 36.) that under the name of neighbour every man is contained be he never ſo ſtrange unto us, there is no cauſe why we ſhould reſtrain the commandment of love within the bounds of our own freindſhips and acquaintances. I deny not that the nearer that any man is unto us, the more familiarly he is to be holden with our endeavours to do him good. For ſo the order of humanity requireth, that ſo many more duties of friendſhip men ſhould communicate together, as they are bound together with ſtraighter bonds of kindred, familiarity or neighbourhood, and that without any offence of God, by whoſe providence we are in a manner driven thereunto. But I ſay that all mankind without exception is to be embraced with one affection of charity: and that in this behalf is no difference of Barbarian or Grecian, of worthy or unworthy, of freind or foe, becauſe they are to be conſidered in God and not in themſelves: from which conſideration when we turn away, it is no wonder if we be entangled with many errors. Wherefore if we will keep the true trade of loving, we muſt not turn our eyes unto man, the ſight of whom would oftner enforce us to hate than to love, but unto God who commandeth that the love which we offer him be ſhed abroad among all men: that this be a perpetual foundation, that whatſoever the man be, yet he ought to be loved becauſe God is loved.

The absurdity of schoolmen in turning the commandments of the law into counsels whereunto all men are not bound.

56. Wherefore it was a most pestilent ignorance or malice, that the schoolmen of these commandments, touching not desiring of revenge, and loving our enemies, which in the old time both were given to the Jews, and at the same time were commonly given to all Christians, have made counsels which it is in our liberty to obey or not to obey. And the necessary obeying of them they have posted over to Monks who were thought but in this one point forsooth more righteous than simple Christans, that they willingly bound themselves to keep the counsels. And they render a reason why they receive them not for laws, for that they seem too burdensome and heavy, specially for Christians that are under the law of grace. So dare they presume to repel the eternal law of God touching the loving of our neighbours. Is there any such difference in any leaf of the law? and are not therein the rather every where found commandments that do most severely require of us to love our enemies? For what manner of saying is that, where we are commanded (Prov. xxv. 21.) to feed our enemy when he is hungry, (Exod. xxiii. 4.) to set into the right way his oxen or asses straying out of the way, or to ease them when they faint under their burden? Shall we do good to his beasts for his sake without any good will to himself? What? is not the word of the Lord everlasting? (Deut. xxxii. 35. Leave vengeance to me, and I will requite it. Which also is spoken more plainly in another place, (Levit. xix. 18.) Seek not vengeance, neither be mindful of the injury of thy citizens. Either let them blot these things out of the law, or let them acknowlege that the Lord was a lawmaker, and not lyingly feign that he was a counsel giver.

We are not counselled only in the law, but commanded to love, do good, to pray for and bless our enemies: as the reason annexed, that ye may be the children of your father, doth shew and so the fathers have understood it: neither is the reason any thing against it which they bring concerning the hardness of performing it.

57. And what, I pray you, mean these things that they have presumed to mock withal in their dry insipid gloss? (Matt. v. 44.) Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, pray for them that persecute you, bless them that curse you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven. Who cannot here reason with Chrysostom, (*Lib. de compunctione cordis.*) that by so necessary a cause it plainly appeareth that they are no exhortations but commandments? What remaineth more when we are blotted out of the number of the children of God? But by their opinion, only Monks shall be the children of the heavenly Father, they only shall be bold to call upon God their Father: what shall the church do in the mean time? it shall by like right be sent away to the Gentiles and publicans. For Christ saith: Matt. v. 46. If ye be friendly to your friends, what favour look you for thereby? do not the Gentiles and publicans the same? But we shall be in good case forsooth, if the title of Christians be left unto us, and the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven taken away from us. And no less strong is Augustin's argument, (*Lib. de doctri. Christ. cap.* 30.) When (saith he) the Lord forbiddeth to commit fornication, he no less forbiddeth to touch the wife of thine enemy than of thy friend. When he forbiddeth theft, he giveth leave to steal nothing at all, either from thy friend or from thine enemy. But these two, not to steal, and not to commit fornication. Paul (Rom. xiii. 9.) bringeth within the compass of the rule of love, yea and teacheth that they are contained under this commandment, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy self. Therefore, either Paul must have been a false expositor of the law, or it necessarily followeth hereby, that our enemies ought also to be loved, even by commandment, like as our friends. Therefore they do truly discover themselves to be the children of Satan that do so licentiously shake off the common yoke of the children of God. It is to be doubted, whether they have published this doctrine with more gross dulness or shamelessness. For there are none of the ancient writers that do not pronounce as of a thing certain, that these are mere commandments. And that even in Gregory's age it was not doubted of, appeareth by his own affirmation, for he without controversy taketh them for commandments. And how foolishly do they reason? They say that they are too weighty a burden for Christians. As though there could be devised any thing more weighty than to love God with all our heart, with all our soul, with all our strength. In comparison of this law any thing may be counted easy, whether it be to love our enemy, or to lay aside all desire of revenge out of our mind. Indeed all things are high and hard to our weakness even the least title of the law. It is the Lord in whom we use strength. Let him give what he commandeth, and command what he will. Christian men to be under the law of grace, are not unbridledly to wander without law, but

but to be graffed in Chriſt, by whoſe grace they are free from the curſe of the law, and by whoſe ſpirit they have a law written in their hearts. This grace Paul improperly called a law, alluding to the law of God againſt which he did ſet it in compariſon. But theſe men do in the name of the law diſpute upon a matter of nothing.

They do in vain diminiſh the weight of ſin, who make venial ſins of the ſecret unadviſed deſires wherein the heart of man doth not long reſt.

58. Of like ſort it is that thy called venial ſin, both ſecret ungodlineſs that is againſt the firſt table, and alſo the direct tranſgreſſing of the laſt commandment. For they define it thus, that it is a deſire without adviſed aſſent, which reſteth not long in the heart. But I ſay that it cannot come at all into the heart but by want of thoſe things that are required in the law, We forbid to have ſtrange gods. When the mind ſhaken with the engines of diſtruſt, looketh about elſewhere, when it is touched with a ſudden deſire to remove her bleſſedneſs ſome other way: whence come theſe motions, although they quickly vaniſh away, but of this, that there is ſomething in the ſoul empty, to receive ſuch tentations? And to the end not to draw out this argument to greater length there is a commandment given to love God with all our heart, with all our mind, with all our ſoul: if then all the powers of our ſoul be not bent to the love of God, we have already departed from the obedience of the law, becauſe the enemies that do therein ariſe againſt his kingdom, and interrupt his decrees, do prove that God hath not his throne well ſtabliſhed in our conſcience. As for the laſt commandment, we have already ſhewed that it properly belongeth hereunto. Hath any deſire of mind pricked us? we are already guilty of coveting, and therewithal are made tranſgreſſors of the law, becauſe the Lord doth forbid us, not only to purpoſe and practiſe any thing that may be to another's loſs, but alſo to be pricked and ſwell with coveting it. But the curſe of God doth always hang over the tranſgreſſion of the law. We cannot therefore prove even the very leaſt deſires free from judgment of death. In weighing of ſins (ſaith Auguſtine) *Lib.* 2. *de bap. contra. Donatiſt. cap.* 6. let us not bring falſe balances to weigh what we pleaſe and how we pleaſe at our own pleaſure, ſaying: this is heavy and this is light: but let us bring God's ballance out of the holy ſcriptures, as out of the Lord's treaſury, and let us therein weigh what is heavy: rather let us not weigh, but acknowlege things already weighed by the Lord. But what ſaith the ſcripture? Truly when Paul ſaith that the wages of ſin is death, he ſheweth that he knew not this abominable diſtinction. Since we are too much inclined to hypocriſy, this cheriſhment thereof ought not to have been added to flatter our ſlothful conſciences.

Every tranſgreſſion even of the leaſt commandment diminiſheth his authority that commandeth diſpleaſeth him, provoketh his wrath and is not otherwiſe pardonable than by his mercy, but deſerveth in it ſelf to be puniſhed with eternal death.

59. I would to God they would conſider what that ſaying of Chriſt meaneth: (Matth. v. 19.) He that tranſgreſſeth one of the leaſt of theſe commandments, and teacheth men ſo, ſhall be counted leaſt in the kingdom of heaven. Are not they of that ſort, when they dare ſo extenuate the tranſgreſſion of the law as if it were not worthy of death? but they ought to have conſidered not only what is commanded, but what he is who commandeth becauſe his authority is diminiſhed in every tranſgreſſion, how little ſoever it be, of the law that he hath given in commandment. Is it a ſmall matter with them, that God's majeſty be offended in any thing? Moreover if God hath declared his will in the law, whatſoever is contrary to the law, diſpleaſeth him. Will they imagine the wrath of God to be ſo diſarmed, that puniſhment of death ſhall not forthwith follow upon them? And he himſelf hath pronounced it plainly, if they would rather find in their hearts to hear his voice, than to trouble clear truth with their inſipid ſubtilties of argument. The ſoul (ſaith he, Ezek. xviii. 20.) that ſinneth, the ſame ſhall die. Again, which I juſt now alleged, (Rom. vi. 23.) the wages of ſin is death. But altho' they grant it to be a ſin, becauſe they cannot deny it: yet they obſtinately perſiſt in this, that it is no deadly ſin. But ſince they have hitherto too much born with their own madneſs, let them yet at length learn to grow wiſer. But if they continue in dotage, we will bid them farewel: and let the children of God learn this, that all ſin is deadly, becauſe it is a rebellion againſt the will of God, which of neceſſity provoketh his wrath, becauſe it is a breach of the law, upon which the judgment of God is pronounced without exception: and that the ſins of the ſaints are venial or pardonable, not of their own nature, but becauſe they obtain pardon by the mercy of God.

CHAP. IX.

That Chriſt although he was known to the Jews under the law, yet was delivered only by the goſpel.

Chriſt was known to the fathers under the law, but not ſo clearly as to us he is manifeſted in the goſpel.

BECAUSE it pleaſed God in the old time not vainly by expiations and ſacrifices to declare himſelf a father, and not in vain he did conſecrate a choſen people to himſelf: even then without doubt he was known in the ſame image, wherein he now appeareth to us in full brightneſs. Therefore Malachi. (Mal. iv. 2.) after that he had bidden the Jews to take heed to the law of Moſes, and to continue in ſtudy thereof, (becauſe after his death there ſhould come a certain interruption of the office of the prophets) did forthwith declare, that there ſhould ariſe a ſon of righteouſneſs. In which words he teacheth, that the law availeth to this purpoſe, to hold the godly in expectation of Chriſt to come: but yet that there was much more light to be hoped for, when he ſhould be come indeed. For this reaſon doth Peter ſay, (1 Pet. i. 12.) that the prophets did make ſearch, and diligently enquire, of the ſalvation that is now opened by the goſpel: and that it was revealed unto them, that they ſhould miniſter, not to themſelves nor to their own age, but unto us, thoſe things that are declared by the goſpel. Not that their doctrine was unprofitable to the people in old time, or nothing availed themſelves: but becauſe they enjoyed not the treaſure which God ſent unto us by their hand. For at this day the grace whereof they teſtified, is familiarly ſet before our eyes. And whereas they did but a little ſip of it, there is offered unto us a more plentiful enjoying thereof. Therefore Chriſt himſelf, who affirmeth that he had witneſs born him by Moſes, yet extolleth the meaſure of grace whereby we excel the Jews. For ſpeaking to the diſciples he ſaid, (John v. 46.) Bleſſed are the eyes that ſee that which ye ſee, and bleſſed are the ears that hear that which ye hear. For many kings and prophets have wiſhed it, and have not obtained it. This is no ſmall commendation of the revelation of the goſpel that God preferred us before the holy fathers that excelled in rare godlineſs. With which ſentence that other place diſagreeth not, where it is ſaid, (Mat. xiii. 16.) that Abraham ſaw the day of Chriſt and rejoiced. For though the ſight of a thing far diſtant was ſomewhat dark, yet he wanted nothing to the aſſurance of good hope. And thence came that joy which accompanied the holy prophet, even to his death. And that ſaying of John Baptiſt: (John i. 18.) No man hath ſeen God at any time, the only begotten that is in the boſom of the Father, hath declared him unto us, doth not exclude the godly who had been dead before him, from the fellowſhip of the underſtanding and light that ſhineth in the perſon of Chriſt: But comparing their eſtate with ours, he teacheth that thoſe myſteries, which they ſaw but darkly under ſhadows, are manifeſt to us: as the author of the epiſtle to the Hebrews doth well ſet out, ſaying, (Heb. i. 1.) that God, who at ſundry times, and in divers manners, ſpake in time paſt unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in theſe laſt days ſpoken unto us by his well-beloved Son. Altho' therefore, that only-begotten one, who is the brightneſs of the glory and the expreſs image of the ſubſtance of God the Father, was in old time known to the Jews, as we have in another place alleged out of Paul, that he was the guide of the old diſpenſation: yet is it true, which the ſame Paul elſewhere (2 Cor. iv. 6.) teacheth, that God which commanded the light to ſhine out of darkneſs, hath now ſhined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowlege of the glory of God, in the face of Jeſus Chriſt: becauſe when he appeareth in this his image, he did in a manner make himſelf viſible, in compariſon of the dark and ſhadowiſh form that had been of him before. And ſo much the more vile and deteſtable in their ingratitude and perverſeneſs who are here ſo blind at midday. And therefore Paul ſaith, that their minds are darkened by Satan, that they ſhould not ſee the glory of Chriſt ſhining in the goſpel, though there be no vail ſet between them and it.

Although in the law and the prophets there be many promiſes concerning the free forgiveneſs of ſins, yet the name of the goſ-

2. Now I take the goſpel for the clear diſcloſing of the myſtery of Chriſt. I grant truly, that in that reſpect that Paul calleth the goſpel the doctrine of faith, all the promiſes that we here and there find in the law, concerning the free forgiveneſs of ſins, whereby God reconcileth men to himſelf, are accounted parts thereof. For he compareth

pel properly taken is not applicableuntothembut only to the publishing of grace now given in Jesus Christ.

pareth faith against these terrors, wherewith the conscience should be troubled and vexed, if salvation were to be sought by works. Whereupon followeth, that in taking the name of the gospel largely, there are contained under it all the testimonies that God in old time gave to the fathers, of his mercy and fatherly favour: But in the most excellent signification of it, I say it is applied to the publishing of (1 Tim. iv. 6.) the grace given in Christ. And that meaning is not only received by common use, but also dependeth upon the authority of Christ and the apostles. Whereupon this is properly ascribed unto him, (Matth. iv. 9.) that he preached the gospel of the kingdom. And Mark maketh his preface in this manner, (Mark i. 1.) The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ. And there is no need to gather places to prove a thing abundantly known. Christ therefore by his coming hath brought to light life and immortality by the gospel. By which words Paul meaneth, not that the fathers were drowned in darkness of death, until the Son of God did put on flesh: but claiming this prerogative of honour to the gospel he teacheth that it is a new and unwonted kind of message, whereby God performed those things that he had promised that the truth of his promises should be fulfilled in the person of the Son. For although the faithful have always found by experience, that same saying of Paul (2 Tim. i. 10.) to be true, that in Christ all the promises are yea and Amen, because they were sealed in their hearts: yet because he hath accomplished all parts of our salvation in his flesh, therefore that very lively delivering of the things, justly obtained a new and singular title of praise. Hence it is that Christ says; (John i. 52.) hereafter ye shall see the heavens open, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man. For though he seem to have relation unto the ladder shewed in a vision to the patriarch Jacob: yet he setteth out the excellency of his coming by this mark, that he opened the gate of heaven to all men, that the entry thereof may stand familiarly open to all men.

We may not with Servetus think that because the promises made before are accomplished in Christ, therefore they are abolished, so as christians are not to look for any further enjoying of things promised than they have attained already.

3. But yet we must take heed of the devilish imagination of Servetus who when he goeth about, or at least feigneth that he goeth about, to extol the greatness of the grace of Christ, utterly abolisheth the promises, as if they were ended together with the law. He pretends that by the faith of the gospel there is brought unto us the accomplishment of all the promises: as though there were no difference between us and Christ. I did indeed just now declare that Christ left nothing unperformed of the whole sum of our salvation: but it is wrongfully gathered thereupon, that we do already enjoy the benefits purchased by him, as though that saying of Paul were false, that our salvation is hidden in hope. I grant indeed, that we by believing in Christ, do also pass from death to life: but in the mean time we must hold this saying of John, that although we know we are the children of God, yet it hath not as yet appeared, till we shall be like unto him: that is, till we shall see him such as he is. Therefore although Christ offer unto us in his gospel present fulness of spiritual good things, yet the enjoying thereof lyeth still hid under the keeping of hope, till being unclothed of the corruptible flesh, we be transformed into the glory of him that goeth before us. In the mean time the holy Ghost biddeth us to rest upon the promises, whose authority ought with us to put to silence all the barkings of that filthy dog. For as Paul witnesseth, (1 Tim. iv. 8.) godliness hath a promise as well of the life to come as of the life present. For which reason he boasteth (2 Tim. i.) that he is an apostle of Christ, according to the promise of life that is in him, And in another place (2 Cor. vii.) he putteth us in mind, that we have th same promises, which in the old time were gi e to the holy men. Finally, he setteth this for en sum of felicity, that we are sealed up with the ly spirit of promise, but yet we do no otherwise enjoy Christ, but so far as we embrace him, cloth- ed with his promises. Whereby it cometh to pass, that he indeed dwelleth in our hearts, and yet we wander in journey abroad from him: because we walk by faith and not by sight. And these two things do not ill agree together; that we possess in Christ all that pertaineth to the perfection of the heavenly life: and yet that fa- is a beholding of good things that are not se- ference to be observe- . Only there is a difthe promises: be- in the nature or quality of finger that t- ause the gospel sheweth with her figures. ing which the law did shadow under

The gospel is not so opposite to the law, as teaching another way of salvation, but the same more plainly.

4. And hereby also is their error convinced, who do never otherwise compare the law with the gospel, but as they compare the merits of works with the free imputation of righteousness. Although indeed this comparison of contraries be not to be rejected: because Paul doth oftentimes understand by the name of the law, a rule to live righteously, wherein God requireth of us, that which is his, not giving us any hope of life, unless we in all points obey it; and on the other side adding a curse if we do never so little depart from it: that is in such places as he disputeth, that we do freely please God, and are by pardon reckoned righteous, because the observation of the law, to which the reward is promised, is no where found. Therefore Paul doth fitly make the righteousness of the law and of the gospel, contrary the one to the other. But the gospel did not so succeed in place of the whole law, that it should bring any diverse mean of salvation, but rather to confirm and prove to be of force, whatsoever the law had promised, and to join the body to the shadows. For when Christ saith, that the law and the prophets were until John: he maketh not the fathers subject to the curse, which the bondservants of the law cannot escape: but rather only that they were instructed with certain rudiments, so as they stayed a great way beneath the height of the doctrine of the gospel. Therefore Paul (Rom. i. 16.) calling the gospel the power of God, to salvation to every believer, by and by addeth, that it hath witness of the law and the prophets. But in the end of the same epistle, although he shew that the title of praise of Jesus Christ is the revelation of the mystery kept secret in the everlasting times: yet he doth qualify that saying, with adding an exposition, teaching that he is openly shewed by the writings of the prophets. Whereupon we gather, that when we are to treat of the whole law, the gospel differeth from the law only in respect of the plain disclosing thereof. But yet for the inestimable flowing store of grace, which hath been laid open for us in Christ, it is now not without cause said, that at his coming the heavenly kingdom of God was erected in earth.

The preaching of John a mean between the law and the gospel. In which respect his office differing both from the prophets and apostles he is termed greater than the one and less than he who was least of the other.

5. Now between the law and the gospel came John, who had office that was middle and of affinity to them both. For though when he called Christ the lamb of God, and the sacrifice for the cleansing of sins, he shewed forth the sum of the gospel: yet because he did not express that same incomparable strength and glory, which at length appeared in his resurrection, therefore Christ saith that he was not equal to the apostles. For so do those words of his mean: that though John excel among the sons of women, yet he that is least in the kingdom of heaven, is greater than he. Because he doth not there commend the persons of men, but after he had preferred John before the prophets, he advanceth the preaching of the gospel to the highest degree: which preaching we see in another place signifyed by the kingdom of heaven. But whereas John himself (Matth. xi. 11.) doth answer that he is but a voice, as though he were inferior to the prophets, he doth not that for feigned humility's sake, but meaneth to teach that the proper office of the ambassador was not committed to him, (John i. 23.) but that he only executeth the office of an apparitor: as it was foretold by Malachi: (Mal. iv. 5.) Behold, I send Elias the prophet, before that the great and terrible day of the Lord do come. And truly he did nothing else in the whole course of his ministry, but endeavour to prepare disciples to Christ: as also Isaiah proveth, that this was enjoined him from God. And in this sense Christ is called (John v. 35.) a candle burning and shining, because the broad day had not yet appeared. And yet this does not hinder but that he may be reckoned among the publishers of the gospel, like as he used the same baptism, which was afterwards delivered to the apostles. But that which he began was not fulfilled but by the apostles, with free proceeding, after that Christ was taken up from them into the heavenly glory.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the likeneſs of the old and new Teſtaments.

A thing neceſſary to know the agreement and difference between ourſelves and the fathers under the law.

FROM what has been ſaid it may now evidently appear, that all the men whom from the beginning of the world God adopted into the eſtate of his people, with the ſame law, and with the bond of the ſame doctrine, which now remaineth in force among us, were bound in covenant to him. But becauſe it is of no ſmall importance that this point be well eſtabliſhed, I will adjoin unto it for an addition, ſince the fathers were all partakers of the ſame inheritance with us, and all hoped for the ſame ſalvation by the grace of the ſame mediator, how far their eſtate differed from ours in this fellowſhip. But although the teſtimonies that we have gathered out of the law and the prophets for proof thereof, do make it plain that there was never any other rule of religion and godlineſs in the people of God: yet becauſe in writers there are oftentimes many things ſpoken of the difference of the old and new Teſtaments, that may make the reader that is not of very ſharp judgment to be in doubt: therefore we ſhall juſtly appoint one peculiar place for the better and more exact diſcuſſing of this matter: yea, and that thing alſo, which otherwiſe ſhould have been very profitable for us, is now made neceſſary by that monſtrous lying fellow Servetus and by divers other mad men of the ſect of Anabaptiſts, who have no other opinion of the people of Iſrael than as of a herd of ſwine: whom they fondly feign to have been fatted up by the Lord here in this earth, without any hope of heavenly immortality. Therefore that we may prevent this peſtilent error from coming into godly minds, and alſo that we may pluck out of them all doubts which are wont by and by to ariſe upon hearing mention of the diverſity between the old and the new Teſtament; let us by the way look, what they have in them like, and what unlike one to the other: what covenant the Lord made with the Iſraelites in the old time before the coming of Chriſt, and what covenant he hath now made with us ſince Chriſt hath been openly ſhewed.

The fathers had the ſame covenant which we have: they looked for immortality and had it promiſed: they expected it by mercy and not by merit: they knew that Chriſt was their mediator to obtain, mercy as well as we.

2. And both theſe points may be made plain with one word. The covenant of all the fathers ſo differeth nothing from ours in ſubſtance and in matter itſelf, that it is altogether one and the ſelf ſame: but the miniſtration is divers. But becauſe of ſo great ſhortneſs no man were able to attain a certain underſtanding, we muſt needs proceed on with a longer declaration if we mean to profit any thing at all. But in ſhewing how they are like, or rather all one, it ſhall be ſuperfluous to diſcourſe again anew upon all the ſpecial particulars that have already been declared: and it ſhall be out of ſeaſon to mingle thoſe things together that remain yet to be ſpoken in other places. Here we muſt chiefly reſt upon three principal points: Firſt, that we hold, that carnal wealth and felicity was not the mark appointed to the Jews to aſpire unto, but that they were by adoption choſen unto the hope of immortality: and that the truth of this adoption was certainly aſſured unto them both by oracles, and by the law, and by the prophecies. Secondly, that the covenant whereby they were joined to the Lord, was upholden not by any merits of theirs, but by the only mercy of God that called them. Thirdly, that they both had and knew Chriſt the mediator, by whom they ſhould both be joined to God and enjoy his promiſes. Of which points, becauſe the ſecond peradventure is not yet ſufficiently known, it ſhall in place appointed for it be declared at large. For we ſhall confirm by many and clear teſtimonies of the prophets, that it was of his own mere goodneſs, and tender favour, whatſoever good the Lord at any time did, and promiſed to the people of Iſrael. The third alſo hath already had here and there ſome plain declarations of it, and we have not left the firſt altogether untouched.

As well to the fathers under the law as to us in goſpel, promiſes were made of the life to come and not of temporal happineſs only.

3. Therefore in ſetting out of this point, becauſe it moſt eſpecially belongeth to this preſent matter, and becauſe they contend with us moſt about it, we will therefore beſtow the more pains upon it: but yet ſo that if there want yet any thing of the explication of the other, it may be by the way ſupplied, or in convenient place be added. Truly, the apoſtle taketh away all doubt of them all, when he ſaith,

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Rom. i. 2. that God the Father long before by the prophets in the holy ſcriptures promiſed the goſpel, which he afterwards publiſhed according to the time appointed. Again, Rom. iii. 21. that the righteouſneſs of faith which is taught by the goſpel itſelf, hath witneſs of the law and the prophets. For the goſpel doth not hold the hearts of men in the joy of this preſent life, but lifteth them up to the hope of immortality: doth not faſten them to earthly delights, but preaching to them a hope laid up in heaven, doth in a manner tranſport them thither. For thus he defineth, (Eph. i. 13.) in another place. Since that ye believed the goſpel, ye are ſealed up with the holy Spirit of promiſe, which is the earneſt of our inheritance, for the redemption of the purchaſed poſſeſſion. Again, (Col. i. 4.) we have heard of your faith in Chriſt Jeſus, and of your charity towards the ſaints, for the hope's ſake which is laid up for you in heaven, whereof ye have heard by the true ſpeech of the goſpel. Again: (1 Theſſ. ii. 14.) He hath called us by the goſpel to the partaking of the glory of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Wherefore it is called both the word of ſalvation, and the power of God to ſave the faithful; and the kingdom of heaven. Now, if the doctrine of the goſpel be ſpiritual, and openeth the entry to the poſſeſſion of an incorruptible life; let us not think that they to whom it was promiſed and declared, did paſs over and neglect the care of their ſouls, and lie dully like beaſts in ſeeking pleaſures of the body. Neither let any man here cavil that the promiſes which are ſealed in the law and the prophets concerning the goſpel, were ordained for the new people. For within a little after, that which he ſpake of the goſpel promiſed in the law, he addeth, Rom. iii. 19. that all the things that the law containeth are without doubt properly directed to them that are under the law. I grant indeed it is in another argument. But he was not ſo forgetful, that when he had once ſaid, that all the things which the law containeth belong to the Jews, he did not remember what in a few verſes before he had affirmed of the goſpel promiſed in the law. Wherefore the apoſtle ſheweth moſt plainly, that the old Teſtament chiefly tended to the life to come, when he ſaith, that under it are contained the promiſes of the goſpel.

The ſame mercy by virtue of the ſame mediator ſaved the fathers which ſaveth us.

4. By the ſame reaſon followeth, both that it ſtood upon the free mercy of God, and alſo was confirmed by the mean of Chriſt. For the very preaching of the goſpel pronounceth no other thing, but that ſinners are juſtified by the fatherly kindneſs of God without their own deſerving, and the whole ſum thereof is fulfilled in Chriſt. Who then dare make the Jews without Chriſt, with whom we hear that the covenant of the goſpel was made, whereof Chriſt is the only foundation? Who dare make them ſtrangers from the benefit of free ſalvation, to whom we hear that the doctrine of the righteouſneſs of faith was miniſtred? But, that we diſpute not long of an evident matter, we have a remarkable ſentence of the Lord, John viii. 56. Abraham rejoiced that he might ſee my day, he ſaw it and was glad. And the ſame thing which Chriſt there teſtifieth of Abraham, the apoſtle ſheweth that it was univerſal in the faithful people, when he ſaith, that Chriſt is the ſame yeſterday to day, and for ever. For he ſpeaketh not there only of the eternal Godhead of Chriſt, but alſo of his power, which was continually opened to the faithful. Wherefore both the bleſſed virgin and Zachary in their ſongs, do ſay Luke. i. 54. and 72. that the ſalvation revealed in Chriſt, is the performance of the promiſes, which God in old time had made to Abraham and the patriarchs. If the Lord in giving his Chriſt, fulfilled his antient oath, it cannot be ſaid but that the end thereof was always in Chriſt an everlaſting life.

Equality between the fathers and us in the thing ſignified both by their and our ſacraments.

5. Yea, and the apoſtle doth make the Iſraelites equal with us, not only in the grace of the covenant, but alſo in ſignification of ſacraments. For meaning by examples of puniſhments, wherewith the ſcripture reciteth that they were corrected in the old time, to make the Corinthians afraid, that they ſhould not run into the like offences, he beginneth with this preface, 1 Cor. x. 1. and 11. that there is no cauſe why we ſhould challenge any prerogative unto ourſelves, to deliver us from the vengeance of God which they ſuſtained, foraſmuch as the Lord did not only grant unto them the ſame benefits, but he hath glorioufly ſet forth his grace among them with the ſame tokens: as if he ſhould have ſaid: If ye truſt that ye are out of danger, becauſe both baptiſm, wherewith ye are diſtinguiſhed, and the ſupper which ye daily receive, have excellent promiſes, and in the mean time deſpiſing the goodneſs of God, ye are licentiouſly wanton: Know ye, that the Jews alſo were not without ſuch ſacraments, againſt whom yet the Lord did moſt ſeverely put his judgments in execution. They were baptized in paſſing over the ſea, and in the clouds wherewith they were defended from the burning heat of the ſun. They

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ſay, that that ſame paſſage was a carnal baptiſm, which after a certain proportion anſwereth to our ſpiritual baptiſm. But if that were allowed true, the apoſtle's argument could not proceed, which meaneth here to have this taken away from the chriſtians, that they think that they excel they Jews by the prerogative of baptiſm. Neither is that which ſoon after followeth, ſubject to this cavil: that they did eat the ſame ſpiritual meat that we eat, and drunk the ſame ſpiritual drink, which he expoundeth to be Chriſt.

The words of Chriſt in ſaying: Your fathers did eat Manna and are dead: do not contradict the apoſtle who ſaith: They did eat the ſame ſpiritual meat that we eat. For they unto whom Chriſt ſpeaketh gave him occaſion not to touch the myſtery but only the carnal uſe of their Manna.

6. To overthrow this ſentence of Paul, they object that which Chriſt ſaith: Your fathers did eat Manna in the wilderneſs, and are dead: he that eateth my fleſh ſhall not die for ever. Which two places are very eaſily to be made to agree together. The Lord, becauſe he then talked to hearers that ſought only to be filled with food of their bellies, but cared not for the meat of the ſoul, tempered his talk ſomewhat to their capacity, but eſpecially he frameth the compariſon of Manna, and of his body according to their ſenſe. They required that he, to get himſelf ſome credit, would approve his power with doing ſome ſuch miracle, as Moſes did in the wilderneſs, when he obtained Manna from heaven. But in Manna they conceived nothing but the remedy of carnal hunger, wherewith the people was then vexed: but they pierced not to that higher myſtery which Paul hath reſpect unto; Chriſt therefore, to ſhew how much greater a benefit they ought to look for at his hand, than that which they reported that Moſes did beſtow upon their fathers, frameth this compariſon, "If it were a great miracle "in your opinion, and worthy to be remembered, "that the Lord by Moſes miniſtred food from heaven "to his people, to ſuſtain them for a ſmall time, "that they ſhould not periſh for hunger in the "wilderneſs:" gather hereby how much more excellent is the meat that giveth immortality. We ſee why the Lord paſſed over that thing which was principal in Manna, and ſpake only of the baſeſt profit of it: even becauſe the Jews as it were of purpoſe to reproach him, did caſt Moſes in his teeth, which ſuccoured the neceſſity of the people with remedy of Manna: he anſwered that he is the miniſter of a much higher grace, in compariſon whereof, the carnal feeding of the people which alone they ſo much eſteemed ought of right to be nothing regarded. But Paul, becauſe he knew that the Lord when he rained Manna from heaven did not only pour it down for the feeding of their belly, but alſo did diſtribute it for a ſpiritual myſtery, to be a figure of the ſpiritual quickning that is had in Chriſt, did not neglect that part that was moſt worthy of conſideration. Wherefore it certainly and clearly followeth, that the ſame promiſes of eternal and heavenly life, which now the Lord vouchſafeth to grant unto us, were not only communicated unto the Jews, but alſo ſealed with very ſpiritual ſacraments. Of which matter Auguſtin diſputeth largely againſt Fauſtus the Manichee.

7. But if the readers had rather to have teſtimonies alledged unto them out of the law and the prophets, whereby they may perceive that the ſpiritual covenant was common alſo to the fathers, as we hear by Chriſt and the apoſtles: I will alſo follow that deſire, and ſo much the more willingly, becauſe by that mean the adverſaries ſhall be more ſurely convinced, ſo that they ſhall have afterwards no way to dally. And I will begin at that proof, which although I know that the Anabaptiſts pride will think very fond, and in a manner to be laughed at, yet ſhall much avail with ſuch readers as are willing to learn and have their right wits. And I take it as a principle confeſſed that there is ſuch effectual force of life in the word of God, that whom ſoever God vouchſafeth to be partakers thereof, it quickeneth their ſouls. For the ſaying of Peter (1 Pet ii. 13.) hath always been of force, that it is the incorruptible ſeed which abideth for ever, as alſo he gathereth out of the words of Iſaiah, Iſa. 40. 6. Now ſince God in the old time bound the Jews unto him with this holy bond, it is not to be doubted but that he did alſo ſeparate them into the hope of eternal life. For when I ſay they embraced the word, which ſhould join them nigher to God, I take it for the manner of communicating it; not that general manner, which is poured abroad throughout the heaven and earth and all the creatures of the world, which although it do quicken all things, every one after the proportion of their nature, yet it doth not deliver them from neceſſity of corruption: but I ſpeak of this ſpecial manner, whereby the ſouls of the godly are both enlightened unto the knowlege of God, and

Since the fathers were enlightened and united unto God by the ſeed of that word which is immortal, it ſheweth that they had the benefit of immortality and eternal life.

as it were united to him. By this enlightening of the word, ſince Adam, Abel, Noah, Abraham, and the other fathers cleaved unto God, I ſay that it is not doubtful that they had an entry into the immortal kingdom of God. For it was a ſound partaking of God, which cannot be without the benefit of eternal life.

The form of the covenant of God with the fathers promiſing to be their God proveth that eternal life was promiſed them.

8. But if this ſeem ſomewhat perplexed, go to the very form of the covenant, which ſhall not only ſatisfy ſober minds, but alſo ſhall ſufficiently convince their ignorance who bend themſelves to ſpeak againſt it. For God did always thus covenant with his ſervants: Lev. xxvi. 12. I will be to you a God, and ye ſhall be to me a people. In which words the prophets themſelves are wont to expound, that both life and ſalvation, and the whole ſum of bleſſedneſs is comprehended. For David (Pſal. cxliv. 15.) doth not without cauſe often pronounce, that bleſſed is the people, whoſe God is the Lord: bleſſed is the nation, which he hath choſen to be his inheritance: Pſal. xxxiii. 12. and that not for earthly felicity's ſake, but becauſe he delivereth them from death, he preſerveth them for ever, and continually ſheweth them eternal mercy, whom he hath taken to his people: as it is in the other prophets, Hab. i. 12. Thou art our God, we ſhall not die: Iſa. xxxiii. 21. The Lord is our king, our lawmaker, he ſhall ſave us. Deut. xxxiii. 29. Bleſſed art thou, O Iſrael, becauſe thou art ſaved in the Lord God. But, not to labour overmuch in a thing needleſs, this admonition is found and every where in the prophets, that we ſhall want nothing toward all abundance of good things, and aſſurance of ſalvation, ſo that the Lord be our God. And juſtly: For if his face ſo ſoon as it beginneth to ſhine, is a moſt preſent pledge of ſalvation, to what man ſhall he openly ſhew himſelf for his God, but that he will alſo open to him his treaſure of ſalvation? For he is our God with this condition, to dwell in the midſt of us: as he teſtified by Moſes, Lev. xxvi. 12. But ſuch preſence cannot be obtained, but that life muſt be alſo together had in poſſeſſion with it. And although there were no more expreſſed, yet had they a promiſe of ſpiritual life plain enough in theſe words: Exod. vi. 7. I am your God. For he did not declare that he would be a God unto their bodies alone, but principally to their ſouls. But ſouls unleſs they be united to God by righteouſneſs remain eſtranged from him in death. But on the other ſide, let that joining be preſent, it ſhall bring everlaſting ſalvation with it.

God in promiſing the fathers to be their God in time to come, and to continue his mercy to their children, likewiſe in affirming himſelf to be the God of the dead, gave the living plain hope of endleſs life.

9. Beſide that, he did not only teſtify that he was to them their God, but he alſo promiſed that he would be ſo always to the end that their hope not contented with preſent benefits, ſhould be extended to eternity. And many ſayings do ſhew, that the ſpeaking in the future time meant ſo much, as where the faithful not only in preſent evils, but alſo for the time to come, do comfort themſelves with this, that God will never fail them. Now as concerning the ſecond part of the promiſe, he yet more plainly aſſured them of the bleſſing of God to be prolonged unto them beyond the bounds of this life in ſaying: Gen xvii. 7. I will be the God of your ſeed after you. For if he had a mind to declare his good will toward them being dead, in doing good to their poſterity, much more would his favour not fail toward themſelves. For God is not like unto men, who do therefore carry their love to their friends children, becauſe their power is interrupted by death, ſo that they cannot employ their friendly actions upon them to whom they did bear good will. But God, whoſe bountifulneſs is not hindred by death, taketh not away from the very dead the fruit of the mercy, which for their ſakes he poureth out into a thouſand generations. Therefore the Lord's will was by a notable proof to ſet forth unto them the greatneſs and exuberant plenty of his goodneſs, which they ſhould feel after death, when he deſcribed it to be ſuch as ſhould flow over into all their poſterity. And the truth of this promiſe the Lord did then ſeal, and as it were brought forth the fulfilling of it, when he named himſelf (Exod iii.6.) the God of Abraham, Iſaac and Jacob, long after their death. For, what had it not be a fond naming, if they had utterly periſhed? For then had it been all one, as if he had ſaid, I am the God of them that are not. Wherefore the evangeliſts, (Luke xx. 32.) rehearſe, that with this one argument the Sadducees were ſo driven to a ſtrait, that they could not deny that Moſes did teſtify the reſurrection of the the dead, becauſe they had learned by

by Moſes, (Deut. xxxiii. 3.) that all the ſaints were in his hand. Whereupon it was eaſy to gather, that they are not deſtroyed by death, whom he that is the judge of life and death had received into his ſafe-guard, cuſtody, and protection.

The eſtate of Adam, Abel, and Noah, declareth that they had an eye to a better than this preſent life.

10. Now (which is the principal point whereupon this controverſy depends) let us ſee, whether the faithful themſelves have not been ſo inſtructed of the Lord, that they perceived that they ſhould have a better life elſewhere, and ſo neglecting this life, had an eye to the other. Firſt the ſtate of life that was enjoyned them by God, was a continual exerciſe, whereby they might be put in mind, that they were the moſt miſerable of all men, if their happineſs were only in this life. Adam, moſt unhappy, even with only remembrance of the happineſs that he had loſt, (Gen. iii. 17.) did with painful labours hardly ſuſtain his needineſs, and that he ſhould not be preſſed with the curſe of God, in the only labours of his hands, even there received he extreme ſorrow of that which remained for him to be his comfort. Of his two ſons, the one was taken away by the wicked ſlaughter of his brother: the other he had left alive, whoſe ſight he worthily deteſted and abhorred. (Gen. iv. 8.) Abel cruelly murdered in the very flower of his age, became an example of the wretchedneſs of men. Noah, while the whole world careleſly lived in pleaſure, ſpent a good part of his age with great wearineſs in building the ark. (Gen. vi. 22.) This that he eſcaped death, came to paſs by his greater troubles, than if he ſhould have died an hundred deaths. For beſide that the ark was to him as a grave for ten months, there is nothing more unpleaſant than to be holden ſo long in a manner drowned in dung of beaſts. (Gen. ix. 24.) When he had paſſed over ſo great difficulties, he fell into new matter of grief, he ſaw himſelf ſcorned of his own ſon, and was compelled with his own mouth to curſe him, whom by the great benefit of God (Gen. xii. 4.) he had received ſafe from the general flood.

None more miſerable than Abraham, if his condition in this life only be reſpected.

11. Abraham indeed may be one alone to be compared with an hundred thouſand, if we conſider his faith, which is ſet forth unto us for the beſt rule of believing, of whoſe kindred we muſt be accounted, that we may be the children of God. But what greater abſurdity is there, than Abraham to be the father of all the faithful, and not to poſſeſs ſo much as the ſmalleſt corner among them? but he cannot be thrown down out of the number, no not from the moſt honourable degree, but that the whole church muſt be deſtroyed. Now as touching the experiences of his life: when he was firſt called by the commandment of God, he was plucked away from his country, his parents and his friends, in whom men think to be the chief ſweetneſs of life: even as if God of determinate purpoſe meant to ſpoil him of all the pleaſures of life. So ſoon as he came into the land where he was commanded to dwell, he was driven out from thence with famine. Thither he fled for ſuccour, where to ſave himſelf, he was compelled to deliver out his wife to be abuſed, which we know not whether it were not more bitter to him than many deaths. When he was returned into the land of his own dwelling, he was driven out again from thence with famine. What a felicity is this, to dwell in that land, wherein a man muſt ſo oft be hungry, yea die for famine if he run not away? And therewithal he was brought to that neceſſity with Abimelech, that he muſt needs redeem his life with the loſs of his wife, while many years long he wandered uncertainly hither and thither, he was compelled by the continual brawlings of his ſervants to put away his nephew, whom he loved as his own ſon. Which departing without doubt he did no otherwiſe take than if he had ſuffered the cutting off of one of his limbs. A little after, (Gen. xii. 12.) he heard that he was carried away captive by his enemies. Whitherſoever he went, he found neighbours outragiouſly barbarous, who would not ſuffer him ſo much as to drink water out of the wells that himſelf had digged with great labour. For he would not have redeemed the uſe of them at the hand of king Gerar, if he had not firſt been forbidden. Now when he came to old age, he ſaw the thing which is the moſt unpleaſant and bitter that age hath, himſelf puniſhed with having no children, till beſide all hope he begat Iſhmael, whoſe birth yet he paid dear for, when he was wearied with the brawling of Sarah, as if he in maintaining the ſtubbornneſs of his bondwoman were himſelf the cauſe of the trouble of his houſhold. At length Iſaac was born, but with this condition that his firſt begotten Iſhmael muſt, as forſaken, be cruelly caſt out of doors. When only Iſaac was left, in whom the wearied age of the ſilly good man, might reſt, within a little after he was command-

ed to kill him. What can man's wit deviſe more miſerable than the father to be made the butcher of his own ſon? If Iſaac had died of any ſickneſs, who would not have thought the old man moſt miſerable, that had a ſon given him in mockery, for whom his grief of want of children ſhould be doubled? If he had been ſlain by ſome ſtranger, the unhappineſs of the thing would have much increaſed his miſery. But this paſſeth all examples of miſery, to have him ſlain with his father's own hand. Finally, he was in all the whole courſe of his life ſo toſſed and vexed, as if a man would in a table paint out an example of a miſerable life, he could find none more fit than this of Abraham. And let no man object that he was not altogether unhappy, becauſe he at length proſperouſly eſcaped from ſo many and ſo great tempeſts. For we cannot ſay that he lived a bleſſed life, who for a long ſpace together painfully weareth out of infinite troubles, but him that without feeling of evils, quietly enjoyeth preſent good things.

The lives of Iſaac and Jacob eſpecially, how far from outward happineſs?

12. Iſaac who was leſs troubled with evils, yet ſcarce taſted of ſweetneſs. He alſo felt the ſame vexations, that do not ſuffer a man to be bleſſed in the earth. Famine chaſed him out of the land of Canaan: (Gen. xxvi. 35.) he had his wife violently plucked away from his boſom: his neighbours oft troubled him, and by all means oppreſſed him, ſo that he was fain to ſtrive for his water: at home in his houſe, he ſuffered much troubleſomeneſs by his children's wives, he was grieved with diſagreements of his ſons, and could not remedy that ſo great a miſchief, but by the baniſhment of him whom he had bleſſed. But as for Jacob, he is nothing elſe but a notable example of extreme infelicity: he paſſed his childhood (Gen. xxviii. 5.) moſt unquietly at home among the threatenings and terrors of his elder brother, to whom at length he was compelled to give place. When he had fled from his parents and his native country, beſides that it was a grievous thing to live in baniſhment, he was nothing more kindly or gently received of his uncle Laban. (Gen. xxix. 20.) Then it ſufficed not that he had ſerved ſeven years a hard and cruel ſervice, but that alſo muſt be by guile defrauded of his wife. For another wife's ſake he was driven into new ſervice, where he was all the day ſcorched with heat of the ſun, and all the night lay waking and pained with froſt and cold, as himſelf complained. While he by the ſpace of twenty years ſuffered ſo hard a life, he was daily vexed with new injuries of his father in law. (Gen. xxxi. 23.) Neither was he quiet in his own houſe, ſeeing it divided and in a manner ſcattered abroad with the hatred, brawling and envy of his wives. When he was commanded to return into his own country, he was compelled to watch an advantage to take his journey, much like a ſhameful running away: and yet could he not ſo eſcape the unjuſt dealing of his father in law, but was fain to ſuffer his reproaches and rebukes in the midſt of his journey. (Gen. xxxii. 11.) Then fell he into a much more cruel diſtreſs. For when he came near to his brother, he had ſo many deaths before his eyes, as might be prepared by a cruel man and a bent enemy. So was he above meaſure tormented and as it were drawn aſunder with terrible fears, ſo long as he looked for his brother's coming, when he came once in his ſight, he fell down as half dead at his feet, until he found him more favourable than he durſt have hoped. (Gen. xxxv. 16.) Beſide that, at his firſt entry into the land, he loſt Rachel his dearly beloved wife. Afterward he heard word (Gen. xxxvii. 35.) that the ſon whom he had by her, and whom therefore he loved above the reſt, was torn with wild beaſts: by whoſe death how great grief he conceived, he himſelf declared in this that after long weeping he obſtinately ſtopped up all ways whereby comfort might come to him, leaving himſelf nothing, but to go down to his ſon wailing into the grave. In the mean time how great cauſes of grief, wailing and wearineſs were (Gen. xxxiv. 8.) the raviſhment and deflowring of his daughter, and the boldneſs of his ſons in revenging it, which not only made him to be abhorred in ſight of all the inhabitants of that country, but alſo procured him moſt imminent danger of utter deſtruction? Then followed that horrible outragious offence of Reuben (Gen. xxxv. 22.) his firſt begotten ſon, which was ſuch, as there could not happen a more grievous. For whereas the defiling of a man's wife is reckoned among the higheſt ill fortunes: what is to be ſaid of it, when that wickedneſs is committed by a man's own ſon? Within a little while after, his houſe is polluted with another unnatural adultery: (Gen. xxxvii. 18.) ſo that ſo many ſhames might well break a heart, that otherwiſe were moſt conſtant and unable to be quenched with calamities. A little before the end of this life, while he ſought to provide ſuccour for the famine of himſelf and other, he was ſtruck with tidings of

a new

a new misfortune, (Gen. xlii. 32.) understanding that another of his sons was kept in prison, for recovering of whom he was compelled to leave to the rest Benjamin his only darling. Who can think that in such a multitude of calamities he had any one moment given him safely to take breath in? And therefore he himself the best witness of himself, affirmed to Pharaoh, (Gen. xlvii. 9.) that his days were short and evil upon the earth. Now truly he that declareth that he hath passed his life by continual miseries, denieth that he felt the prosperity which the Lord had promised him. Therefore either Jacob did unkindly and unthankfully weigh the grace of God, or he truly professed that he had been miserable upon the earth. If his affirmation were true, then it followeth, that he had not his hope fixed upon earthly things.

As the life of the fathers sheweth, so the apostle witnesseth that they looked for other than earthly blessedness at the hands of God.

13. If these holy fathers looked for (as undoubtedly they did) a blessed life at the hand of God, truly they both thought and saw it to be another manner of blessedness, than the blessedness of earthly life. Which thing the apostle also doth shew excellently well: Abraham (saith he Heb. xi. 9.) sojourned by faith in the land of promise, as in a strange country, dwelling in tabernacles with Isaac and Jacob, the heirs with him of the same promises. For they looked for a city which hath foundations whose builder and maker is God. These all died in faith not having received the promises, but having seen them a far off, and were persuaded of them, and embraced them, and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth. Whereby they declare that they sought for a country; and if they had been moved with desire of that land from whence they came, they had power to return. But they sought for a better, that is the heavenly country. Wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God, forasmuch as he hath prepared them a city. For they had been duller than blocks, to follow promises so earnestly, whereof there appeared no hope in earth, unless they had looked for the fulfilling of them elsewhere. But this he chiefly inforceth, and that not without good reason, that they called this life a journey from home, even as Moses (Gen. xlvii. 9.) reporteth. For if they were strangers and foreigners in the land of Canaan, where is the Lord's promise, whereby they were made heirs of it? He sheweth plainly therefore, that the Lord's promise, concerning the possession thereof, had a further respect. Wherefore they purchased not one foot in the land of Canaan, but for burial, whereby they testified, that they did not hope that they should receive the fruit of the promise till after death. And this is the cause why Jacob so much esteemed to be buried there, that he (Gen. xxvii. 29. and 30.) compelled his son Joseph to promise it him, and to swear to perform it: and why Joseph (Gen. l. 25.) willed his bones, certain ages after, when they were long before fallen into powder, to be removed thither.

The righteous of old did account the end of this life to be the beginning of a better.

14. Finally, it appeareth plainly, that in all the ills of this life they had always, set before them the blessedness of the life to come. For to what purpose should Jacob have so much desired, and with so great danger sought the pre-eminence of the first begotten, which should procure him nothing but banishment, and in a manner to be cast off from being his child: but no good at all, unless he had respect to a higher blessing? And he declared, that he had this meaning by the words which he spake amongst his last breathings. (Gen. xlix. 18.) Lord I will look for thy salvation. What salvation could he have looked for, when he saw that he lay ready to give up the Ghost, unless he had seen in death the beginning of a new life? But what dispute we of the saints and children of God, when even he was not without a taste of such understanding, who otherwise was an enemy to the truth? For what meant Balaam when he said: (Num. xxiii. 10.) Let my soul die the death of the righteous, and my last end be like unto theirs? but that he meant the same thing that David afterward uttered, (Psal. cxvi. 15.) that the death of the saints is precious in the sight of the Lord, (Psal. xxxiv. 22.) but the death of the wicked is very evil: if the furthest bound and end were in death, there could in it be observed no difference between the righteous and unrighteous, they differ the one from the other by the diversity of the estates that after death shall befal to them both.

The hope which David had of immortality.

15. We are not yet come beyond Moses, who (as these men say) had no other office, but to persuade the carnal people to worship God by the fruitfulness of the ground and plenty of all things. And yet (unless a man will flee the light that willingly offereth itself) there is already a

plain declaration of the ſpiritual covenant. But if we come down to the prophets, there with moſt full brightneſs both the life everlaſting and the kingdom of Chriſt do utter themſelves. And firſt of all David, who as he was before the other in time, ſo according to the order of God's diſtribution, he ſhewed the heavenly myſteries in ſhadows more darkly than the reſt, yet with what plainneſs and certainty directeth he all his ſayings to that end? How he eſteemed the earthly dwelling, this ſentence teſtifieth: (Pſal. xxxix. 13.) I am here a forreigner and ſtranger, as all my fathers were. Every living man is vanity, every one walketh about as a ſhadow. But now what is my expectation, Lord? even to thee is my hope. Truly he who confeſſing that in the earth there is nothing ſound or ſtedfaſt, keepeth ſtill a ſtedfaſtneſs of hope in God, conſidereth his felicity laid up in another place. To ſuch conſideration is he wont to call all the faithful, ſo oft as he meaneth to comfort them truly. For in another place after he had ſpoken of the ſhortneſs, and the tranſitory and vaniſhing image of man's life, he addeth: but the mercy of the Lord is for ever upon them that fear him. Like to which is that which is in the cii. Pſalm, 25th verſe; At the beginning Lord thou didſt lay the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the work of thy hands. They ſhall periſh, but thou abideſt: they ſhall wax old like a garment, and thou ſhalt change them as apparel, but thou remaineſt the ſelf ſame, and thy years ſhall not fail: the ſons of thy ſervants ſhall dwell, and their poſterity ſhall be eſtabliſhed before thee. If the godly ceaſe not, notwithſtanding the decay of heaven and earth, to be ſtabliſhed before the Lord, it followeth that their ſalvation is joined with the eternity of God. But that hope cannot ſtand at all, unleſs it reſt upon the promiſe that is ſet forth in Iſaiah: (Iſa. li. 6.) The heavens (ſaith the Lord) ſhall vaniſh away like ſmoke, the earth ſhall be worn out like a garment, and the inhabitants of it ſhall periſh like thoſe things: But my ſalvation ſhall be for ever, and my righteouſneſs ſhall not fail: where everlaſtingneſs is given to righteouſneſs and ſalvation, not in reſpect that they remain with God, but in reſpect that they are felt of men.

What David ſpeaketh of the faithful man's proſperous ſucceſs

16. Neither may we otherwiſe take thoſe things, that he commonly ſpeaketh of the proſperous ſucceſs of the faithful, but to apply them to the open ſhewing of the heavenly glory. As theſe ſayings: (Pſal. xcvii. 10.) The Lord keepeth the ſouls of the righteous, he ſhall deliver them from the hand of the ſinner. (Pſal. cxii. 7, 9.) Light is ariſen to the righteous, and joy to the upright in heart. (Pſal. cxl. 12.) The righteouſneſs of the godly man abideth for ever: his horn ſhall be exalted in glory, the deſire of the ſinner ſhall periſh. Again: (Pſal. cxii. 6.) but the righteous ſhall confeſs unto thy name, the upright ſhall dwell with thy countenance. Again: (Pſal. xxxiv. 23.) the righteous ſhall be in eternal remembrance. Again: the Lord ſhall redeem the ſouls of his ſervants. For the Lord oftentimes leaveth his ſervants to the luſt of the wicked, not only to be vexed, but alſo to be torn in pieces and deſtroyed: he ſuffereth the good to lie languiſhing in darkneſs and filth, while the wicked do in a manner ſhine among the ſtars. And he doth not ſo cheer them with the brightneſs of his countenance, that they enjoy long continuing gladneſs. Wherefore even he alſo hideth not, that if the faithful fix their eyes upon the preſent ſtate of things, they ſhall be ſtruck with a ſore temptation, as though there were no favour or reward of innocence with God. So much doth wickedneſs for the moſt part proſper and flouriſh, while the company of the godly is oppreſſed with ſhame, poverty, contempt, and all kinds of croſſes. It wanteth but little (ſaith he) that my foot ſlipped not, and my ſteps fell not abroad, while the fortune of fools grieveth me, and while I ſee the proſperity of the wicked. At length after rehearſal of it he concludeth: I bent my thought, if I could underſtand theſe things. But it is a torment to my ſpirit, till I enter into the ſanctuary of the Lord, and underſtand the laſt end of them.

it hath relation to future bleſſedneſs in the world to come.

The expectation which David had of a judgment to come and felicity to follow it.

17. Let us therefore learn yet by this confeſſion of David, that the holy fathers under the old Teſtament were not ignorant, how ſeldom or never God doth in this world perform to his ſervants thoſe things that he promiſeth them, and that therefore they did lift up their minds to God's ſanctuary, wherein they had that laid up in ſtore, which appeareth not in the ſhadow of this preſent life. That was the laſt judgment of God, which when they could not ſee with eyes, they were content to underſtand by faith. Truſting upon which affiance, whatſoever happened

ed in the world, yet they doubted not a time would once come, when the promiſes of God ſhould be fulfilled. As theſe ſayings do witneſs, Pſal. xvii. I will behold the face of God in righteouſneſs: I will be ſatisfied with thy countenance. Again, Pſal. lii. 10. I am as a green olive tree in the houſe of the Lord. Again, Pſal. xcii. 13. The righteous ſhall flouriſh like the palm-tree, and ſhall ſpread in branches like the cedar of Lebanon, being planted in the houſe of the Lord, they ſhall flouriſh in the palaces of our God: They ſhall ſtill bear fruit, they ſhall be fat and green in their old age. When he had ſaid a little before; How deep are thy thoughts? O Lord, while the wicked do flouriſh, they bud out like an herb, that they may periſh for ever. Where is that fair ſhew and beauty of the faithful, but when the face of this world ſhall be turned inward by diſcloſing of the kingdom of God? When they turned their eyes to that eternity, they deſpiſed the hardneſs enduring but a moment of preſent miſeries, and boldly burſt forth into theſe words: Pſal. lv. 23. Thou ſhalt not ſuffer for ever the righteous to die, but thou ſhalt throw down the wicked headlong into the pit of deſtruction. Where is in this world the pit of eternal deſtruction that may ſwallow up the wicked? Among whoſe felicities, this is alſo reckoned in another place, Job. xxi. 13. that they cloſe up the end of their life in a moment without languiſhing Where is that ſo great ſtedfaſtneſs of the ſaints, whom David himſelf every where complaineth, not only to be ſhaken with trouble, but alſo to be oppreſſed, and utterly broken in pieces? Forſooth, he did ſet before his eyes, not what the altering courſe of the world beareth, which is unſtable and more unſtedfaſt than the ebbing and flowing of the tides, but what the Lord will do, when he ſhall one day ſit for the eternal ſettling of heaven and earth. As in another place he excellently well deſcribeth it: Pſal. xlix. 7. The fooliſh truſt in their wealth, and are proud, becauſe of their great riches. And yet no man, though he flouriſh in never ſo great dignity, can redeem his brother from death, no man can pay to God the price of his ranſom, but whereas they ſee that both the wiſe do die, and that the wicked alſo and fools do periſh and leave their riches to ſtrangers, yet they think their houſes ſhall abide for ever, and their dwellings to the end of ages, and they advance their names upon the earth, but man ſhall not continue in honour: he ſhall be like to the beaſts that periſh This imagination of theirs is extremeſt folly, which yet their poſterity do greedily follow. Like ſheep they are laid in the grave, death ſhall feed on them, and the upright ſhall have dominion over them in the morning, and their beauty ſhall conſume in the grave from their dwelling. Firſt, this laughing to ſcorn of the fooliſh for that they reſt on the ſlippery and rolling good things of the world, doth ſhew that the wiſe muſt ſeek a far other felicity. But there he more evidently diſcloſeth the myſtery of the reſurrection, where after the deſtruction and extinction of them, he erecteth the kingdom of the godly. For what riſing of light, I pray you, ſhall we call that, but the revealing of the new life which followeth the end of this preſent life.

The faithful could not have comforted themſelves, as both David and Samuel did with the momentary ſhortneſs of their troubles in the world except they had made a reckoning of endleſs reſt afterwards.

18. From thence did ſpring up that conſideration, which the faithful oftentimes uſed for a comfort of their miſeries and remedy of patience: it is but a moment in the Lord's diſpleaſure, and life in his mercy. How did they determine afflictions to end in a moment, who were in affliction in a manner their life long? where did they diſcover ſo long an enduring of God's kindneſs, whereof they ſcarcely felt any little taſte? If they had ſticked faſt upon the earth, they could have found no ſuch thing, but becauſe they looked upon heaven, they acknowleged that it is but a moment of time, while the Lord exerciſes his ſaints by the croſs, but that his mercies, wherein they are gathered together, do laſt the world's age. Again, they did foreſee the eternal and never ending deſtruction of the ungodly, which were as in a dream happy for one day. Whereupon came theſe ſayings: Prov. x. 7. The remembrance of the righteous ſhall be in bleſſing, but the name of the wicked ſhall rot. Pſal. cxvi. and xxx. 22. Precious is the death of the ſaints in the ſight of the Lord, but the death of the wicked moſt evil. Again in 1 Sam. ii. 9. The Lord ſhall keep the feet of the holy, and the wicked ſhall be put to ſilence in darkneſs. Which doth declare that they well knew, that howſoever the godly were variouſly toſſed about with affliction, yet their latter end is life and ſalvation: and that the proſperity of the wicked is a pleaſant way, whereby they by little and little ſlide forward into the gulf of death. Therefore they called the death of ſuch, (Ezek. xxviii. 10. and 31.) the deſtruction of the uncircumciſed, as of them from whom the hope of the reſurrection was cut away. Wherefore David could not deviſe a more grievous curſe than this:

this: Pſal. lxix. Let them be blotted out of the book of life, and not written with the righteous.

Job's hope of life in death. Neither was this in him, or the like in others the ſpecial perſuaſion only of ſome, but the general doctrine delivered all men to believe.

19. But above all others, notable is that ſaying of Job (Job xix. 25.) I know that my Redeemer liveth, and in the laſt day I ſhall riſe again out of the earth, and in my fleſh I ſhall ſee God my Saviour: this hope is laid up in my boſom. Some that have a mind to make a ſhew of their ſharp wit, do cavil that this is not to be underſtood of the laſt reſurrection, but of the firſt day that Job looked to have God more gentle to him, which altho' we grant them in part, yet ſhall we enforce them to confeſs whether they will or no, that Job could not have come to that largeneſs of hope, if he had reſted his thought upon the earth. Therefore we muſt needs confeſs, that he lifted up his eyes to the immortality to come, who ſaw that his Redeemer would be preſent with him, even lying in his grave. For to them that think only of this preſent life, death is their uttermoſt deſperation: which very death could not put off Job's hope. Yea though he kill me (ſaid he) Job xiii. 15. nevertheleſs I will ſtill hope in him. And let no trifler here carp againſt me and ſay, that theſe were the ſayings but of a few, whereby is not proved that ſuch doctrine was among the Jews. For I will by and by anſwer him, that theſe few did not in theſe ſayings utter any ſecret wiſdom, whereunto only certainly excellent wits, were ſeverally and privately ſuffered to attain, but that as they were by the holy Ghoſt appointed teachers of the people, ſo they openly publiſhed thoſe myſteries of God, that were to be univerſally learned, and ought to be the principles of the common religion among the people. Therefore when we hear the public oracles of the holy Ghoſt, wherein he ſpake of the ſpiritual life ſo clearly and plainly in the church of the Jews, it were a point of intolerable ſtubbornneſs to ſend them away only to the fleſhly covenant, wherein is mention made of nothing, but earth, and earthly wealth.

How the prophets have ſhadowed our unſeen ſpiritual felicity to come by temporal and earthly bleſſings preſently ſeen and known.

20. If I come down to the later prophets, there we may freely walk as in our own field. For if it were not hard for us to get the upper hand in David, Job, and Samuel, here it ſhall be much more eaſy. For God kept this diſtribution and order in diſpoſing the covenant of his mercy, that how much the nearer it drew on in proceſs of time to the full performance thereof, with ſo much greater increaſe of revelation he did day by day more brightly ſhew it. Therefore at the beginning when the firſt promiſe of ſalvation was made unto Adam, there gliſtered out but as it were ſmall ſparkles of it. After, having more added unto it, a greater largeneſs of light began to be put forth: which from thence forth brake out more and more, and diſplayed her brightneſs farther abroad, till at length all the clouds were driven away, and Chriſt the Sun of righteouſneſs fully enlightned the whole world. We need not therefore to fear we fail of teſtimonies of the prophets, if we ſeek them to prove our cauſe, but becauſe I ſee that there will ariſe a huge deal of matter, whereupon I ſhould be conſtrained of neceſſity to tarry longer than the proportion of my purpoſe may bear, for it would ſo grow to a work of a great volume, and alſo becauſe I have already, by thoſe things that I have ſaid before, made plain the way, even for a reader of mean capacity, ſo as he may go forward without ſtumbling: therefore I will at this preſent abſtain from long tediouſneſs: which to do is no leſs neceſſary: but giving the readers warning beforehand, that they remember to open their own way with that key that we have firſt given them in their hand. That is, that ſo oft as the prophets ſpeak of the bleſſedneſs of the faithful people, whereof ſcarcely the leaſt ſteps are ſeen in this preſent life, they may reſort to this diſtinction: that the prophets the better to expreſs the goodneſs of God, did as in a ſhadow expreſs it to the people by temporal benefits, as by certain rough drawing of the portraiture thereof: but that the perfect image, that they have painted thereof, was ſuch as might raviſh mens minds out of the earth, and out of the elements of this world, and of the age that ſhall periſh, and of neceſſity raiſe it up to the conſidering of the ſpiritual felicity of the life that is to come.

The power which God hath to give life ſhewed by a viſion of breath and livelineſs reſtored to a field full of dead bones.

21. We will be content with one example. When the Iſraelites being carried away to Babylon, ſaw their ſcattering abroad to be like unto death, they could hardly be removed from this opinion that they thought that all was but fables that Ezekiel prophecied concerning their reſtitution: becauſe they reckoned it even all one as if he had

had told them that rotten carcaſes ſhould be reſtored again to life. The Lord to ſhew, that even the ſame difficulty could not ſtop him from bringing his benefit to effect, ſhewed to the prophet, in a viſion a field full of dry bones, to which in a moment with the power only of his word he reſtored breath and livelineſs. The viſion indeed ſerved to correct the peoples incredulity at that preſent time: but in the mean while he did put the Jews in mind how far the power of the Lord extended beyond the account of the people, which ſo eaſily quickened only with his beck, bones already rotten and ſcattered abroad: wherefore you ſhall compare that with another ſaying of Iſaiah, (Iſa. xxvi. 19.) Thy dead men ſhall live, together with my dead body ſhall they ariſe: awake and ſing ye that dwell in the duſt: for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth ſhall caſt out the dead. Come, my people, enter thou into thy chambers, and ſhut thy doors about thee, hide thyſelf as it were for a little moment, until the indignation be overpaſt. For behold the Lord cometh out of his place to puniſh the inhabitants of the earth for their iniquity: the earth alſo ſhall diſcloſe her blood, and ſhall no more cover her ſlain.

Immortality to come expreſly ſpoken of by Iſaiah and Daniel.

22. Although a man ſhould do fondly, that would go about to draw all to ſuch a rule. For there are ſome places that without any covering do ſhew the immortality to come, that is prepared for the faithful in the kingdom of God, of which ſort we have recited ſome, and of like ſort are the moſt part of the reſt, eſpecially theſe two, the one in Iſaiah, (Iſai. lxvi. 22.) As a new heaven and a new earth which I make to ſtand before me, ſo ſhall your ſeed ſtand, and there ſhall be month of month, and ſabbath of ſabbath: all fleſh ſhall come to worſhip before my face, ſaith the Lord. And they ſhall go out and ſee the dead carcaſes of the men that have offended againſt me, that their worm ſhall not die, and their fire ſhall not be quenched. The other of Daniel, (Dan. xii. 1.) In that time ſhall riſe up Michael the great prince, that ſtandeth for the ſons of his people, and there ſhall come a time of diſtreſs, ſuch as was not ſince nations firſt began to be, and then ſhall all thy people be ſaved that ſhall be found written in thy book. And of thoſe that ſleep in the duſt of the earth, there ſhall awake ſome to eternal life, and ſome to everlaſting ſhame.

Seeing that Chriſt promiſeth us no reſt but with

23. Now, as for proving the other two points that the fathers had Chriſt for pledge of their covenant, and that they repoſed in him all their truſt of bleſſing, I will not labour therein at all, becauſe they have both leſs controverſy and more plainneſs. Let us therefore boldly determine this, which by no engines of the devil may be removed, that the old teſtament, or covenant which the Lord made with his people Iſrael, was not limited within the compaſs of earthly things, but alſo contained the promiſe of the ſpiritual and eternal life: the expectation of which muſt needs have been imprinted in all their minds that truly conſented to the covenant. But let us baniſh from our minds this mad and pernicious opinion, that either God did ſet forth in his promiſe to the Jews nothing elſe, or that the Jews ſought nothing elſe but filling of their belly, delights of the fleſh, flouriſhing wealth, outward power, fruitfulneſs of children, and whatſoever a natural man eſteemeth. For at this day Chriſt promiſeth (Matth. viii. 11.) no other kingdom of heaven to his, but where they ſhall dwell with Abraham, Iſaac and Jacob. And Peter affirmed, Acts iii. 29. that the Jews of his time were heirs of the grace of the goſpel, becauſe they were the children of the prophets, comprehended in the covenant, which the Lord had of old made with his people. And that the ſame ſhould not be witneſſed with words only, the Lord alſo approved it by deed. For in the very moment that he roſe again, (Matth. xxvii. 51.) he vouchſafed to have many of the holy men to riſe again in company with him, and made them to be ſeen in the city: ſo giving an aſſured token, that whatſoever he did and ſuffered for the purchaſing of eternal ſalvation, pertaineth no leſs to the faithful of the old Teſtament, than unto us. For as Peter teſtifieth, Acts. xv. 8. they were alſo endowed with the ſame ſpirit of faith, whereby we are regenerate into life. Now, when we hear that the ſame ſpirit which is in us, a certain ſparkle of immortality, whereupon it is alſo in another place called the earneſt of our inheritance, did likewiſe dwell in them, how dare we take from them the inheritance of life? Whereby it is ſo much the more ſuprizing, that in the old time the Sadducees fell into ſuch an extremely groſs error, that they

them, and Peter comprehendeth us in the ſame covenant which God made with them ſeeing Chriſt hath riſen unto life accompanied with many of them, and hath witneſſed by Peter, that the ſpirit of faith which is in us, was alſo in them: howſoever the Sadducees have denied the heavenly, and the Jews at this day do expect an earthly kingdom, we may not take from the Fathers the inheritance of eternal life.

denied both the reſurrection and alſo the ſubſiſtence of ſouls, both which points they ſaw ſealed with ſo clear teſtimonies of ſcripture. And no leſs to be wondered at, even at this day, were the folly of all that nation in looking for the earthly kingdom of Chriſt, if the ſcripture had not long before declared that they ſhould have that puniſhment for refuſing the goſpel. For ſo it behoved by the juſt judgment of God, to ſtrike thoſe minds with blindneſs, which in refuſing the light of heaven that was offered to them, did wilfully bring themſelves into darkneſs. Therefore they read, and continually turn over Moſes, but they are ſtopped with a vail ſet between them and him, that they cannot ſee the light that ſhineth in his countenance. And ſo ſhall it remain covered and hidden from them, till he be turned to Chriſt, from whom now they labour to lead and draw him away, ſo much as in them lieth.

CHAP. XI.

Of the difference of the one Teſtament from the other.

The firſt difference of the old and new Teſtament. God did in that by the ſhadow of earthly things, and in this doth plainly direct unto heaven.

WHAT then? wilt thou ſay: ſhall there be no difference left between the old Teſtament and the new? and to what purpoſe ſerve all thoſe places of ſcripture, where they are compared one againſt the other, as things moſt contrary? I do willingly allow thoſe differences that are mentioned in the ſcripture: but however that they do not at all hinder the unity or ſameneſs already eſtabliſhed, as it ſhall be obvious to ſee when we ſhall have treated of them in order. Thoſe differences are (as far as ever I could mark or can remember) chiefly four in number, to which if you pleaſe to add a fifth I am not againſt it. I aſſert, and hope to make good, that they are all ſuch as rather belong to the manner of miniſtration, than to the ſubſtance of them. And by this means they ſhall nothing hinder, but that the promiſes of both the old and new Teſtament may remain all one, and all one foundation of the ſame promiſes, Chriſt. Now the firſt difference is, that altho' even in the old time alſo, the Lord's will was to direct the minds of his people, and to have them raiſed up to the heavenly inheritance: yet, that they might be the better nouriſhed in the hope of this he gave it to be ſeen or rather taſted of, under earthly benefits: but now having revealed the grace of the life to come, by the goſpel, he more clearly and plainly directeth our minds the ſtraight way to the meditation thereof, leaving the inferior manner of exerciſing which he uſed with the Iſraelites. They that attend not this purpoſe of God, are of opinion that that people did not aſcend in their thoughts any higher than to the good things promiſed to the body. They ſo often hear the land of Canaan ſpoken of as the excellent, or rather only reward for the obſervers of God's law. They hear that God threatened nothing more ſeverely to the tranſgreſſors of the ſame law, than that they ſhall be driven out of the poſſeſſion of the ſame land, and ſcattered abroad into ſtrange countries. They ſee that in a manner to this effect come all the bleſſings and curſes that are pronounced by Moſes. Hereby they do undoubtedly determine, that the Jews, not for their own ſakes, but for others, were ſeparated from other nations, that is, that the church of Chriſt might have an image, in whoſe outward form ſhe might ſee examples of ſpiritual things. But ſince the ſcripture doth ſometimes ſhew, that God himſelf directed all the earthly benefits that he did for them to this end, that ſo he might lead them by the hand to the hope of heavenly benefits; it was extremely ignorant, not to ſay ſtupid, not to conſider this order of diſpoſition. The iſſue or point of our controverſy with this ſort of men is this, that they teach that the poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan was to the Iſraelites their chief and laſt good, and that to us after the revealing of Chriſt, it doth but figuratively ſignify the heavenly inheritance. On the other ſide we affirm, that they did in the earthly poſſeſſion which they enjoyed, as in a looking glaſs behold the inheritance to come, which they believed to be prepared for them in heaven.

The fathers and we are one heir unto whom one and the ſame inheritance doth belong. But they being that heir in a younger which we are in an elder age, had a training tho' not to another thing,

2. That ſhall better appear by the ſimilitude that Paul uſed to the Galatians, chap. iv. 1. He compareth the nation of the Jews to an heir within age, who being not yet able to govern himſelf followeth the guiding of the tutor or ſchoolmaſter, to whoſe care he is committed. And whereas he applieth that ſimilitude to the ceremonies, that does not hinder but that it may alſo very fitly

yet after another sort than we.

fitly serve to this purpose. The same inheritance was appointed for them, that was appointed for us: but such as yet for want of age, they were not of capacity to enter upon and use. The same church was among them, but whereof the age was yet but childish. Therefore the Lord kept them under this schooling, that he gave them not the spiritual promises so naked and openly, but as it were shadowed with earthly promises. Therefore, where he called Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and their posterity unto hope of immortality, he promised them the land of Canaan to be their inheritance: not to determine their hopes upon it, but that in beholding of it, they should exercise and confirm themselves in the hope of that true inheritance that did not yet appear. And that they might not be deceived, there was given unto them a higher promise to testify that that land was not the highest benefit of God. So Abraham was not suffered to ly slothful in the promise received of the land, but his mind was with a greater promise raised up unto the Lord. For Abraham heard this said unto him: Gen. xv. 1. I am thy shield, and thy exceeding great reward. Here we see that Abraham hath the end of his reward set forth in the Lord, that he should not reckon upon a transitory and slippery reward in the elements of this world, but rather think it to be such as cannot fade away. Afterwards he adds the promise of the land to no other intent, but that it should be a token of the good will of God, and a figure of the heavenly inheritance. And that the holy men had this meaning, their own sayings do declare. So David ascends from temporal blessings, to that same highest and last blessing, Psal. lxxiii. 26. My heart (saith he) and my flesh faint for desire of thee. God is my portion for ever. Again, Psal. xvi. 5. The Lord is the part of my inheritance, and of my cup: thou art he that savest mine heritage for me. Again, Psal. cxliv. 6. I have cried unto thee, O Lord, I have said, Thou art my hope, my portion in the land of the living. Truly they that dare say so, without doubt profess that with their hope they climb above the world, and all the good things here present. But the prophets do oft describe this blessedness of the world to come, under the figure that they had received of the Lord. And so are these sayings to be understood: (Job xviii. 17.) That the godly shall possess the land by inheritance, and the wicked shall be destroyed out of it: (Psal. cxxxiii. 3.) That Jerusalem shall abound with all kind of riches, and Sion overflow with plenty of all things. All which we see, cannot properly be spoken of the land of our wayfaring, or the earthly Jerusalem, but of the true country of the faithful, and that heavenly city wherein the Lord hath commanded blessing and life forever.

God's figuring of heavenly by earthly blessedness in the old law is the cause why then his temporal benefits do seem to have been more sweet to the righteous and his punishments more grievous than now.

3. This is the reason why it is read that the holy men in time of the old testament did esteem the mortal life and the blessings thereof more than is now meet to do. For although they knew well that they should not rest in it, as in the end of their race, yet when they called to mind, what marks of his grace the Lord had pointed therein, to exercise them according to the small rate of their tenderness, they felt a greater sweetness of it, than if they had considered it by it self. But as the Lord in testifying his good will toward the faithful, by present good things, did as in shadow express the spiritual felicity, by such figures and signs: so on the other side he did in corporal pains shew examples of his judgment against the reprobate. Therefore as the benefits of God were to be seen in earthly things, so were also his punishments. While the unskilful do not weigh this comparison or agreement, as I may call it between the punishments and the rewards, they marvel at so much alteration in God, who in old time was so suddenly ready to take vengeance on every offence of man with unrelenting and dreadful punishments and now as if he had laid aside the affection of his old anger, he punisheth both much more gently and seldomer, yea, and for the same cause they do almost imagine several gods of the old and new testament: which the Manichees did in reality do. But we shall easily be delivered from such doubts, if we apply our minds to consider this orderly disposition of God which I have spoken of, whose will was for the time to signify and set forth in figure both the grace of the eternal felicity to come by temporal benefits, and the grievousness of the spiritual death, by corporal pains. Whereby he delivered his testament to the Israelites, as yet after a certain manner folded up.

The second difference between the two testaments is, that

4. Another difference of the old and new testament is said to be in the figures: for that the old testament did shew only an image in absence of the truth,

the new doth exhibit that foundation of the covenant which the old did teach them to expect.

and a ſhadow inſtead of the body. But the new teſtament giveth the truth preſent, and the ſound body it ſelf. And this difference is mentioned commonly whereſoever the new teſtament is in compariſon ſet againſt the old: but it is more largely treated of in the epiſtle to the Hebrews than any where elſe. There the apoſtle diſputeth againſt them, who thought that the obſervation of Moſes law might not be taken away, but that they ſhould alſo draw with them the ruin of religion. To confute this error, he uſeth that which had been foretold by the prophet (Pſal. cx.) concerning the prieſthood of Chriſt. For whereas there is given him an eternal prieſthood, it is certain, that that prieſthood is taken away, wherein new ſucceſſors were daily put in, one after another. But he proveth (Heb. vii. 11. and 19. and ix. 9. and x. 1.) that the inſtitution of this new prieſthood is to be preferred, becauſe it is eſtabliſhed with an oath. He after addeth further, that in the ſame change of the prieſthood, is alſo contained the change of the teſtament. And that it was neceſſary ſo to be, he proveth by this reaſon: becauſe the weakneſs of the law was ſuch that it could help nothing to perfection. Then he proceedeth in declaring what was that weakneſs, even this, that it had a certain outward righteouſneſs of the fleſh, which could not make the obſervers of them perfect, according to conſcience: that by ſacrifices of beaſts, it could neither take away ſins, nor purchaſe true holineſs. He concludeth therefore that there was in it a ſhadow of good things to come, but not the lively image of the things themſelves: and that therefore it had no other office, but to be as an introduction into a better hope, which is delivered in the goſpel. Here is to be ſeen, in what point the covenant of the law is compared with the covenant of the goſpel, and the miniſtry of Chriſt, with the miniſtry of Moſes. For if the compariſon concerned the ſubſtance of the promiſes, then were there great difference between the two teſtaments: but ſince the point of our caſe leadeth us another way, we muſt tend to this end, to find out the truth. Let us then ſet forth here the covenant which he hath eſtabliſhed to be eternal, and never to periſh. The accompliſhment of that by which, it attaineth to be eſtabliſhed and continuing in force, is Chriſt. While ſuch eſtabliſhment was in expectation, the Lord did by Moſes appoint ceremonies, to be as it were ſolemn ſigns of the confirmation. Now this came there in queſtion, whether the ceremonies that were ordained in the law ought to give place to Chriſt or no. Altho' theſe ceremonies were indeed only accidents, or verily additions and things adjoined, or (as the people call them) acceſſary things to the covenant, yet becauſe they were inſtruments or means of the adminiſtration thereof, they bear the name of the covenant it ſelf, as the like is wont to be attributed to other ſacraments. Therefore in ſum: the old teſtament is in this place called the ſolemn form of confirming the covenant, contained in ceremonies and ſacrifices. The apoſtle ſaith, that becauſe in it is nothing perfect, unleſs we paſs further, therefore it behoved that they ſhould be diſcontinued and abrogated that place might be given to Chriſt the aſſurer and mediator of a better teſtament, by whom eternal ſanctification is once purchaſed to the elect, and the tranſgreſſions blotted out that remained under the law. Or if you like it better, thus: that the old teſtament of the Lord was that which was delivered, wrapped up in the ſhadowiſh and effectual obſervations of ceremonies: and that therefore it was but for a time, becauſe it did but (as it were) hang in ſuſpence until it might ſtay upon a more ſtedfaſt and ſubſtantial confirmation: and that then only it was made new and eternal, after that it was conſecrated and eſtabliſhed by the blood of Chriſt. Whereupon Chriſt calleth the cup that he gave at his ſupper to his diſciples, (Matth. xxvi. 20.) The cup of the new teſtament in his blood: to ſignify that then the teſtament of God attaineth his truth: by which it becometh new and eternal, when it is ſealed with his blood.

The kingdom is now manifeſted which in former times was darkly beheld.

5. Hereby appeareth in what ſenſe the apoſtle ſaid: that in the ſchooling of the law, the Jews were brought unto Chriſt, before that he was ſhewed in the fleſh. And he confeſſeth, (Gal. iii. 24. and iv.) that they were the children and heirs of God, but yet ſuch as for their young age were to be kept under the cuſtody of a ſchoolmaſter. For it behoved, that ere the ſun of righteouſneſs was yet riſen, there ſhould neither be ſo great brightneſs of revelation, nor ſo great deep ſight of underſtanding. Therefore God ſo gave them in meaſure the light of his word, that they ſaw it as yet far off and darkly. Therefore Paul expreſſeth this ſlenderneſs of underſtanding by the term of young age, which the Lord's will was to have to be exerciſed with

with the elements of this world and with outward obſervations, as rules of inſtruction for children until Chriſt ſhould ſhine abroad, by whom it behoved that the knowlege of the faithful people ſhould grow to full age. This diſtinction Chriſt himſelf meant to ſpeak of, when he ſaid, (Matth. xi. 13.) that the law and the prophets were until John, and that from thenceforth the kingdom of God is preached. What did the law and the prophets reveal to men of their time? even this, they gave a taſte of that wiſdom which in time to come ſhould be plainly diſcloſed: and they ſhewed it before as it were twinklingly ſhining afar off. But when it came to paſs that Chriſt might be pointed too with the finger, then was the kingdom of God ſet open. (Col. i. 9.) For in him are laid up the treaſures of all wiſdom and underſtanding, whereby we attain, even in a manner, into the ſecret cloſets of heaven.

The Prophets themſelves did not ſo clearly know Chriſt, but that even in them there appeareth a difference between thoſe times and theſe.

6. And it maketh not againſt us, that there can ſcarcely any one be found in the chriſtian church, that in excellency of faith may be compared with Abraham, or that the prophets excelled in ſuch force of ſpirit, that even at this day they enlighten the whole world withal. For our queſtion is not here, what grace the Lord hath beſtowed upon a few, but what ordinary diſpoſition he uſed in teaching his people: ſuch as is declared in the prophets themſelves, which were endowed with peculiar knowlege above the reſt. For even their preaching is dark and incloſed in figures, as of things afar off. Moreover how marvellous knowlege ſoever appeared in them above other, yet forasmuch as they were driven of neceſſity to ſubmit themſelves to the common childiſh inſtruction of the people, they themſelves alſo were reckoned in the number of children. Finally, there never happened any ſuch clear ſight to any at that time, but that it did in ſome part ſavour of the darkneſs of the time. Whereupon Chriſt ſaid (Matth. xiii. 17.) Many kings and prophets have deſired to ſee the things that ye ſee, and have not ſeen them, and to hear the things that ye hear, and have not heard them. Therefore bleſſed are your eyes, becauſe they ſee, and your ears becauſe they hear. And truly it is meet that the preſence of Chriſt ſhould have this excellency of prerogative, that from it ſhould ariſe the clear revealing of the heavenly myſteries. And for this purpoſe alſo maketh that, which even we now alleged out of the firſt epiſtle of Peter, (1 Pet. i. 12.) that it was opened to them, that their labour was profitable, principally for our age.

The third difference between the old covenant and the new, mentioned by the apoſtle out of Jeremiah.

7. Now I come to the third difference, which is taken out of Jeremiah, (Jer. xxxi. 31, 32, 33, 34.) whoſe words are theſe: Behold, the days come, ſaith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the houſe of Iſrael, and with the houſe of Judah: not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day that I took them by the hand, to bring them out of the land of Egypt, (which my covenant they brake, although I was an huſband unto them, ſaith the Lord:) But this ſhall be the covenant that I will make with the houſe of Iſrael, after thoſe days, ſaith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts, and will be their God, and they ſhall be my people. And they ſhall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, ſaying, know ye the Lord: for they ſhall all know me, from the leaſt of them unto the greateſt of them, ſaith the Lord. Of which words the apoſtle (1 Cor. ii. 6.) took occaſion to make this compariſon between the law and the goſpel, that he called the law a literal, and the goſpel a ſpiritual doctrine: the law, he ſaid, was faſhioned out in tables of ſtone, the goſpel written in hearts: that the law was the preaching of death, the goſpel the preaching of life: the law the preaching of damnation, the goſpel the preaching of righteouſneſs: that the law is made void, that the goſpel abideth. Since the apoſtle's purpoſe was but to declare the meaning of the prophet, it ſhall be ſufficient that we conſider the words of one of them, to attain the meaning of them both. Altho' there is ſome unlikeneſs between them. For the apoſtle ſpeaketh more odiouſly of the law than the prophet doth: and that not in ſimple reſpect of the law, but becauſe there were certain naughty men, having a wrong zeal to the law, who did with perverſe love of the ceremonies, obſcure the brightneſs of the goſpel. He diſputeth of the nature of the law, according to their error and fooliſh affection. Therefore it will be uſeful to obſerve that peculiarly in Paul. But both of them, becauſe they do by compariſon ſet the Old and New Teſtament, the one againſt the other, do conſider nothing in the law, but that which

properly belongeth unto it. As for example, the law doth commonly in every place contain promiſes of mercy, but becauſe they are borrowed from elſewhere, therefore they are not reckoned as part of the law, when the mere nature of the law is ſpoken of. The only thing they aſcribe unto it, to command things that are right, and to forbid wicked actions; to promiſe reward to the followers of righteouſneſs, and to threaten puniſhment to the tranſgreſſors: but in the mean time neither to change nor amend the perverſeneſs of heart, that is naturally in all men.

The ſeveral branches of the third difference between the two Teſtaments.

8. Now let us expound the apoſtle's compariſon one piece after another. The Old Teſtament is literal, becauſe it was publiſhed without the effectual working of the ſpirit: the new is ſpiritual which the Lord hath ſpiritually engraven in the hearts of men: therefore the ſecond diverſity is as it were a declaration of the firſt. The old is deadly, becauſe it can do nothing but wrap all mankind within the curſe: the New is the inſtrument of life, becauſe it delivereth from the curſe, and reſtoreth to favour with God. The Old is the miniſtry of damnation, becauſe it condemneth all Adam's children of unrighteouſneſs; the New is the miniſtry of righteouſneſs, becauſe it revealeth the mercy of God, by which we are made righteous. The laſt diverſity is to be referred to the ceremonies. Becauſe the Old Teſtament had an image of things abſent, it behoved that it ſhould in time decay and vaniſh away: but the goſpel, becauſe it giveth the true body indeed, keepeth ſtill a firm and perpetual ſtedfaſtneſs. Jeremiah indeed calleth even the moral law, a weak and frail covenant: but that is for another reaſon, becauſe by the ſudden falling away of the unthankful people, it was by and by broken, but foraſmuch as ſuch breaking of it was the fault of the people, it cannot properly be laid upon the Teſtament. But the ceremonies, foraſmuch as by their own weakneſs were diſſolved by the coming of Chriſt, had the cauſe of their weakneſs within themſelves. Now, that difference of the letter and ſpirit is not ſo to be taken as though the Lord had given his laws to the Jews without any fruit at all, having none of them converted unto him. But it is ſpoken by way of compariſon, to advance the abundance of grace, wherewith the ſame law-maker as it were putting on a new perſonage, did honourably ſet forth the preaching of the goſpel. For if we reckon up the multitude of theſe whom the Lord out of all people hath by the preaching of the goſpel regenerate with his ſpirit, and gathered into the communion of his church, we ſhall ſay, that there were very few, or in a manner none in the old time in Iſrael, who with affection of mind and entirely from their heart embraced the covenant of the Lord: who yet were very many, if they be reckoned in their own number without compariſon.

The fourth difference, the one held the conſcience in thraldom and fear, the other giveth liberty and joy.

9. Out of the third difference riſeth the fourth. For the ſcripture calleth the old teſtament, the teſtament of bondage, becauſe it gendereth fear in mens minds: but the new teſtament the teſtament of liberty, becauſe it raiſeth them up to confidence and aſſuredneſs. So ſaith Paul (Rom. viii. 15.) in the eight chapter of his epiſtle to the Romans. Ye have not received the ſpirit of bondage again to fear, but the ſpirit of adoption, by which we cry Abba, father. Hereunto ſerveth that in the epiſtle to the Hebrews, (Heb. xii. 18.) that the faithful are not now come to the bodily mount, and to kindled fire, and whirlwind, darkneſs and tempeſt, where nothing can be heard or ſeen but what ſtriketh mens minds with terror, in ſo much that Moſes himſelf quaked for fear, when the terrible voice ſounded, which they all beſought, that they might not hear: But that we are come to the mount Sion, and the city of the living God, the heavenly Jeruſalem. But that which Paul ſhortly toucheth in the ſentence that we have alleged out of the epiſtle to the Romans, he ſetteth out more largely in the epiſtle to the Galatians, (Gal. iv. 21.) when he maketh an allegory of the two ſons of Abraham after this manner, that Agar the bond woman is a figure of the mount Sinai, where the people of Iſrael received the law; Sarah the free woman is a figure of the heavenly Jeruſalem, from whence proceedeth the Goſpel. That, as the ſeed of Agar is born bond, which may never come to the inheritance, and the ſeed of Sarah is born free, to whom the inheritance is due: ſo by the law we are made ſubject to bondage, by the Goſpel only we are regenerate into freedom. But the ſum cometh to this effect that the Old teſtament did ſtrike mens conſciences with fear and trembling; but by the benefit of the new teſtament it cometh to paſs, that they are made joyful. The old did hold mens conſciences bound to the yoke of bondage, by the liberty of the new they are diſcharged of bondage, and brought into freedom. But if out of the people

of

of Iſrael they object againſt us the holy fathers, who ſince it is evident, that they were endowed with the ſame ſpirit that we are, it followeth that they were alſo partakers both of the ſelf ſame freedom and joy. We anſwer, that neither of both came of the law. But that when they felt themſelves by the law to be both oppreſſed with the eſtate of bondage, and wearied with unquietneſs of conſcience, they fled to the ſuccour of the Goſpel, and that therefore it was a peculiar fruit of the new teſtament, that beſide the common law of the old teſtament they were exempted from theſe evils. Moreover we will deny that they were ſo endowed with the ſpirit of freedom and aſſuredneſs, that they did not in ſome part feel both fear and bondage by the law. For howſoever they enjoyed that prerogative which they had obtained by grace of the Goſpel, yet were they ſubject to the ſame bonds and burdens of obſervation, that the common people were. Since therefore they were compelled to the careful keeping of thoſe ceremonies, which were the ſigns of a ſchooling much like unto bondage, and the hand writings whereby they confeſſed themſelves guilty of ſin, did not diſcharge them from being bond: it may juſtly be ſaid, that in compariſon of us they were under the teſtament of bondage and fear, while we have reſpect to that common order of diſtribution that the Lord then uſed with the people of Iſrael.

The laſt three differences are meant of the law diſtinguiſhed from thoſe intermingled promiſes of grace and mercy, the firſt including them: to which Saint Auguſtine though he ſeem to be, yet is not repugnant.

10. The three laſt compariſons that we have recited, are of the law and the Goſpel. Wherefore in them by the name of the old Teſtament is meant the law, and by the name of the new Teſtament is meant the goſpel. The firſt ſtretched further, for it comprehendeth under it the promiſes alſo that were publiſhed before the law, but whereas Auguſtine (*Lib. 3. ad Bonif. cap. 4.*) denieth that they ought to be reckoned under the name of the old teſtament, therein he thought very well, and meant even the ſame thing that we do now teach, for he had regard to thoſe ſayings of Jeremiah and Paul, where the old Teſtament is diſtinguiſhed from the word of mercy and grace. And this alſo he very aptly adjoineth in the ſame place, that the children of promiſe regenerate of God who by faith working through love have obeyed the commandments, do from the beginning of the world belong to the new Teſtament, and that in hope not of fleſhly, earthly and temporal, but ſpiritual, heavenly, and eternal good things, principally believing in the Mediator, by whom they doubted not that the ſpirit was not miniſtred unto them, both to do good, and to have pardon ſo oft as they ſinned. For the ſame thing it is that I minded to affirm, that all the ſaints whom the ſcripture rehearſeth to have been from the beginning of the world choſen by God, were partakers of the ſelf ſame bleſſing with us unto eternal ſalvation. This difference therefore is between our diviſion and Auguſtine's: that ours (according to that ſaying of Chriſt: Mat. xi. 13.) The law and the prophets were unto John: from thenceforth the kingdom of God is preached; doth make diſtinction between the clearneſs of the goſpel, and the darker diſtribution of the word that went before: and Auguſtine doth only ſever the weakneſs of the law from the ſtrength of the goſpel. And here alſo is to be remarked concerning the holy fathers, that they ſo lived under the old Teſtament, that they ſtayed not there, but always aſpired to the new, yea and embraced the aſſured partaking thereof. For the Apoſtle condemneth them of blindneſs and accurſedneſs who being contented with preſent ſhadows, did not ſtretch up their mind unto Chriſt. For (to ſpeak nothing of the reſt) what greater blindneſs can be imagined, than to hope for the purging of ſin by the killing of a beaſt? than to ſeek for the cleanſing of the ſoul in outward ſprinkling of water? than to ſeek to appeaſe God with cold ceremonies, as though he were much delighted therewith? For into all theſe abſurdities do they fall, who adhere to the obſervations of the law without reſpect to Chriſt.

The fifth and laſt difference between the two teſtaments: the old was given only to the Jews, the new to all nations.

11. The fifth difference that we may add, lieth in this: that until the coming of Chriſt the Lord had choſen out one nation, within which he would keep diſtinct the covenant of his grace. When the Moſt High did diſtribute the nations, when he divided the ſons of Adam (ſaith Moſes) Deut. iii. 28. his people fell to his poſſeſſion. Jacob the lot of his inheritance. In another place (Deut. x. 14.) he thus ſpeaketh to the people: Behold the heaven and earth and all that is in it, are the Lord thy God's. He cleaved only to thy fathers, he loved them to chooſe their ſeed after them, even your ſelves out of all nations. Therefore he vouchſafed to grant the knowlege of his name to that people only, as if they only of all men belonged unto him: he laid his covenant as it were in their boſom: to them he openly ſhewed the pre-

preſence of his Godhead: them he honoured with all prerogatives. But (to omit the reſt of his benefits, and ſpeak that which only here is to our purpoſe) he bound them to him by the communicating of his word, that he might be called and counted their God. In the mean time he ſuffered other nations to walk in vanity, Acts xiv. 16. as though they had not any intercourſe, or any thing to do with him: neither did he to help their deſtruction, give them that which was only the remedy, namely the preaching of his word. Therefore Iſrael was then the Lord's ſon that was his darling, others were ſtrangers: Iſrael was known to him and received into his charge and protection, others were left to their own darkneſs: Iſrael was ſanctified by God, others were prophane: Iſrael was honoured with the preſence of God, others were excluded from coming nigh unto him. But when (Gal. iv. 4.) the fulneſs of time was come, appointed for the reſtoring of all men, and that ſame reconciler of God and men was delivered indeed, (Eph. ii. 14.) the partition was plucked down, which had ſo long holden the mercy of God incloſed within the bounds of Iſrael, and peace was preached to them that were far off, even as to them that were near adjoined, that being together reconciled to God, they might grow into one people. Wherefore now (Gal. vi. 15.) there is no reſpect of Greek or Jew, circumciſion or uncircumciſion, but Chriſt is all in all, to whom the nations are given for his inheritance, (Pſal. ii. 8. and the ends of the earth for his peculiar poſſeſſion, that univerſally without difference he might have dominion from ſea to ſea, and from the rivers to the uttermoſt ends of the earth. Pſal. lxxii. 8.

The calling of the Gentiles under the new Teſtament ſpoken of by the prophets, not ſuddenly proceeded unto by Chriſt, by the apoſtles ſcarce admitted, wondred at by the very angels themſelves.

12. Therefore the calling of the Gentiles is a remarkable token, whereby is clearly ſhewed the excellency of the new Teſtament above the old. It had indeed been before teſtified by many, and moſt plain oracles of the prophets, but ſo as the performance thereof was ſtill deferred unto the kingdom of the Meſſias. And Chriſt himſelf did not proceed unto it at the firſt beginning of his preaching, but deferred it ſo long until that all the parts of redemption being performed, and the time of his abaſement ended, he received of his Father a name that is above all names, (Phil. ii.) before whom all knees ſhall bow. For which cauſe, when this convenience of time was not yet fulfilled, he ſaid to the woman of Canaan, Matth. xv. 24. that he was not ſent but to the loſt ſheep of the houſe of Iſrael. And he ſuffered not his apoſtles at the firſt ſending, to paſs theſe bounds. Go not ye (ſaith he) into the way of the Gentiles, nor enter into the cities of the Samaritans, but rather go ye to the loſt ſheep of the houſe of Iſrael. But howſoever it was before uttered by ſo many teſtimonies, yet when the apoſtles were firſt to begin it, it ſeemed ſo new and ſtrange a thing unto them, that they were afraid of it, as of ſome monſter. Truly very fearfully, and not without ſticking at it they firſt did ſet upon it. And no wonder, for it ſeemed againſt reaſon, that the Lord, who by ſo many ages had choſen out Iſrael from all other nations, ſhould now undo that choice, as it were ſuddenly changing his purpoſe. It was indeed ſpoken of before by prophecies: but they could not give ſo great heed to the prophecies, as to be nothing moved with the newneſs of the thing that they ſaw. And theſe examples which the Lord had ſhewed of the calling of the Gentiles that ſhould one day come to paſs, were not ſufficient to move them. For beſides this that he had called very few, he did after a certain manner ingraff them into the houſhold of Abraham, to add them unto his people as a parcel of them: but by this general calling, the Gentiles were not only made equal with the Jews, but alſo it appeared that they came into the place of the Jews, that were become dead. And yet all thoſe ſtrangers whom God hath before that time brought into the body of the church, were never made equal with the Jews. And therefore not without a cauſe doth Paul ſo extol his myſtery hidden from ages, (Col. i. 10.) and generations, and which he alſo ſaith to be marvellous to the very angels.

Theſe alterations not improper but expedient for the church.

13. In theſe four or five points, I think I have well and faithfully ſet forth the whole difference of the Old and New Teſtament, ſo much as ſufficeth to the ſimple order of teaching. But becauſe many report this variety in governing the church, this divers manner in teaching, ſo great alteration of uſages and ceremonies, to be a great abſurdity: theſe perſons are alſo to be anſwered before we proceed to other things. And that may be done ſhortly, becauſe the objections are not ſo ſtrong that they need a curious confutation. It is incongruous (ſay they) that God who doth always uniformly agree with himſelf, ſhould ſuffer ſo great an alteration, as afterwards to diſallow the ſame

ſame thing, which he had before both commanded and approved. I anſwer that God ought not therefore to be counted mutable, becauſe he applyed divers forms to divers ages, as he knew to be expedient for every one. If the huſband man appoint to his houſhold one ſort of buſineſs in winter, and another in ſummer, ſhall we therefore accuſe him of inconſtancy, or think that he deviates from the right rule of huſbandry which agreeth with the continual order of nature? Likewiſe if a father of a houſhold do inſtruct, rule and order his children of one ſort in childhood, of another in youth, and of another in the ſtate of manhood, we cannot therefore ſay that he is fickle and forſaketh his own plan. Why therefore do we charge God with the reproach of inconſtancy, becauſe he hath diſtinguiſhed the diverſity of times, with fit and ſuitable marks? The laſt ſimilitude ought fully to ſatisfy us. Paul compares the Jews unto children and chriſtians to young men. What diſorder is there in this government of God that he held them in their childiſh leſſons, who according to the capacity of their age were fit for them, and inſtructed us with ſtronger and as it were more manly diſcipline. Therefore herein appeareth the conſtancy of God, that he taught one ſelf ſame doctrine in all ages, and continueth in requiring the ſame worſhip of his name, which he commanded from the beginning. But whereas he changed the outward form and manner thereof, in that he ſhewed not himſelf ſubject to change: but ſo far he accommodated himſelf to the capacity of man, which is different and changeable.

God may diverſly deal with his church and people upon cauſes kept ſecret unto himſelf, neither may we without intollerable preſumption blame and accuſe his manner of dealing

14. But whence (ſay they) cometh this diverſity, but becauſe God willed it to be ſuch? Could he not as well from the beginning as ſince the coming of Chriſt, reveal the eternal life in plain words without any figures, inſtruct thoſe that are his with a few ſacraments which were eaſy to be underſtood, give his holy ſpirit, and ſhed abroad his grace throughout the whole world? This is juſt as if they ſhould quarrel with God becauſe he hath created the world ſo late, ſince he might have created it from the beginning: or becauſe his will was to have interchanged courſes between winter and ſummer, between day and night. But as for us, even us all godly men ought to think, let us not doubt that whatſoever God hath done, is wiſely and righteouſly done, although oftentimes we know not the cauſe why it ought ſo to have been done. For that were to take preſumptuouſly too much upon us, not to give God leave to have the cauſes of his own purpoſe ſecret to himſelf from us. But it is marvellous (ſay they) that he now refuſeth and abhorreth the ſacrificing of beaſts, and all the furniture of the Levitical prieſthood, wherewith in the old time he was delighted: as though theſe outward and tranſitory things did delight God, or any way move affection in him. We have already ſaid that he did none of theſe for his own cauſe, but diſpoſed them all for the ſalvation of man. If a phyſician do heal a young man of his diſeaſe after one very good mean and afterward, do uſe another manner of healing with the ſame man when old: ſhall we therefore ſay, that he hath refuſed the manner of healing which before pleaſed him, but rather continuing ſtill in the ſame, he hath conſideration of age? So behoved it, that Chriſt being abſent, ſhould be expreſſed in figure by one ſort of ſigns, and by another ſort before ſhewed that he was to come: and it is proper that now being already delivered, he be repreſented by other ſigns. But concerning God's calling, now at the coming of Chriſt more largely ſpread abroad among all people than it was before, and the graces of the holy Ghoſt more plentifully poured out: who, I pray you, can deny it to be right, that God have in his own hand and will the diſpoſing of his own graces, to give light to what nations it pleaſeth him? to raiſe up the preaching of his word in what places it pleaſeth him? to give what doctrine and how great profiting and ſucceſs of doctrine it pleaſeth him? and in what ages he will, to take away the knowlege of his name out of the world for their unthankfulneſs? and again when he will to reſtore it for his own mercy? We ſee therefore, that the cavillations are too much unſuitable wherewith wicked men do in this point diſquiet the minds of the ſimple, to make them call either the righteouſneſs of God, or the faith of the ſcripture into doubt.

CHAP. XII.

That it behoved that Christ to perform the office of the Mediator, should be made man.

It was necessary that he who should inseparably join man to God should himself be both.

NOW it much behoved us that he should be both God and man, who should be our Mediator. If a man ask of the necessity, it was not indeed a simple or absolute necessity, as they commonly call it, but it proceedeth from the heavenly decree, upon which all the salvation of men, depended. But the most merciful father appointed that which should be best for us. For whereas our own iniquities had, as it were cast a cloud between him and us, and utterly excluded us from the kingdom of heaven, no man could be the interpreter for restoring of our peace, but he that could attain unto God. But who could have attained unto him? could any of the sons of Adam? But all they did with their fathers shun the sight of God for fear. Could any of the angels? but they also had need of a head, by whose knitting together they might perfectly and inseparably cleave unto God. What then? It was past all hope, unless the very majesty of God would descend unto us, for we could not ascend unto it. So it behoved that the Son of God should become for us Immanuel, that is, God with us: and that in this sort, that by mutual joining, his godhead and the nature of man might grow into one together. Otherwise neither could the nearness be near enough, nor the alliance strong enough for us to hope by, that God dwelleth with us. So great was the disagreement between our filthiness, and the most pure cleanness of God. Although man had stood undefiled without any spot, yet was his estate too base to attain to God without a Mediator. What could he then do being plunged down into death and hell with a deadly fall, defiled with so many spots, abominable by his own corruption, and overwhelmed with all accursedness? Therefore not without cause, Paul meaning to set forth Christ as the Mediator, doth expressly recite that he is man. (1 Tim. ii. 3.) One Mediator (saith he) of God and man, the man Jesus Christ. He might have said, God: or at least he might have left the name of man as well as of God. But because the holy Ghost speaking by his mouth, knew our weakness: therefore to provide for it in time, he used a most fit remedy, setting among us the son of God familiarly as one of us. Therefore lest any man should trouble himself to know where the Mediator is to be sought, or which way to come unto him, in naming man, he putteth us in mind that he is near unto us, yea so near that he toucheth us, for as much as he is our own flesh. Truly he meaneth there even the same thing that in another place is set out with moe words: (Heb. iv. 15.) that we have not a bishop that cannot have compassion of our infirmities, for as much as he was in all things tempted as we are, only sin excepted.

The Son of God becoming man, hath confirmed us in the state of being sons to the same Father, and having right to the same inheritance with him and being God, hath swallowed death, conquered sin, subdued powers, and bestowed life, which otherwise he could not have done.

2. That shall also appear more plainly, if we consider how it was no inconsiderable thing that the Mediator had to do; that is, so to restore us to the favour of God, as to make us of the children of men, the children of God: of the heirs of hell, the heirs of the kingdom of heaven. Who could do that, unless the Son of God were made also the son of man, and so take ours upon him to convey his unto us, and to make that ours by grace, which was his by nature? Therefore by this earnest, we trust that we are the children of God, because the natural Son of God hath shapen for himself a body of our body, flesh of our flesh, bones of our bones, that he might be all one with us. He disdained not to take that upon him which was proper unto us, to make again that to belong to us which he had proper to himself, and that so in common together with us, he might be both the Son of God and the son of man. Hereupon cometh that holy brotherhood which he commendeth with his own mouth, when he saith: I ascend to my Father and your Father, (John x. 17.) my God and your God. By this mean is the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven assured unto us: for that the only Son of God, to whom it wholly did properly belong, hath adopted us into his brethren (Rom. viii. 17.) because if we be brethren, then are we partakers of the inheritance. Moreover it was for the same cause very profitable, that he who should be our Redeemer, should be both very

very God and very man. It was his office to swallow up death: who could do that but life itself? It was his office to overcome sin: who could do that but righteousness itself? It was his office to vanquish the powers of the world and of the air: who could do that but a power above both world and air? Now in whose possession is life, or righteousness, or the empire and power of heaven, but in God's alone? Therefore the most merciful God, in the person of his only begotten Son, made himself our Redeemer, when his will was to have us redeemed.

The manhood of Christ is a warrant unto us that man hath satisfied God, that he is the promised seed, and that we have fellowship with him and interest in the fruit of all his actions.

3. Another principal point of our reconciliation with God was this, that man who had lost himself by his disobedience should for remedy set obedience against it, should satisfy the judgment of God, and pay the penalty of sin. Therefore there came forth the true man, our Lord, he put on the person of Adam, and took upon him his name to enter into his stead in obeying his Father, to yield our flesh the price of the satisfaction to the just judgment of God, and in the same flesh suffer the pain that we had deserved. For as much as therefore neither being only God, he could feel death, nor being only man he could overcome death he coupled the nature of man with the nature of God, that he might yield the one subject to death to satisfy for sins, and by the power of the other he might wrestle with death, and get victory for us. They therefore that spoil Christ either for his godhead or for his manhood, do indeed either diminish his majesty and glory, or obscure his goodness: but on the other side they do no less wrong unto men whose faith they do thereby weaken and overthrow, which cannot stand but resting upon this foundation. Beside that, it was to be hoped, that the Redeemer should be the Son of Abraham and David, which God had promised in the law and the prophets. Whereby the godly do gather this other fruit, that being by the very course of his pedigree brought to David and Abraham, they do the more certainly know that this is the same Christ that was spoken of by so many oracles. But this which I even now declared, is principally to be holden in mind, that the common nature between him and us is a pledge of our fellowship with the Son of God: that he clothed with our flesh vanquished death and sin together, that the victory so might be ours and the triumph ours: that he offered up for sacrifice the flesh that he received of us, that having made satisfaction, he might wipe away our guiltiness, and appease the just wrath of his Father.

4. He that shall be diligently heedful in considering these things as he ought, will easily neglect these wandering speculations that draw unto them light spirits and desirous of novelties: of which sort is, that Christ should have been man, although there had been no need of remedy to redeem mankind. I grant that in the first degree of creation, and in the state of nature uncorrupted, he was set as head over angels and men. For which cause Paul calleth him the first begotten of all creatures. But since the whole scripture declares that he was clothed with flesh, that he might be the Redeemer: it is too much rash presumption to imagine any other cause or end. To what end Christ was promised from the beginning, it is well enough known: even to restore the world fallen into ruin, and to succour men being lost. Therefore under the law, the image of him was set forth in sacrifices, to make the faithful to hope that God would be merciful to them, when after satisfaction made for sin, he should be reconciled. But whereas in all ages, even when the law was not yet published, the Mediator was never promised without blood; we gather that he was appointed by the eternal counsel of God, to purge the filthiness of men, because the shedding of blood is a token of expiation. The prophets so preached of him, that they promised that he should be the reconciler of God and men. That one specially notable testimony of Isaiah, shall suffice us for all, where he foretelleth, (Isa. liii. 4. 5.) that he shall be stricken with the hand of God for the sins of the people, that the chastisement of peace should be upon him: and that he should be a priest that should offer up himself for sacrifice: that by his wounds we should be healed: and that, because all have strayed and been scattered abroad like sheep, therefore it pleased God to punish him, that he might

Since Christ from the beginning was promised to no other end, but the restoration of the world, no otherwise set forth in sacrifices, taught by prophets, spoken of by his apostles and by himself: since no other end can stand with his priesthood, his titles, that which the scripture speaketh every where of him, it were too much rashness to affirm that the Son of God had taken flesh although this cause had never been.

might bear the iniquities of all. Since we hear that Chriſt is properly appointed by God to help wretched ſinners, whoſoever paſſeth beyond theſe bounds, he doth too much follow fooliſh curioſity. Now when himſelf was once come, he affirmed this to be the cauſe of his coming to appeaſe God, and gather us up from death into life. The ſame thing did the apoſtle's teſtify of him. So John (John i. 9.) before that he teacheth that the word was made fleſh, declareth of the falling away of man. But he himſelf is to be heard before all, when he ſpeaketh, thus of his own office: (John i. 14.) God ſo loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whoſoever believeth in him ſhould not periſh, but have everlaſting life. Again: (John iii. 16.) the hour is come that the dead ſhall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear it, ſhall live. (John v. 25.) I am the reſurrection and the life: he that believeth in me, although he were dead, yet ſhall he live. Again, (John xi. 25) The Son of man cometh to ſave that which was loſt. Again: (Mat. xviii. 11.) The whole need not a phyſician: I ſhould never make an end if I ſhould rehearſe all. The apoſtles do all with one conſent call us to this fountain. And truly if he had not come to reconcile God, the honour of the prieſthood ſhould have come to nought. For as much (Heb. v. 1.) as the prieſt appointed mean between God and man to make interceſſion: and he ſhould not be our righteouſneſs, (2 Cor. v. 19.) becauſe he was made a ſacrifice for us, that God ſhould not impute ſins unto us. Finally, he ſhould be ſpoiled of all the honourable titles, wherewith the ſcripture doth ſet him out. And alſo that ſaying of Paul ſhould prove vain, (Rom. viii. 3.) that that which was impoſſible to the law, God hath ſent his own Son, that in likeneſs of the fleſh of ſin he ſhould ſatisfy for us. Neither will this ſtand that he teacheth in another place, (Tit. ii. 11.) that in this glaſs appeared the goodneſs of God and his infinite goodneſs toward men, when Chriſt was given to be the Redeemer. Finally, the ſcripture every where aſſigneth no other end why the Son of God would take upon him our fleſh, and alſo received this commandment of his Father, but to be made a ſacrifice to appeaſe his Father toward us. So it is written, (Luke xxiv. 26.) and ſo it behoved that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer, and repentance be preached in his name. Therefore (John x. 17.) my Father loveth me, becauſe I give my life for the ſheep, this commandment he gave me. (John iii. 14.) As Moſes lifted up the Serpent in the wilderneſs, ſo muſt the Son of man be lifted up. In another place: (John xii. 27, 28.) Father, ſave me from this hour. But I am therefore come even to this hour. Father, glorify thy Son. Where he plainly ſpeaketh of the end why he took fleſh, that he might be a ſacrifice and ſatisfaction to do away ſin. After the ſame ſort doth (Luke i. 79.) Zachariah pronounce, that he came according to the promiſe given to the fathers, to give light to them that ſat in the ſhadow of death. Let us remember that all theſe things are ſpoken of the Son of God: in whom Paul (Col. ii. 3.) in another place teſtifieth, that (1 Cor. ii. 2.) all the treaſures of knowlege and wiſdom are hidden, and beſide whom he glorifieth that he knoweth nothing.

5. If any man take exception and ſay, that none of all theſe things prove the contrary, but that the ſame Chriſt that redeemed men being damned might alſo in putting on their fleſh teſtify his love toward them, being preſerved and ſafe. The anſwer is ſhort, that forasmuch as the holy Ghoſt pronounceth, that by the eternal decree of God theſe two things were joined together, that Chriſt ſhould be our Redeemer, and alſo partaker of all one nature with us, therefore it is not lawful for us to ſearch any further. For whoſoever is tickled with deſire to know any more, he being not contented with the unchangeable ordinance of God, doth ſhew alſo that he is not contented with the ſame Chriſt that was given us to be the price of our redemption. But Paul not only rehearſeth to what end he was ſent, but alſo climbing to the high myſtery of predeſtination. (Eph. iv. 5.) he very fitly repreſſeth all wantonneſs and itching deſire of man's wit. The Father choſe us in Chriſt before the creation of the world, to make us his ſon's by adoption, according to the purpoſe of his will: and he accepted us in his beloved Son, in whom we have redemption by his blood. Truly here is not the fall of Adam ſet before us though it were foremoſt in time, but is ſhewed what God determined before all ages, when his will was to help the miſery of mankind. If the adverſaries object again, that this purpoſe of God did hang upon the fall of man which he did foreſee: it is enough and more for me, to ſay that they with wicked boldneſs break forth to feign them a new Chriſt, whoſoever ſuffer themſelves to ſearch for more, or hope

It is not for us to examine curiouſly whether Chriſt might have been without this cauſe, when God hath ſet down, that for this cauſe he purpoſed before all worlds Chriſt ſhould be and commanded to avoid fooliſh queſtions.

hope to know more of Chriſt than God hath fore-appointed them by his ſecret decree. And for good cauſe did Paul, (Eph. iii. 16.) after he had ſo diſcourſed of the proper office of Chriſt, wiſh to the Epheſians the ſpirit of underſtanding, to comprehend what is the length, height, breadth, and depth, even the love of Chriſt that ſurmounteth all knowlege: even as if of purpoſe he would ſet bars about our minds, that when mention is made of Chriſt, they ſhould not, be it never ſo little, ſwerve from the grace of reconciliation. Wherefore, ſince this is a faithful ſaying (as Paul teſtifieth) that Chriſt is come to ſave ſinners, (1 Tim. i. 15.) I do gladly reſt in the ſame. And whereas in another place the ſame apoſtle teacheth, that the grace which is now diſcloſed by the goſpel, was given us in Chriſt before the times of the world: I determine that I ought conſtantly to abide therein to the end. Againſt this modeſty Oſiander carpeth unjuſtly who hath again in this time unhappily ſtirred this queſtion before lightly moved by a few. He accuſeth them of preſumption who ſay, that the Son of God ſhould not have appeared in the fleſh, if Adam had not fallen, becauſe this invention is confuted by no teſtimony of Scripture. As though Paul (1 Tim. iii. 9.) did not bridle froward curioſity, when after he had ſpoken of redemption purchaſed by Chriſt, he by and by commandeth to avoid fooliſh queſtions. The madneſs of ſome did burſt out ſo far, that while they diſorderly coveted to ſeem witty, they moved this queſtion, whether the Son of God might have taken upon him the nature of an aſs. This monſtrouſneſs which all the godly do juſtly abhor as deteſtable, let Oſiander confute with this pretence, that it is never expreſsly confuted in the ſcripture. As though when Paul accounteth nothing precious or worthy to be known, but Chriſt crucified, he doth therefore admit an aſs to be the author of ſalvation. Therefore he that in another place reporteth that Chriſt by the eternal counſel of his Father was ordained to be a head to gather all things together, will never the more acknowlege another (Eph. iv. 22.) that hath no office of redeeming appointed him.

A vain principle whereupon Oſiander gathereth that although Adam had neve. ſinned, Chriſt nevertheleſs had been made man.

6. But as for the principle that he boaſteth of, it is very trifling. He would have it that man was created after the image of God, becauſe he was faſhioned after the pattern of Chriſt to come, that he might reſemble him, whom the father had already decreed to clothe with our fleſh. Whereupon he gathereth, that if Adam had never fallen from his firſt and uncorrupted original ſtate, yet Chriſt ſhould have been man. How trifling this is and wreſted, all men that have ſound judgement, do eaſily perceive of themſelves. In the mean time firſt he thinketh that he hath ſeen what was the image, of God, that forſooth the glory of God did not only ſhine in thoſe excellent gifts wherewith he was adorned, but alſo that God himſelf eſſentially dwelt in him. But as for me, although I grant that Adam did bear the image of God, in ſo much as he was joined to God, (which is the true and higheſt perfection of dignity) yet I ſay, that the likeneſs of God is no where elſe to be ſought, but in thoſe marks of excellency wherewith he had beautified Adam above other living creatures. And that Chriſt was then the image of God, all men do grant with one conſent, and therefore that whatſoever excellency was ſtamped in Adam, it proceeded from this, that by the only begotten ſon he approached to the glory of his creator. Therefore man was created after the image of God, (Gen. i. 27.) in whom the creator's will was to have his glory ſeen as in a looking glaſs. To this degree of honour was he advanced by the benefit of the only beggoten ſon: But I ſay further, that the ſame ſon was a common head as well to angels as to men, ſo that the ſame dignity that was beſtowed upon man, did alſo belong unto angels. For when we hear them called the children of God, it were inconvenient to deny, that there is ſomething in them wherein they reſemble their father. Now if his will was to have his glory to be repreſented as well in angels as in men, and to be ſeen in both natures, Oſiander doth fondly trifle in ſaying, that the angels were then ſet behind men, becauſe they did not bear the image of Chriſt. For they could not continually enjoy the preſent beholding of God, unleſs they were like him. And Paul (Gal. iii. 10.) teacheth, that men are no otherwiſe renewed after the image of God, but if they be united with angels, that they may cleave together under one head. Finally, if we believe Chriſt, this ſhall be our laſt felicity, to be made of like form to the angels, when we ſhall be received up into heaven. But if Oſiander will conclude, that the original pattern of the image of God was in Chriſt as he is man, by the ſame reaſon a man may ſay, that Chriſt muſt needs have been partaker of the nature of angels, becauſe the image of God pertaineth alſo to them.

The reſt of Oſiander's reaſons anſwered.

7. Therefore, Oſiander hath no cauſe to fear, that God ſhould be found a liar, unleſs it had been firſt ſtedfaſtly and unchangeably decreed in his mind, to have his

ſon incarnate: becauſe if the integrity of Adam had not fallen, he ſhould with the angels have been like unto God, and yet it ſhould not therefore have been neceſſary, that the Son of God ſhould be either man or angel. And in vain he feareth that abſurdity, leſt unleſs the unchangeable council of God had been before the creation of man that Chriſt ſhould be born, not as the redeemer but as the firſt man he ſhould have loſt his prerogative: foraſmuch as now he ſhould be born man only by an accidental cauſe, that is to reſtore mankind being loſt, and ſo it might be gathered thereupon, that Chriſt was created after the image of Adam. For why ſhould he ſo much abhor that which the ſcripture (Heb. iv. 15.) ſo openly teacheth, that he was made like unto us in all things, except ſin? Whereupon Luke (Luke iii. 38.) doubteth not to reckon him the ſon of Adam in his genealogy. And I would fain know why Paul (1 Cor. xv. 47.) calleth Chriſt the ſecond Adam, but becauſe the eſtate of man was appointed for him, that he might raiſe up the poſterity of Adam out of their ruin. For if he were in order before that creation, he ſhould have been called the firſt Adam. Oſiander boldly affirmeth, that becauſe Chriſt was already before known man in the mind of God, men were formed after the ſame pattern. But Paul in naming him the ſecond Adam, ſetteth a mean between the firſt beginning of man and the reſtitution which we obtain by Chriſt, the fall of man whereby grew the neceſſity to have nature reſtored to its firſt degree. Whereupon it followeth, that this ſame was the cauſe why the ſon of God was born to become man. In the mean time, Oſiander reaſoneth ill and unſavourily, that Adam, ſo long as he had ſtood without falling, ſhould have been the image of himſelf and not of Chriſt. I anſwer by the contrary, becauſe though the ſon of God had never put on fleſh, nevertheleſs both in the body and in the ſoul of man ſhould have ſhined the image of God, in the bright beams whereof it always appeared, that Chriſt is verily the head, and hath the ſovereign ſupremacy in all. And ſo is that fooliſh ſubtilty aſſoiled, which Oſiander bloweth abroad, that the angels ſhould have lacked this head, unleſs it had been purpoſed by God to clothe his ſon with fleſh, yea, though there had been no fault of Adam. For he doth too raſhly ſnatch hold of that which no man in his right wit will grant, that Chriſt hath no ſupremacy over angels, that they ſhould have him for their Prince, but inſomuch as he is man. But it is eaſily gathered by the words of Paul, (Col. i. 15.) that in as much as he is the eternal Word of God he is the firſt begotten of all creatures, not that he is created or ought to be reckoned among creatures: but becauſe the ſtate of the world in integrity, ſuch as it was at the beginning adorned with excellent beauty, had no other original; and then, that in as much as he was made man, he was the firſt begotten of the dead. For the apoſtle in one ſhort clauſe ſetteth forth in both theſe points to be conſidered: (Col. i. 18.) that all things were created by the ſon, that he might bear rule over angels: (Col. i. 19) and that he was made man, that he might begin to be the Redeemer. Of like ignorance is it that he ſaith, that men ſhould not have had Chriſt to be their King if he had not been man. As though the kingdom of God could not ſtand, if the eternal Son of God, although not cloathed with the fleſh of man, gathering together both angels and men into the fellowſhip of his heavenly glory and life, ſhould himſelf bear the ſovereignty. But in this falſe principle he is always deceived, or rather deceiveth himſelf that the church ſhould have been without a head, unleſs Chriſt had appeared in the fleſh. As though, even as the angels enjoyed him their head, he could not likewiſe by his divine power rule over men, and by the ſecret force of his ſpirit quicken and nouriſh them like his own body, till being gathered up into heaven, they might enjoy all one life with the angels. Theſe trifles that I have hitherto confuted, Oſiander looks upon as very powerful oracles: even ſo as being drunk with the ſweetneſs of his own ſpeculations, he uſeth to blow out fond Bacchus cries of matters of nothing. But this one that he bringeth after, he ſaith is much more ſtrong, that is the prophecy of Adam, who ſeeing his wife ſaid, (Gen. ii. 23.) this now is bone of my bones, and fleſh of my fleſh. But how proveth he that to be a prophecy? Becauſe in Matthew Chriſt giveth the ſame ſaying to God. As though that whatſoever God hath ſpoken by men, containeth ſome prophecy. Let Oſiander ſeek prophecies in every commandment of the law, which it is certain came from God the author of them. Beſide that, Chriſt ſhould have been groſs and earthly, if he had reſted upon the literal ſenſe. Becauſe he ſpeaketh not of the myſtical union to which he hath vouchſafed to receive his church, but only of faithfulneſs between man and wife: for this cauſe he teacheth that God pronounced that man and wife ſhall be one fleſh, that no man ſhould attempt to break that inſeparable knot by divorce. If Oſiander lothe this ſimplicity, let him blame Chriſt, for

for that he led not his disciples further to a mystery, in more subtilly expounding the saying of his father. Neither yet doth Paul maintain his error, who after he had said that we are flesh of the flesh of Christ, by and by addeth, that this was a great mystery; for his purpose was not to tell in what meaning Adam spake it, but under the figure and similitude of marriage to set forth the holy marriage union that maketh us one with Christ. And so do the words sound. Because when he giveth warning that he speaketh this of Christ and his church, he doth as it were by way of correction, separate the spiritual joining of Christ and his church from the law of marriage. Wherefore this fickle reason easily vanisheth away. And I think I need no more to shake up any more of that sort of chaff, because the vanity of them all is soon found out by the this short confutation. But this sobriety shall abundantly suffice to feed soundly the children of God: that when the fulness of times was come, the Son of God was sent, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law.

CHAP. XIII.

That Christ took upon him the true substance of the flesh of man.

The truth of Christ's human nature proved against the Manichees and Marcionites.

NOW, unless I be deceived, it were superfluous to treat again of the Godhead of Christ which hath already in another place been proved with plain and strong testimonies. It remaineth therefore to be seen, how he being clothed with our flesh, hath fulfilled the office of mediator. The truth of his human nature hath in the old time been impugned both by the Manichees and the Marcionites: of whom the Marcionites feigned an apparition instead of the real body of Christ, and the Manichees dreamed that he had a heavenly flesh. But both many and strong testimonies of the scripture do stand against them both. For the blessing is promised, (Gen. xvii. 2. xii. 18. and xxvi. 4.) neither in a heavenly seed, nor in the counterfeit shape of man, but in the seed of Abraham and Jacob. Neither is the eternal throne promised (Psal. xlv. 7.) to a man made of air, but to the son of David, and to the fruit of his womb. Therefore being delivered in the flesh he is called (Matth. i. 1.) the Son of David and Abraham: not because he is only born of the womb of the Virgin, and created in the air, but because (as Paul expoundeth it, Rom. i. 3.) he is according to the flesh made of the seed of David: as in another place (Rom. ix. 5.) the apostle teacheth, that he descended of the Jews. For which cause the Lord himself not contented with the bare name of man, doth oftentimes call himself the Son of man, meaning to express more plainly that he was man truly issued of the seed of mankind. Since he holy Ghost hath so oft, by so many means, with so great diligence and simplicity declared a thing not obscure of itself, who would have thought any men to be so shameless as to presume yet to spread mists to darken it? And yet we have other testimonies at hand, if we had a mind to heap up more of them. As is that saying of Paul: Gal, iv. 4. that God sent his son made of a woman. And innumerable other places, whereby appeareth that he was subject to hunger, thirst, cold, and other infirmities of our nature. But out of these many are chiefly to be chosen, such as may most avail to edify our minds in true confidence. As, where it is said, that he gave not so great honour to the angels (Heb. ii. 16.) as to take their nature upon him, but took our nature, that in flesh and blood he might by death, destroy him that had the power of death. Again, that by benefit of that communicating we are reckoned his brethren. Again, that he ought to have been made like unto his brethren, that he might be made a merciful and faithful intercessor. That we have not a bishop that cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, and such like. And for the same purpose serveth that which we touched a little before, that it behoved that the sins of the world should be cleansed in our flesh, which Paul (Rom. viii. 3.) plainly affirmeth. And truly whatsoever (John i. 16.) the father hath given to Christ, it doth therefore belong to us, because he is the head, from which the whole body being knit together, groweth into one. Yea, and otherwise that will not agree together, which is said: that the (John i. 19.) Spirit was given him without measure, that all we should draw of the fulness thereof. Forasmuch as there is no greater absurdity than to say, that God is enriched in his essence by any accidental gift. And for this cause Christ saith in another place: I do sanctify myself for them.

The grounds on which the Marcionites and Mani-

2. As for the places that they bring forth to confirm their error, they do too unaptly wrest them, and they nothing prevail

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chees founded their error.

by their trifling ſubtilties, when they go about to wipe away thoſe things that I have alleged for our part. Maricon imagineth that Chriſt did put the on the appearance of a body inſtead of a real body: becauſe in ſome places (Phil. ii. 7.) it is ſaid, that he was made after the likeneſs of a man, and that he was found in faſhion as a man. But ſo he nothin weigheth what is Paul's purpoſe in that place. For his meaning is not to teach what manner of body Chriſt took upon him, but that whereas he might have ſhewed forth his Godhead, he made no other ſhew of himſelf, but as of an abject and unregarded man. For, to exhort us by his example to ſubmiſſion, he ſheweth that foraſmuch as he was God, he might have by and by ſet forth his glory to be ſeen to the world: but yet that he gave over ſome of his own right, and of his own accord abaſed himſelf, becauſe he did put on the image of a ſervant and contented with that humility, ſuffered his Godhead to be hidden with the vail of the fleſh. He doth not here teach what Chriſt was, but how he behaved himſelf. And alſo by the whole proceſs of the text it is eaſily gathered, that Chriſt was abaſed in the true nature of man. For what meaneth this, that in ſhape he was found as man, but that for a time the glory of his Godhead did not ſhine forth, but only the ſhape of man appeared in baſe and abject eſtate? For otherwiſe that place in Peter could not ſtand together, 1 Pet. iii. 18. that he was dead in the fleſh, but quickened in the ſpirit, if the Son of God had not been weak in the nature of man: which Paul, 2 Cor. xiii. 4. expreſſeth more plainly in ſaying, that he ſuffered by reaſon of the weakneſs of the fleſh. And hereunto ſerveth the exaltation: becauſe it is expreſly ſaid, 1 Cor. xv. 47. that Chriſt attained a new glory after he had abaſed himſelf, which could not well agree to be ſpoken of any, but of a man having fleſh and ſoul. The Manicheus framed Chriſt a body of air, becauſe Chriſt is called the ſecond Adam, heavenly of heaven. But neither in that place doth the apoſtle bring in a heavenly eſſence of the body, but a ſpiritual force, which being ſhed abroad by Chriſt, doth quicken us. Now, as we have already ſeen, Peter and Paul do ſever the ſame from his fleſh. But rather that doctrine which is received among the true teachers, concerning the fleſh of Chriſt, is very well proved by that place. For if Chriſt had not all one nature of body with us, it were a very vain argument, that Paul with ſo much vehemence followeth: 1 Cor. xv. 16. that if Chriſt be riſen again, we ſhall alſo riſe again: and if we do not riſe, then that Chriſt alſo is not riſen. By what cavils ſoever either the old Manichees or their new diſciples go about to eſcape, they ſhall not wind themſelves away. It is a foul ſhift, that they fondly ſay, that Chriſt is called the ſon of man, inſomuch as he is promiſed of men. For it is plain, that after the Hebrew phraſe, very man indeed is called the ſon of man. And Chriſt without doubt kept the phraſe of his own tongue. Alſo it ought to make no queſtion, what ought to be underſtood by the children of Adam. And (not to go far off) the place of the eighth pſalm, which the apoſtles apply to Chriſt, ſhall be ſufficient enough: What is man that thou art mindful of him, or the ſon of man that thou viſiteſt him? In this figure is expreſſed the true manhood of Chriſt. For though he were not immediately begotten of a mortal father, yet his deſcent came from Adam. For otherwiſe that place could not ſtand which we have already alleged that Chriſt is made partaker of fleſh and blood, that he might gather to him young children to the ſervice of God. In which words it is plainly determined, that Chriſt is made fellow and partaker of all one nature with us. In which meaning alſo he ſaith, Heb. ii. 14. that both the author of holineſs, and they that are made holy, are all of one. For it is proved by the proceſs of the text, that the ſame is referred to the fellowſhip of nature: becauſe he by and by addeth: Therefore he is not aſhamed to call them brethren. For if he had ſaid before, that the faithful are of God in ſo great dignity, what cauſe ſhould there be to be aſhamed? But becauſe Chriſt of his infinite grace doth join himſelf to the baſe and ignoble, therefore it is ſaid, that he is not aſhamed. But in vain they object, that by this mean the wicked ſhall become the brethren of Chriſt: becauſe we know that the children of God are not born of fleſh and blood, but of the holy Ghoſt by faith. Therefore only fleſh maketh not a brotherly joining. But although the apoſtle giveth this honour to the faithful only, to be of one with Chriſt, yet it followeth not, but that the wicked may be born of the ſame original. As when we ſay that Chriſt was made man, to make us the ſons of God; this ſaying extendeth not to all men, becauſe faith is the mean which ſpiritually graffeth us into the body of Chriſt. Alſo they fooliſhly move a ſtrife about the name of Firſt begotten. They ſay that Chriſt ſhould have been born of Adam ſtraight at the beginning, that he might be the firſt begotten among brethren. For the title of Firſt begotten is not referred to age, but to the degree of honour, and excellency of power. And more colour hath that which they babble,

Heb.

(Heb. ii. 16.) that Chriſt took to him man and not angels, becauſe he received mankind into favour. For, to ſet out more largely the honour which God vouchſafed to give us, he compared the angels with us, who were in this behalf ſet behind us. And if the teſtimony of Moſes be well attended to, where (Gal. iii. 5.) he ſaith that the ſeed of the woman ſhall break the head of the ſerpent, it ſhall utterly end the controverſy. For Chriſt alone is not there ſpoken of, but all mankind. Becauſe the victory was to be gotten by Chriſt for us, he generally pronounceth that the poſterity of the woman ſhould get the upper hand of the devil. Whereupon it followeth, that Chriſt iſſued of mankind, becauſe it was God's purpoſe there to raiſe up Eve, whom he ſpake unto with good hope, that ſhe ſhould not faint with ſorrow.

The ſhifts which new Marcionites have to avoid the evidence of ſcripture which maketh againſt them.

3. They do no leſs wickedly than fooliſhly entangle with allegories theſe teſtimonies where Chriſt is called the ſeed of Abraham, and the fruit of the womb of David. For if the name of ſeed had been ſpoken in an allegory, truly Paul would not have left it untold, where he plainly and without figure affirmeth, that there are not many ſons of Abraham Redeemers, (Gal. iii. 18.) but one Chriſt. Of like ſort is it that they allege: that he is no otherwiſe called the ſon of David, but becauſe he was promiſed and at length in his due time delivered. For after that Paul had once named him the Son of God: in that he by and by addeth, according to the fleſh, he truly meaneth of nature. And ſo in the ninth chapter calling him the bleſſed God, he ſaith diſtinctly beſide, that according to the fleſh he deſcended of the Jews. Now if he were not truly begotten of the ſeed of David, to what purpoſe ſhall this saying be, that he is the fruit of his womb? (Rom. i. 3.) What meaneth this promiſe? Out of thy loins ſhall he deſcend, who ſhall abide in thy ſeat. Now in the genealogy of Chriſt, as it is related by Matthew, they do ſophiſtically mock. For though he doth not rehearſe the parents of Mary but of Joſeph, yet becauſe he ſpeaketh of a thing ſufficiently known abroad among the people, he reckoneth it enough to ſhew that Joſeph came of the ſeed of David, when it was well known that Mary was of the ſame ſtock. But Luke more expreſſeth them in teaching that ſalvation brought by Chriſt, is common to all mankind: becauſe Chriſt the author of ſalvation proceeded from Adam the common parent of all. I grant indeed, that by the genealogy it can no otherwiſe be gathered that Chriſt was the ſon of David, but in ſo much as he was begotten of the Virgin. But the new Marcionites to colour their error act too proudly, when, in order to prove that Chriſt took his body of nothing, they affirm that women are without ſeed, and ſo they overthrow the principles of nature. But becauſe that is not a queſtion in divinity, and the reaſons which they bring are ſo fickle that they may very eaſily be confuted, therefore I will not touch thoſe things that belong to philoſophy and phyſic, and will hold me contented to wipe away thoſe things that they allege out of ſcripture: that is, that Aaron and Joiadah took wives of the tribe of Judah, and ſo the difference of tribes had then been confounded, if woman had engendering ſeed in her. But it is well enough known that as touching civil order, the kindreds are reckoned by the ſeed of the man, and yet the excellency of the kind of man above woman proveth not the contrary, but that in generation the ſeed of woman muſt meet. And this ſolution extendeth to all the genealogies. Oftentimes when the ſcripture reckoneth up a genealogy, it nameth the men only: ſhall we therefore ſay, that the women are nothing? But even children do know, that women are comprehended under the name of men. And after this ſort is ſaid, that women bring forth to their huſbands, becauſe the name of the houſhold always remaineth with the males. Now as this is granted to the excellency of the male kind, that the children are counted noble or ignoble, according to the eſtate of their fathers: ſo alſo in the ſtate of bondage the iſſue followeth the womb, according to the judgment of the civil lawyers. Whereby we may gather, that the iſſue is ingendered of the ſeed of the woman. And it hath of long time been received in common uſe of all nations, that the mothers are called Genetrices, that is engenderers. Wherewith God's law alſo agreeth, which otherwiſe ſhould wrongfully forbid the marriage of the uncle with his ſiſter's daughter, becauſe there were no conſanguinity between them: and alſo it were lawful for a man to marry his ſiſter by the mother's ſide, ſo that the were begotten of another father. But as I grant that there is a paſſive power aſcribed to women, ſo do I anſwer that the ſame thing is indifferently ſpoken of them that is of men. And Chriſt himſelf is not ſaid (Gal. iv. 4.) to be made by the woman, but of the woman. But ſome of that ſect ſhaking off all modeſty do too lewdly aſk, whether

we will say that Christ was engendered of the menstrual seed of the Virgin, for I will likewise ask of them, whether he did not congeal in the blood of his mother, which they shall be constrained to confess. Therefore it is fitly gathered of Matthew's words, that because Christ was begotten of Mary, he was engendered of her seed: as a like engendering is meant when it is said, that Boaz was begotten of Rahab. Neither doth Matthew here describe the Virgin as a conduit pipe through which Christ passed: but he separateth this marvellous manner of generation from the common manner, for that (Matth. i. 5.) by her was Christ begotten of the seed of David. For even in the same sort, that Isaac was begotten of Abraham, Solomon of David, and Joseph of Jacob, likewise it is said that Christ was begotten of his mother. For the evangelist so frameth the order of his speech, and willing to prove that Christ came of David, is contented with this one reason, that he was begotten of Mary. Whereby it followeth, that he took it for a matter confessed, that Mary was of kin to Joseph.

It is no dishonour unto Christ to have taken his original of man.

4. The absurdities wherewith they would charge us, are stuffed full of childish cavils. They think it a shame and dishonour to Christ, if he should have taken his original of men; because he so could not be exempt from the universal law that encloseth all the offspring of Adam without exception under sin. But the comparison that we read in Paul doth easily assoil this doubt: (Rom. v. 12.) that as by one man came sin, and by sin death, so by the righteousness of one man grace hath abounded. Wherewith also agreeth another comparison of his: (1 Cor. xv. 47.) the first Adam of earth earthly, and natural, the second of heaven heavenly. Therefore in another place, (Rom. viii. 3.) the same apostle, where he teacheth that Christ was sent in the likeness of sinful flesh to satisfy the law, doth so expressly separate him from the common estate of men, that he be very man without fault and corruption. But very childishly they trifle in reasoning thus: If Christ be free from all spot, and was by the secret working of the holy Ghost begotten of the seed of Mary, then is not the woman's seed, but only the man's seed unclean. For we do not make Christ free from all spot; for this cause that he is only engendered of his mother without copulation of man, but because he is sanctified by the holy Ghost, that the generation might be pure and uncorrupted, such as should have been before the fall of Adam. And this always remained stedfastly determined with us, that so oft as the scripture putteth us in mind of the spotlessness of Christ, it is meant of his true nature of manhood: because it were superfluous to say that God is unspotted. Also the sanctification that he speaketh of in the seventeenth of John, could have no place in the nature of God. Neither are there feigned two seeds of Adam, although there came no infection to Christ: because the generation of man is not unclean or vicious of itself, but accidental by his falling. Therefore it is no wonder if Christ, by whom the estate of innocence was to be restored, were exempted from common corruption. And whereas also they thrust this upon us for an absurdity, that if the word of God did put on flesh, then was it inclosed in a narrow prison of an earthly body: this is but mere obstinacy because although the infinite essence of the word did grow together into one person with the nature of man: yet do we feign no inclosing of it. For the Son of God descended marvellously from heaven, so as yet he left not heaven, it was his will to be marvellously born in the virgin's womb, to be conversant in earth, and hang upon the cross, yet that he always filled the world even as at the beginning.

CHAP. XIV.

How the two natures of the Mediator do make one person.

The divine and human natures of Christ united in his person, yet in their properties distinguished, as the body and the soul in one and the same men.

NOW where it is said, that the Word was made flesh: that is not so to be understood, as though it were either turned into flesh, or confusedly mingled with flesh, but because he chose him a temple of the Virgin's womb to dwell in, he that was the Son of God, became also the son of man, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person. For we so affirm the godhead joined and united to the manhood, that either of them have their whole property remaining,

ing, and yet of them both is made one Chriſt. If any thing in all worldly things may be found like to ſo great a myſtery, the ſimilitude of man is moſt fit whom we ſee to conſiſt of two ſubſtances, whereof yet neither is ſo mingled with other, but that either keepeth the property of his own nature. For neither is the ſoul the body, nor the body the ſoul. Wherefore both that thing may be ſeparately ſpoken of the ſoul, which can no ways agree with the body: and likewiſe of the body that thing may be ſaid, which can by no means agree with the ſoul: and that may be ſaid of the whole man, which can be but unfitly taken neither of the ſoul nor of the body ſeparately. Finally, the properties of the ſoul are ſometimes attributed to the body, and the properties of the body ſometimes to the ſoul: and yet he that conſiſteth of them is but one man and not many. But ſuch forms of ſpeech do ſignify both that there is one perſon in man compounded of two natures knit together, and that there are two divers natures which do make the ſame perſon. And ſo do the ſcriptures ſpeak of Chriſt: ſometimes they give unto him thoſe things that ought ſingularly to be referred to his manhood, and ſometimes thoſe things that do peculiarly belong to his godhead, and ſometimes thoſe things that do comprehend both natures, and do agree with neither of them ſeparately. And this conjoining of the two natures that are in Chriſt, they do with ſuch religiouſneſs expreſs, that ſometimes they do put them in common together: which figure is among the old authors called communicating of properties.

Things in ſcripture ſometimes ſpoken of the perſon of Chriſt and agreeing in reſpect of the one nature only, ſometimes of one nature and agreeing in reſpect of the other.

2. Theſe things were but weak, unleſs many phraſes of ſcripture, and ſuch as are every where eaſy to be found, did prove that nothing hereof hath been deviſed by man. That ſame thing which Chriſt ſpake of himſelf, ſaying: before that Abraham was, (John viii. 58.) I am, was far diſagreeing from his manhood. Neither am I ignorant with what cavillation the erroneous ſpirits do pervert this place: for they ſay that he was before all ages, becauſe he was already foreknown the Redeemer, as well in the counſel of the Father, as in the minds of the godly. But whereas he openly diſtinguiſheth the day of his manifeſtation from his eternal eſſence, and of purpoſe pronounceth unto himſelf an authority by antiquity wherein he excelleth above Abraham, he doth undoubtedly challenge to himſelf that which is proper to the godhead. Whereas Paul (Col. i. 15.) affirmeth that he is the firſt begotten of all creatures, which was before all things, and by whom all things keep their being: and whereas he himſelf reporteth that he was in glory with the Father before the creation of the world, and that he worketh together with the Father, (John xvii. 5.) theſe things do nothing more agree with the nature of men. It is therefore certain, (John v. 17.) that theſe and ſuch like are peculiarly aſcribed to the Godhead. But whereas he is called (Iſa. xlii. 1.) the ſervant of the Father: and whereas it is ſaid, (Luke i. 52.) that he grew in age, wiſdom and favour with God and men: (John viii. 50.) that he ſeeketh not his own glory: (Matth. xiii.) that he knoweth not the laſt day: (John xiv. 10, and vi. 36.) that he ſpeaketh not of himſelf: (Luke xxiv. 39.) that he doth not his own will: where it is ſaid, that he was ſeen and felt: this wholly belongeth to his own manhood. For in reſpect that he is God neither can he increaſe in any thing, and he worketh all things for his own ſake, neither is any thing hidden from him, he doth all things according to the free choice of his own will, and can neither be ſeen nor felt. And yet he doth not ſeparately aſcribe theſe things to his nature of man only, but taketh them upon himſelf, as if they did agree with the perſon of the Mediator. But the communicating of properties is in this that Paul ſaith, (Acts xx. 28.) that God did by his own blood purchaſe unto him a church: (1 Cor. ii. 6.) and the Lord of glory crucified. Again, where John ſaith, (1 John i. 1.) that the word of life was felt. Truly God neither hath blood, nor ſuffereth, nor can be touched with hands. But becauſe he who was both very God and man, Chriſt being crucified, did ſhed his blood for us: thoſe things that were done in his nature of man, are unproperly, and yet not without reaſon given to his Godhead. A like example is, (1 John iii. 16.) where John teacheth that God gave his ſoul for us: therefore there alſo the property of the manhood is communicated with the other nature. Again, when Chriſt ſaid being yet converſant in earth, that no man hath aſcended into heaven, (John iii. 13.) but the Son of man that was in heaven: truly according to his manhood, and in the fleſh that he had put on, he was not then in heaven: but becauſe himſelf was

both God and man, by reaſon of the unity of both natures, he gave to the one that which belonged to the other.

Things ſpoken of the perſon of Chriſt and agreeing no more to one nature than another, but indifferently to either, and truly to him that conſiſteth of both. In which kind his office of mediation is.

3. But moſt plainly of all do theſe places ſet forth the true ſubſtance of Chriſt, which do comprehend both natures together; of which ſort there are very many in the goſpel of him. For that which is there read is ſingularly belonging neither to his Godhead nor to his manhood, but to both together, that he hath received of his Father power to forgive ſins, to raiſe up whom he will, to give righteouſneſs, holineſs and ſalvation, to be made judge over the quick and the dead, to be honoured even as the Father is: Finally, that he is called (John i. 29. and v. 21.) the light of the world, (John ix. 5.) the good ſhepherd, the only door, the true vine. For ſuch prerogatives had the Son of God, when he was manifeſted in the fleſh, which although he enjoyed with his Father before the world was made, (John xxi. 1.) yet he had them not in the ſame manner or the ſame reſpect, and which could not be given to ſuch a man as was nothing but man. In the ſame meaning ought we to take that which is in Paul: (1 Cor. ii. 4.) that Chriſt after the judgment ended, ſhall yield up the kingdom to God and the Father: even the kingdom of the Son of God, which had no beginning, nor ſhall have any ending: but even as he lay hid under the baſeneſs of the fleſh, and abaſed himſelf, taking upon him the form of a ſervant, and laying aſide the air of majeſty, he ſhewed himſelf obedient to his Father: (Phil. ii. 8.) and having performed all ſuch ſubjection, at length is crowned with honour and glory, and advanced to the higheſt dominion, that all knees ſhall bow before him: ſo ſhall he then yield up to his Father both that name and crown of glory, and whatſoever he hath received of his Father, that God may be all in all. For to what purpoſe is power and dominion given him, but that the Father ſhould govern us by his hand? In which ſenſe it is alſo ſaid, (Heb. ii. 6.) that he ſitteth at the right hand of the Father. But this is but for a time, (Phil. ii. 10.) till we may enjoy the preſent beholding of the Godhead. And here the error of the old fathers cannot be excuſed, who while they took no heed to the perſon of the Mediator, have obſcured the natural meaning of almoſt all the doctrine that is read in the goſpel of John, and have entangled themſelves in many ſnares. Let this therefore be unto us the key of right underſtanding, that ſuch things as belong to the office of the Mediator, are not ſpoken ſimply of the nature of God, nor of the nature of man. Therefore Chriſt ſhall reign till he come forth to judge the world, in ſo much as he uniteth us to his Father, according to the ſmall meaſure of our weakneſs. But when we being made partakers of the heavenly glory, ſhall ſee God ſuch as he is, then he having performed the office of Mediator, ſhall ceaſe to be the ambaſſador of his Father, and ſhall be contented with that glory which he enjoyed before the making of the world: and the name of Lord doth in no other reſpect peculiarly agree with the perſon of Chriſt, but in this, that it ſignifieth the mean degree between God and us. For which purpoſe maketh that ſaying of Paul: (1 Cor. viii.) One God of whom are all things, and one Lord by whom are all things, even he to whom the dominion for a time is committed by the Father, until his divine majeſty be to be ſeen face to face. From whom ſo far is it off that any thing ſhall decay, by yielding up the dominion to his Father, that he ſhall become ſo much the more glorious. For then ſhall God alſo ceaſe to be the head of Chriſt becauſe Chriſt's Godhead ſhall then ſhine of itſelf, whereas yet it is covered with a certain vail.

Things ſpoken of Chriſt do need wiſe and ſober expoſitors for the avoiding as of other errors, ſo of thoſe wherein Neſtorius and Eutyches are condemned.

4. And this obſervation ſhall do no ſmall ſervice to aſſoil many doubts, if the readers do fitly apply it. For it is marvellous how much the unſkilful, yea ſome not utterly unlearned, (*Aug. in enchir. ad Lauren. c.* 36.) are cumbered with ſuch forms of ſpeech, which they ſee ſpoken by Chriſt, which do well agree neither with his Godhead nor with his manhood, becauſe they conſider not that they do agree with his perſon wherein he is ſhewed both God and man, and with the office of Mediator. And it is always eaſy to ſee how well all things hang together, if they have a ſober expoſitor, to examine ſo great myſteries with ſuch devout reverence as they ought to be. But there is nothing that theſe furious and frantic ſpirits meddle not with. They catch hold of thoſe things that are ſpoken of his manhood, to take away the Godhead; and likewiſe of thoſe things that are ſpoken of his Godhead to take away

way his manhood: and of those things that are so jointly spoken of both natures, that they severally agree with neither, to take away both. But what is that else but to say, that Christ is not man, because he is God: and that he is not God, because he is man, and that he is neither man nor God, because he is both man and God? We therefore do determine that Christ, as he is both God and man, consisting of both natures, united, though not confounded, is our Lord and the true Son of God, even according to this manhood, though not by reason of his manhood. For the error of Nestorius is to be driven far away from us, who when he went about rather to draw in sunder, than to distinguish the nature, did by that means imagine a double Christ. Whereas we see that the scripture crieth out with loud voice against it, where both the name of the Son of God is given to him that was born of the virgin, Luke i. 33. and 44. and the virgin herself is called the mother of our Lord. We must also beware of the madness of Eutyches, lest while we go about to shew the unity of person, we destroy either nature. For we have already alleged so many testimonies, and there are every where so many more to be alleged, where his Godhead is distinguished from his manhood, as may stop the mouths even of the most contentious. And a little hereafter I will adjoin some testimonies to confute better that feigned device, but at this present, one place shall content us. Christ would not have called his body a temple, John ii. 19. unless the Godhead did distinctly dwell therein. Wherefore as Nestorius was justly condemned in the synod at Ephesus, so also was Eutyches afterwards condemned in the synod of Constantinople and Chalcedon: forasmuch as it is no more lawful to confound the two natures in Christ, than it is to draw them in sunder.

The monstrous impiety of Servetus, denying Christ to have been actually the Son of God before he was born of the virgin Mary.

5. But in our age also there hath risen up no less pernicious a monster, Michael Servetus, who did thrust in place of the Son of God, a feigned thing made of the essence of God, of spirit, flesh, and three elements uncreated. And first he denieth that Christ is by any other way the son of God, but in this that he was begotten of the holy Ghost in the womb of the virgin. But to this end tendeth his subtilty, that the distinction of the two natures being once overthrown, Christ might be thought to be a certain thing mingled of God and man, and yet neither God nor man. For in his whole process he travelleth towards this point, that before Christ was openly shewed in the flesh, there were only certain shadowish figures in God, whereof the truth or effect then at length was in being, when that word which was ordained to that honour, began truly to be the Son of God. And we indeed do confess that the mediator who is born of the virgin, is properly the Son of God. For Christ, in that he is man, could not be the mirror of the inestimable favour of God, unless this dignity were given him to be, and be called, the only begotten Son of God. But in the mean while the definition of the church standeth firmly established, that he is counted the Son of God, because he being the Word begotten of the Father before all worlds, did by hypostatical union take upon him the nature of man. Now the hypostatical union is called with the old fathers, that which maketh one person of two natures, which phrase of speech was devised to overthrow the doting error of Nestorius, because he feigned that the Son of God did so dwell in the flesh, that yet he the same was not man. Servetus slandereth us, that we make two Sons of God, when we say that the eternal Word was already the Son of God before that it was cloathed with flesh, as if we did say any thing else but that he was manifested in the flesh. Neither doth it follow, that if he were God before that he was man, he began to be a new God. And no more absurdity is it to say, that the Son of God appeared in the flesh, which yet had this always from eternal begetting to be the Son, which the angel's words to Mary do secretly shew, That holy thing that shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God: as if he should have said, that the name of the Son, which was obscure in the time of the law, shall now become famous and every where known abroad. Wherewith agreeth that saying of Paul, that now by Christ we are the children of God, freely and with boldness to cry, Abba, Father. Rom. viii. 15. But were not the holy fathers in old time also accounted among the children of God? Yea, and bearing them bold upon that interest, they called upon God by name of their Father. But because since the only begotten Son of God was brought forth into the world, the heavenly fatherhood is become more plainly known: therefore Paul assigneth this, as it were a privilege to the kingdom of Christ. But yet this is invariably to be maintained, that God never was father either to angels or men, but in respect of the only begotten Son: and that men specially whom their own wickedness maketh hateful to God, are his children by free adoption because he is the Son of God by nature. And there is no cause why

Servetus ſhould cavil, that this dependeth upon filiation or becoming a ſon, which God had determined with himſelf, becauſe our purpoſe is not here to ſpeak of the figures how the expiation was ſhewed in the blood of beaſts: but becauſe they could not indeed be the children of God, unleſs their adoption were grounded upon the head, it is without reaſon to take that from the head which is common to all the members. I go yet further: Pſal. lxxxii. 7. Whereas the ſcripture calleth the angels the ſons of God, whoſe ſo great dignity did not depend upon the redemption to come; yet muſt it needs be that the Son is in order before them, which maketh the Father to be their Father. I will repeat it again ſhortly, and add the ſame of mankind. Since from at their firſt beginning both angels and men were created with this condition, that God ſhould be common father to them both, if that ſaying of Paul be true, that Chriſt was always the head and the firſt begotten of all creatures, to have the firſt degree in all: I think I do rightly gather that he was alſo the Son of God before the creation of the world.

Chriſt truly and properly the Son of God in the fleſh, but not in reſpect of the fleſh which before he took upon him, he was the Son.

6. But if his filiation (if I may ſo term it) began ſince he was manifeſted in the fleſh, it ſhall follow, that he was alſo ſon in reſpect of his nature of man. Servetus and other ſuch frantic men would have it, that Chriſt who appeared in the fleſh, is the Son of God, becauſe out of the fleſh he could not be called by that name. Now let them anſwer me whether he be the Son according to both natures, and in reſpect of both. So indeed they prate, but Paul teacheth far otherwiſe. We grant indeed that Chriſt is in the fleſh of man called the Son, but not as the faithful are, that is by adoption only and grace, but the true and natural, and therefore the only Son, that by this mark he may be diſcerned from all others. For God vouchſafeth to give the name of his ſons to us, that are regenerate into a new life: but the name of the true and only begotten Son, he giveth to Chriſt only. How can he be the only Son in ſo great a number of brethren, but becauſe he poſſeſſeth that by nature, which we have received by gift? And the honour we extend to the whole perſon of the Mediator, that he be truly and properly the Son of God, who was alſo born of the virgin, and offered himſelf for ſacrifice to his Father upon the croſs: but yet in reſpect of his Godhead, as Paul teacheth, Rom. i. 2. when he ſaith he was ſeparated to preach the goſpel of God, which he had before promiſed of his Son, who was begotten of the ſeed of David according to his fleſh, and declared to be the Son of God in power. But why, when he nameth him diſtinctly the ſon of David according to the fleſh, ſhould he ſeparately ſay, that he was declared the Son of God, unleſs he meant to ſhew that this did depend upon ſome other thing, than upon the very fleſh? For in the ſame ſenſe in another place he ſaith, 2 Cor. xiii. 4. that he ſuffered by the weakneſs of the fleſh, and roſe again by the power of the ſpirit, even ſo in this place he maketh a difference of both natures. Truly they muſt needs grant, that as he hath that of his mother for which he is called the ſon of David, ſo he hath that of his Father for which he is called the Son of God, and the ſame is another thing and diſtinct from the nature of man. The ſcripture giveth him two names, calling him here and there ſometimes the Son of God and ſometimes the Son of man. Of the ſecond there can be no contention moved: but according to the common uſe of the Hebrew tongue he is called the Son of man, becauſe he is of the offspring of Adam. By the contrary I affirm, that he is called the Son of God in reſpect of the Godhead and eternal eſſence: becauſe it is no leſs proper that it be referred to the nature of God, that he is called the Son of God, than to the nature of man, that he is called the Son of man. Again, in the ſame place that I alleged, Paul doth mean that he who was according to the fleſh begotten of the ſeed of David, was no otherwiſe declared to be the Son of God by power, than he teacheth in another place, Rom. ix. 5. that Chriſt, who according to the fleſh deſcended of the Jews, is God bleſſed for ever. Now if in both places the diſtinction of the double nature be touched, by what right will they ſay, that he who according to the fleſh is the Son of man, is not alſo the Son of God, in reſpect of the nature of God.

Places of ſcripture wreſted by Servetus from their true meaning to prove that Chriſt began to be the Son of God when he became the ſon of man.

7. They do indeed diſorderly enforce for the maintenance of their error, the place where it is ſaid, that God ſpared not his own Son, and where the angel commanded, that the very ſame perſon that ſhould be born of the virgin, ſhould be called the Son of the Higheſt. But leſt they ſhould glory in ſo fickle an objection, let them conſider with us a little, how ſtrongly they reaſon. For if it be rightly concluded, that from his conception he began to be the Son of God, becauſe he that is conceived is called the Son of God, then ſhall it follow,

low, Luke i. 32. that he began to be the word at his manifesting in the flesh; because John saith, (John i. 1.) that he bringeth them tidings of the Word of life, which his hands have handled. Likewise that, which is read in the prophet: (Micah v. 2. Thou Bethlehem in the land of Judah: though thou art a little one in the thousands of Judah: out of thee shall be born to me a guide to rule my people Israel, and his coming forth from the beginning, from the days of eternity. How will they be compelled to expound this, if they will be content to follow such manner of reasoning? For I have protested, that we do not agree with Nestorius, who imagined a double Christ: whereas by our doctrine Christ hath made us the sons of God with him by right of brotherly conjoining, because he is the only begotten Son of God in the flesh which he took of us. And Augustine doth wisely admonish us, that this is a bright glass wherein to behold the marvellous and singular favour of God, that he attained honour in respect that he is man which he could not deserve. Therefore Christ was adorned with this excellency even according to the flesh from the womb of his mother, to be the Son of God. Yet is there not in the unity of person to be feigned such a mixture, as may take away that which is proper to the Godhead. For it is no more absurdity, that the eternal Word of God and Christ, by reason of the two natures united into one person, be divers ways called the Son of God, than that he be according to divers respects, called sometimes the Son of God, and sometimes the Son of man. And no more doth that other cavil of Servetus distress us: that before that Christ appeared in the flesh, he is no where called the Son of God, but under a figure, because although the describing of him then was somewhat dark; yet whereas it is already clearly proved that he was no otherwise eternal God, but because he was the Word begotten of the eternal Father, and that this name doth no otherwise belong to the person of the Mediator which he hath taken upon him, but because he is God openly shewed in the flesh: and that God the Father had not been called Father from the beginning, if there had not then been a mutual relation to the Son, Eph. iii. 15. by whom all kindred or fatherhood is reckoned in heaven and in earth: hereby it is easy to gather, that even in the time of the law and the prophets, he was the Son of God before that this name was commonly known in the church. But if they strive only about the only word, Solomon discoursing of the infinite highness of God, affirmeth as well his Son as himself to be incomprehensible. Tell his name, if thou canst (saith he, Prov. xxx. 4.) or the name of his Son. Yet I am not ignorant that with the contentious this testimony will not be of sufficient force: neither do I lay much stress upon it, saving that it sheweth that they do maliciously cavil, who deny Christ to be the Son of God, but in this respect that he was made man. Beside that, all the oldest writers with one mouth and consent have openly testified the same: so that their shamelessness is no less worthy to be scorned than to be abhorred who dare object Ireneus and Tertullian against us, both which do confess that the Son of God was invisible, who afterwards appeared visible.

The sundry gross absurdities into which Servetus fell, by denying Christ to have been really and actually the Son of God before he was manifested in the flesh.

8. But although Servetus hath heaped up horrible monstrous devices, which peradventure the other would not allow: yet if ye press them hard, ye shall perceive that all they who do not acknowlege Christ to be the Son of God but in the flesh, do grant it only in this respect, that he was conceived in the womb of the Virgin by the holy Ghost, like as the Manichees in old time did foolishly affirm, that man hath his soul (as it were) by derivation from God, because they read that God breathed into Adam the breath of life. For they take so fast hold of the name of Son, that they leave no difference between the natures, but babble disorderly that Christ being man, is the Son of God, because according to his nature of man, he is begotten of God. So the eternal begetting of wisdom that Solomon (Eccl. xxiv. 14.) speaketh of, is destroyed, and there is no account made of the Godhead in the Mediator, or an imagined apparition is thrust in place of the manhood. It were indeed profitable to confute the grosser deceits of Servetus, wherewith he hath bewitched himself and some others, to the end that the godly readers admonished by this example, may hold themselves within the compass of soberness and modesty: saving that I think it should be superfluous, because I have already done it in a book by itself. The sum of them cometh to this effect, that the Son of God was a form in mind from the beginning, and even then he was before appointed to be man that should be the essential image of God. And he doth acknowlege no other word of God but in outward shew. This he expoundeth to be the begetting of him, that there was begotten in God from the beginning a will to beget a Son, which also in act extended to the nature itself. In the mean time he confoundeth the spirit with the word,

for

for that God distributed the invisible word and the spirit into flesh and soul. Finally the figuration of Christ, hath with them the place of begetting, but he saith, that he who then was but a shadowish son in form, was at length begotten by the word, to which he assigneth the office of seed. Whereby it shall follow that hogs and dogs are as well the children of God, because they were created of the original seed of the word of God. For although he compound Christ of three uncreated elements to make him begotten of the essence of God, yet he feigneth that he is so the first begotten among creatures, that the same essential Godhead is in stones, according to their degree. And lest he should seem to strip Christ out of his Godhead, he affirmeth that his flesh is consubstantial with God, and that the word was made man by turning the flesh into God. So while he cannot conceive Christ to be the Son of God, unless his flesh came from the essence of God, and were turned into Godhead, he bringeth the eternal person of the word to nothing, and taketh from us the Son of David, that was promised to be the Redeemer. He often repeateth this, that the Son was begotten of God by knowlege and predestination, and that at length he was made man of that matter which at the beginning shined with God in the three elements, which afterward appeared in the first light of the world, in the cloud and in the pillar of fire. Now how shamefully he sometimes disagreeth with himself, it were too tedious to rehearse. By this short recital the readers that have their sound wit may gather, that with the circumstances of this unclean dog the hope of salvation is utterly extinguished. For if the flesh were the Godhead itself, it should cease to be the temple thereof. And none can be our Redeemer, but he that begotten of the seed of Abraham and David, is according to the flesh, truly made man. And he wrongfully standeth upon the words of John, that the word was made flesh. For as they resist the error of Nestorius, so they nothing further this wicked invention, whereof Eutyches was author, for as much as the only purpose of the Evangelist was to defend the unity of persons in the two natures.

CHAP. XV.

That we may know, to what end Christ was sent of his Father, and what he brought us: three things are principally to be considered in him, his prophetical office, his kingdom, and priesthood.

Christ a Prophet, a King, and Priest, so to be acknowleged, not with a cold mentioning of those titles, but with a right understanding of the end and use of them. The people of God before his coming, looked for more light of knowlege at his hands when he should come, than they received by their other prophets.

AUGUSTINE saith rightly, that although the Heretics do brag of the name of Christ, yet they have not all one foundation with the godly, but that it remaineth only proper to the church. For if these things be diligently considered, that belong to Christ, Christ shall be found among them only in name, and not in very deed. So at this day the Papists, although the name of the Son of God Redeemer of the world, sound in their mouth: yet because being contented with vain pretence of the name, they spoil him of his power and dignity: this saying of Paul may be well spoken of them, that they have not the head. Therefore, that faith may find sound matter of salvation in Christ, and so rest in him, this principle is to be established, that the office which is committed to him by his Father, consisteth of three parts. For he is given both a Prophet, a King, and a Priest. Although it were but small profit to know those names, without knowlege of the end and use of them. For they are also named among the Papists, but coldly and to no great profit, where it is not known what each of these titles containeth in it. We have said before, how though God sending prophets by continual course one after another, did never leave his people destitute of profitable doctrine, and such as was sufficient to salvation: that yet the minds of the godly had always this persuasion, that full light of understanding was to be hoped for only at the coming of Messias; yea and the opinion thereof was come, even to the Samaritans, who yet never knew the true religion, as appeareth by the saying of the woman: (John iv. 25.) When Messias cometh he shall teach us all things. And the Jews had not rashly gathered this upon presumptions in their minds: but as they were taught by assured oracles, so they believed. Above all remarkable is that saying of Isaiah: (Isa. lii. 4.) Behold, I have made him a witness

witneſs to peoples, I have given him to be a guide and ſchoolmaſter to peoples: even as in another place he had called him the angel or interpreter of the great counſel. After this manner the apoſtle commending the perfection of the doctrine of the goſpel, after that he had ſaid, (Heb. i. 1.) that God in the old time ſpake to the fathers by the prophets diverſly, and under manifold figures, addeth that laſt of all he ſpake unto us by his beloved Son. But becauſe it was the common office of the prophets to keep the church in ſuſpence, and to uphold it until the coming of the Mediator, therefore we read that, in their ſcattering abroad, the faithful complained that they were deprived of that ordinary benefit, ſaying: (Pſal. lxxiv. 9.) We ſee not our tokens, there is not a prophet among us: there is no more any that hath knowlege. But when Chriſt was now not far off, there was a time appointed to Daniel, to ſeal up the viſion and the prophecy, not only that the prophecy, which is there ſpoken of, ſhould be eſtabliſhed in aſſured credit, but alſo that the faithful ſhould learn with contented mind to want the prophets for a time, becauſe the fulneſs and cloſing up of all revelations was at hand.

Chriſt more than a common inſtructor, as the bleſſing joined with his doctrine and the excellence of what he taught do plainly ſhew.

2. Now it is to be obſerved, that the title of commendation of Chriſt belongeth to theſe three offices. For we know that in the time of the law, as well the prophets as prieſts and kings were anointed with holy oyl. For which cauſe the renowned name of Meſſias was given to the promiſed Mediator. But though indeed I confeſs (as I have alſo declared in another place,) that he was called Meſſias, by peculiar conſideration and reſpect of his kingdom: yet the anointings in reſpect of the office of prophet and of prieſt, have their place, and are not to be neglected of us. Of the firſt of theſe two is expreſs mention made in Iſaiah (Iſa. li 1.) in theſe words: The Spirit of the Lord Jehovah is upon me. Therefore the Lord hath anointed me, that I ſhould preach to the meek, ſhould bring health to the contrite in heart, ſhould declare deliverance to captives, ſhould publiſh the year of good will, &c. We ſee that he was anointed with the ſpirit, to be the publiſher and witneſs of the grace of the Father. And that not after the common manner: for he is diſtinguiſhed from other teachers that had the like office. And here again is to be obſerved, that he took not the anointing for himſelf alone, that he might execute the office of teaching, but for his whole body, that in his continual preaching of the goſpel, the virtue of the ſpirit ſhould join withal. But in the mean time this remaineth certain, that by this perfection of doctrine which he hath brought, an end is made of all prophecies, ſo that they do diminiſh his authority, who not being content with the goſpel, do patch any foreign thing unto it. For that voice which thundered from heaven, ſaying: (Matth. iii. 17.) This is my beloved Son, hear him: hath advanced him by ſingular privilege above the degrees of all other. Then this ointment is poured abroad from the head unto all the members: as it was foretold by Joel. (Joel ii. 28.) Your children ſhall propheſy, and your daughters ſhall ſee viſions, &c. But where Paul ſaith, (1 Cor. i. 30.) that he was made unto us wiſedom, and in another place, (Col. ii. 3.) that in him are hidden all the treaſures of knowlege and underſtanding: this hath ſomewhat another meaning: that is, that out of him there is nothing profitable to know, and that they who by faith perceive what he is, have comprehended the whole infiniteneſs of heavenly good things. For which cauſe he writeth in another place, (Cor. ii. 2.) I have counted it precious to know nothing, but Jeſus Chriſt, and him crucified: which is moſt true, becauſe it is not lawful to paſs beyond the ſimplicity of the goſpel. And hereunto tendeth the dignity of a prophet's office in Chriſt, that we might know that in the ſum of the doctrine, which he hath taught, are contained all points of perfect wiſdom.

The eternal continuance of Chriſt's kingdom proveth the perpetuity of his Church.

3. Now come I to his kingdom, of which it were vain to ſpeak, if the readers were not firſt warned, that the nature thereof is ſpiritual. For thereby is gathered, both to what purpoſe it ſerveth, and what it availeth us, and the whole force and eternity thereof, and alſo the eternity which in Daniel the angel doth attribute to the perſon of Chriſt, and again the angel in Luke doth worthily apply to the ſalvation of the people. But that is alſo two fold, or of two ſorts, for the one belongeth to the whole body of the church, the other is proper to every member. To the firſt is to be referred that which is ſaid in the Pſalm: (Pſal. lxxxix. 36.) I have once ſworn by my holineſs to David, I will not lie, his ſeed ſhall abide for ever, his ſeat ſhall be as the ſun in my ſight, it ſhall be eſtabliſhed as the moon for ever, and a faith-

ful witneſs in heaven. Neither is it doubtful, but that God doth there promiſe, that he will be by the hand of his Son an eternal governor and defender of his church. For the true performance of this prophecy can he found no where elſe but in Chriſt: foraſmuch as immediately after the death of Solomon, the greater part of the dignity of the kingdom fell away, and was to the diſhonour of the houſe of David conveyed over to a private man, and afterwards by little and little was diminiſhed, till at length it came to utter decay, with heavy and ſhameful deſtruction. And the ſame meaning hath that exclamation of Iſaiah: (Iſa liii. 8.) Who ſhall ſhew forth his generation? For he ſo pronounceth that Chriſt ſhall remain alive after death, that he joineth him with his members. Therefore ſo oft as we hear that Chriſt is armed with eternal power, let us remember that the everlaſting continuance of the church is upholden by this ſupport, to remain ſtill ſafe among the troubleſome toſſings, wherewith it is continually vexed, and among the grievous and terrible motions that threaten innumerable deſtructions. So when David (Pſal. ii. 3, 4.) ſcorneth the boldneſs of his enemies, that go about to break the yoke of God and of Chriſt, and ſaith, that the kings and peoples raged in vain, becauſe he that dwelleth in heaven is ſtrong enough to break their violent aſſaults; he aſſured the godly of the continual preſervation of the church, and encourageth them to hope well ſo oft as it happeneth to be oppreſſed. So in another place, (Pſal. cx.) when he ſaith, in the perſon of God: Sit at my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footſtool: he warneth us, that how many and ſtrong enemies ſoever do conſpire to beſiege the church, yet they have not ſtrength enough to prevail againſt that unchangeable decree of God, whereby he hath appointed his Son an eternal king: whereupon it followeth, that it is impoſſible that the devil with all the preparation of the world, may be able at any time to deſtroy the church, which is grounded upon the eternal ſeat of Chriſt. Now for ſo much as concerneth the ſpecial uſe of every one, the very ſame eternal continuance ought to raiſe us up to hope of immortality. (John xviii. 36.) For we ſee, that whatſoever is earthly and of the world, endureth but for a time, yea and is very frail. Therefore Chriſt to lift up our hope unto heaven, pronounceth, that his kingdom is not of this world. Finally, when any of us heareth, that the kingdom of Chriſt is ſpiritual, let him be raiſed up with this ſaying, and let him aſpire to the hope of a better life: and whereas he is now defended by the hand of Chriſt, let him look for the full fruit of this grace in the world to come.

To know the eternal kingdom of Chriſt it cannot profit us at all except we know it to be ſpiritual, and to conſiſt of two parts, the enriching of his ſubjects with good things, and the forcible defending of them againſt the aſſaults of principal enemies: out of this our comfort ſloweth.

4. That, as we have ſaid, the force and profit of the kingdom of Chriſt cannot otherwiſe be perceived by us, but when we know it to be ſpiritual, appeareth ſufficiently though it were but by this, that while we muſt live in warfare under the croſs, during the whole courſe of our life, our eſtate is hard and miſerable: what then ſhould it profit us to be gathered together under the dominion of a heavenly king, unleſs we were certain to enjoy the fruit thereof out of the ſtate of this earthly life? And therefore it is to be known, that whatſoever felicity is promiſed us in Chriſt, it conſiſteth not in outward advantages, that we ſhould lead a merry and quiet life, abound in wealth, be ſafe from harm, enjoy to the full thoſe delightful things that the fleſh is wont to deſire: but that it wholly belongeth to the heavenly life. But as in the world the proſperous and deſired ſtate of the people is partly maintained by plenty of good things and peace at home, and partly by ſtrong forcible defences, whereby it may be ſafe againſt outward violence: ſo Chriſt alſo doth enrich his with all things neceſſary to eternal ſalvation of ſouls, and fortifieth them with ſtrength, by which they may ſtand invincible againſt all aſſaults of principal enemies. Whereby we gather, that he reigneth more for us than for himſelf, and that both within and without: that being furniſhed ſo far as God knoweth to be expedient for us, with the gifts of the Spirit, whereof we are naturally empty, we may by theſe firſt fruits perceive that we are truly joined to God unto perfect bleſſedneſs. And then, that relying upon the power of the ſame ſpirit, we may not doubt that we ſhall always have the victory againſt the devil, the world, and every kind of hurtful thing. To this purpoſe tendeth the anſwer of Chriſt (Luke xvii. 28.) to the Phariſees, that becauſe the kingdom of God is within us, it ſhall not come with obſervation. For it is likely that becauſe he profeſſed that he was the ſame king, under whom the ſovereign bleſſing of God was to be hoped for, they in ſcorn required him to ſhew forth

forth his ſigns. But he, becauſe they (who otherwiſe are too much bent to the earth) ſhould not fooliſhly reſt upon worldly pomps, bideth them to enter into their own conſciences, becauſe the kingdom of God (Rom. xiv. 17.) is righteouſneſs, peace, and joy in the holy Ghoſt. Hereby we are briefly taught, what the kingdom of Chriſt availeth us. For, becauſe it is not earthly or fleſhly, ſubject to corruption, but ſpiritual: he lifteth us up even to eternal life, that we may patiently paſs over this life in miſeries, hunger, cold, contempt, reproaches, and other griefs, contented with this one thing, that our king will never leave us deſtitute, but ſuccour us in our neceſſities, till having ended our war, we be called to triumph. For ſuch is his manner of reigning, to communicate with us all that he hath received of his Father. Now whereas he armeth and furniſheth us with power, and adorneth us with beauty and magnificence, enricheth us with wealth? hereby is miniſtred unto us moſt plentiful matter to glory upon, and alſo bold courage to fight without fear againſt the devil, ſin and death. Finally, that clothed with his righteouſneſs, we may valiantly overcome all the reproaches of the world, and as he liberally filleth us with his gifts, ſo we again for our part, may bring forth fruit to his glory.

Chriſt ſpiritually anointed a king, that is to ſay, royally enriched with gifts of the Spirit which laſt forever, that in him Chriſtians might ever be rich, neither is any thing taken from this, when it is ſaid that he ſhall yield up his kingdom to his Father.

Therefore his kingly anointing is ſet forth unto us, not done with oil or ointments made with ſpices, but he is called the anointed of God becauſe upon him hath reſted the ſpirit of wiſdom, underſtanding, counſel, ſtrength and fear of God. This is the oil of gladneſs, wherewith the Pſalm reporteth that he was anointed above his fellows, becauſe if there were not ſuch excellency in him, we ſhould be all needy and hungry. For, as it is already ſaid, he is not privately enriched for himſelf, but to pour his plenty upon us, being hungry and dry. For as it is ſaid, that the Father gave the ſpirit to his Son, not by meaſure, ſo there is expreſſed a reaſon why, that all we ſhould receive of his fulneſs, and grace for grace. Out of which fountain floweth that liberal giving, whereof Paul maketh mention, whereby grace is diverſly diſtributed to the faithful, (Eph. iv. 7.) according to the meaſure of the gift of Chriſt. Hereby is that which I ſaid ſufficiently confirmed, (John i. 32.) that the kingdom of Chriſt conſiſteth in the ſpirit, not in earthly delights or pomps, and therefore we muſt forſake the world that we may be partakers of it. A viſible ſign of this holy anointing was ſhewed in the baptiſm of Chriſt, when the holy Ghoſt reſted upon him in the likeneſs of a dove. That the holy Ghoſt and his gifts are meant by the word. Anointing, ought to ſeem neither novelty nor abſurdity. For we are none other way quickened, ſpecially for ſo much as concerneth the heavenly life: there is no drop of lively power in us, but that which the holy Ghoſt poureth into us, which hath choſen his ſeat in Chriſt, that from thence the heavenly riches might largely flow out unto us, whereof we are ſo needy. And whereas both the faithful ſtand invincible by the ſtrength of their king, and alſo his ſpiritual riches plenteouſly flow out unto them, they are not unworthily called chriſtians. But this eternity whereof we have ſpoken, is nothing derogate, by that ſaying of Paul: (1 Cor. xv. 24.) Then he ſhall yield up the kingdom to God and the Father. Again: (1 Cor. xv. 28.) the Son himſelf ſhall be made ſubject, that God may be all in all: for his meaning is nothing elſe, but that in the ſame perfect glory, the adminiſtration of the kingdom ſhall not be ſuch as it is now. For the Father hath given all power to the Son, that by the Son's hand he may govern, cheriſh and ſuſtain us, defend us under his ſafe-guard, and help us. So while for a little time we are wavering abroad from God, Chriſt is the mean between God and us, by little and little to bring us to perfect conjoyning with God. And truly, whereas he ſitteth on the right hand of the Father, that is as much in effect, as if he were called the Father's deputy, under whom is the whole power of his dominion, becauſe it is God's will to rule and defend his church by a mean (as I may ſo call it) in the perſon of his Son. As alſo Paul doth expound it in the firſt chapter to the Epheſians, that he was ſet at the right hand of the Father, to be the head of the church, which is his body. And to no other meaning tendeth that which he teacheth in another place, (Phil. ii. 9.) that there is given him a name above all names, that in the name of Jeſus all knees ſhould bow, and all tongues confeſs that it is to the glory of God the Father. For even in the ſame words alſo he ſetteth out in the kingdom of Chriſt an order neceſſary for our preſent weakneſs. So Paul gathereth rightly, that God ſhall then be by himſelf the only head of the church, becauſe Chriſt's office in defending of the church, ſhall be

fulfilled. For the ſame reaſon the ſcripture commonly calleth him Lord, becauſe his Father did ſet him over us to this end, to exerciſe his own lordly power by him. For though there be many lordſhips in the world, yet is there to us but one God the Father, of whom are all things and we in him, and one Lord Chriſt, by whom are all things and we by him, ſaith Paul. Whereupon is rightly gathered that he is the ſelf ſame God, who by the mouth of Iſaiah (Iſa. xxxiii. 22.) affirmed himſelf to be the king and the law-maker of the church. For though he do every where call all the power that he hath, the benefit and gift of the Father, yet he meaneth nothing elſe, but that he reigneth by the power of God: becauſe he hath therefore put on the perſonage of the Mediator, that deſcending from the boſom and incomprehenſible glory of the Father, he might approach nigh unto us. And ſo much more juſt it is, that we be with full conſent prepared to obey, and that with great chearfulneſs we direct our obedience to his commandment. For as he joineth the offices of king and paſtor toward them who willingly yield themſelves obedient: ſo on the other ſide, we hear that he beareth an iron ſcepter, to break and bruiſe all the obſtinate (Pſal. ii. 9.) like potters veſſels: we hear alſo that he ſhall be the judge of nations, to cover the earth with dead corpſes, and to overthrow the height that ſtandeth againſt him. Of which thing there are ſome examples ſeen at this day; but the full proof thereof ſhall be at the laſt judgment, which may alſo properly be accounted the laſt act of his kingdom.

The office and uſe of Chriſt's prieſthood.

6. Concerning his prieſthood, thus it is briefly to be holden, that the end and uſe of it is, that he ſhould be a Mediator pure from all ſpot, that he ſhould by his holineſs reconcile us to God. But becauſe the juſt curſe poſſeſſeth the entry, and God according to his office of judge is bent againſt us, it is neceſſary that ſome expiation be uſed, that he being a prieſt may procure favour for us, to appeaſe the wrath of God. Wherefore, that Chriſt might fulfil this office, it behoveth that he ſhould come forth with a ſacrifice. For in the law it was not lawful for the prieſt to enter into the ſanctuary without blood, that the faithful might know, that though there were a prieſt become mean for us to make interceſſion, yet God could not be made favourable to us before that our ſins were purged. Upon which point the apoſtle diſcourſeth largely in the epiſtle to the Hebrews, from the ſeventh chapter almoſt to the end of the tenth. But the ſum of all cometh to this effect, that the honour of prieſthood can be applyed to none but to Chriſt, which by the ſacrifice of his death hath wiped away our guiltineſs, and ſatisfied for our ſins. But how weighty a matter it is, we are informed by that ſolemn oath of God, which was ſpoken without repentance: (Pſal. cx. 4.) Thou art a prieſt for ever according to the order of Melchizedec. For without doubt his will was to eſtabliſh that principal point, which he knew to be the chief joint whereupon our ſalvation depended. For as it is ſaid, there is no way open for us or for our prayers to God, unleſs our filthineſs being purged, the prieſts do ſanctify us and obtain grace for us, from which the uncleanneſs of our wicked doings and ſins doth debar us. So do we ſee, that we muſt begin at the death of Chriſt, that the efficacy and profit of his prieſthood may come unto us. Of this it followeth that he is an eternal interceſſor, by whoſe mediation we obtain favour, whereupon again ariſeth not only affiance to pray, but alſo quietneſs to godly conſciences, while they ſafely lean upon the fatherly tenderneſs of God, and are certainly perſuaded that it pleaſeth him whatſoever is dedicated to him by the Mediator. But whereas in the time of the law, God commanded ſacrifices of beaſts to be offered to him: there was another and a new order in Chriſt, that one ſhould be both the ſacrificed hoſt, and the prieſt: becauſe there neither could be found any other ſatisfaction for ſins, nor any was worthy ſo great honour to offer up to God his only begotten Son. Now Chriſt beareth the perſon of a prieſt, not only by eternal mean of reconciliation to make the Father favourable and merciful unto us, but alſo to bring us into the fellowſhip of ſo great an honour. For we that are defiled in our ſelves, (Rev. i. 6.) yet being made prieſts in him, do offer up our ſelves, and all ours to God, and do freely enter into the heavenly ſanctuary, that all the ſacrifice of prayer and praiſe that come from us, may be acceptable and ſweet ſmelling in the ſight of God. And thus far doth that ſaying of Chriſt extend: (John xvii. 15.) For their ſakes I ſanctify my ſelf: becauſe, having his holineſs poured upon us, in as much as he hath offered us with himſelf to his Father, we that otherwiſe are abominable in his ſight, do pleaſe him as pure and clean, yea, and holy. Hereunto ſerveth the anointing of the ſanctuary, whereof mention is made in Daniel. (Dan. ix. 24.) For the compariſon of contrariety is to be obſerved between this anointing, and that ſhadowiſh

dowish anointing that then was in use: as if the angel should have said, that the shadows being driven away, there should be a clear priesthood in the person of Christ, And so much more detestable is their invention, not who contented with the sacrifice of Christ, have presumed to thrust in themselves to kill him: which is daily enterprised among the Papists, where the Mass is reckoned a sacrificing of Christ.

CHAP. XVI.

How Christ hath fulfilled the office of Redeemer, to purchase salvation for us, wherein is treated of his death, and resurrection and his ascension to heaven.

The sum of all which we seek for in Christ is salvation. In which respect he hath the name of Saviour given him: which name containeth all good things.

ALL that we have hitherto said of Christ, is to be directed to this mark, that being damned, dead, and lost in ourselves, we may seek for righteousness, deliverance, life and salvation in him: as we are taught by that notable saying of Peter, Acts iv. 12. that there is none other name under heaven given to men whereby they must be saved. Neither was the name of Jesus given him unadvisedly, or at random, or by the will of men, but brought from heaven by the angel, Matth. i. 22. the publisher of God's decree, and with a reason also assigned: Luke i. 31. because he was sent to save his people from their sins. In which words that is to be observed which we have touched in another place, that the office of Redeemer was appointed him, that he should be our Saviour: but in the mean time our redemption should be but unperfect, unless he should by gradual steps convey us forward to the uttermost mark of salvation. Therefore so soon as we depart never so little from him, our salvation by little and little vanisheth away, which wholly resteth in him: so that all they wilfully spoil themselves of all grace, who rest not in him. And the admonition of Bernard is worthy to be rehearsed, (*Bern. in cant. serm.* 15.) that the name of Jesus is not only light, but also meat, yea, and oil also, without which all the meat of the soul is dry, and that it is also salt, without the seasoning whereof all that is set before us is unsavoury. Finally, that it is honey in the mouth, melody in the ear, and joyfulness in the heart, and also medicine, and that whatsoever is spoken in disputation is unsavoury, but where this name soundeth. But here it deserves diligently to be considered how salvation is purchased by him for us: that we may not only be persuaded that he is the author of it, but also embracing such things as are sufficient to the stedfast upholding of our faith, we may refuse all such things as might draw us away hither or thither. For since no man can descend into himself, and earnestly consider what he is, without feeling God angry and bent against him, he hath need carefully to seek a mean and way to appease him, which demandeth satisfaction: there is no common assuredness required, because the wrath and curse of God lyeth always upon sinners, till they be loose from their guiltiness: who, as he is a righteous judge, suffereth not his law to be broken without punishment, but is ready armed to revenge it.

How God can be said to have been our enemy till Christ reconciled us, and yet give us his Son, by whom we might be reconciled, seeing this work to reconcile us sheweth love before reconcilement.

2. But before we go any further, it is to be seen by the way, how it agreed together, that God who prevented us with his mercy, was our enemy until he was reconciled to us by Christ. For how could he have given us in his only begotten Son a singular pledge of his love, unless he had already before that embraced us with his free favour? Because therefore here ariseth some seeming of contrariety, I will first unty this knot. The holy Ghost commonly speaketh after this manner in the scriptures, Rom. v. 10. that God was enemy to men, till they were restored into favour by the death of Christ: Gal. iii. 10. that they were accursed till their iniquity was purged by his sacrifice: Col. i. 21. that they were separated from God, till they were received into a nearness by his body. Such manner of phrases are adapted to our capacity, that we may the better understand how miserable and wretched our estate is being out of Christ. For if it were not spoken in express words, that the wrath and vengeance of God, and everlasting death did rest upon us, we would less acknowlege how miserable we should de without God's mercy, and would less regard the benefit of deliverance. As for example. If a man hear this spoken to him: if God at such time as thou wast yet a sinner, had hated

thee, and caſt thee away as thou hadſt deſerved, thou ſhouldſt have ſuffered horrible deſtruction: but becauſe he hath willingly and of his own free kindneſs kept thee in favour, and not ſuffered thee to be eſtranged from him, he hath ſo delivered thee from that peril: truly he will be moved with, and in ſome part feel how much he oweth to the mercy of God. But if he hear on the other ſide that which the ſcripture teacheth, that he was by ſin eſtranged from God, the heir of wrath, ſubject to the curſe of eternal death, excluded from all hope of ſalvation, a ſtranger from all bleſſing of God, the bond-ſlave of Satan, captive under the yoke of ſin: finally, ordaind unto and already entangled with horrible deſtruction, that in this caſe Chriſt became an interceſſor to entreat for him, that Chriſt took upon him and ſuffered the puniſhment which by the juſt judgment of God did hang over all ſinners, that he hath purged with his blood thoſe evils that made them hateful to God, that by his expiation is ſufficient ſatisfaction and ſacrifice made to God the Father, that by his interceſſor this wrath was appeaſed; that within this foundation reſteth the peace between God and men: that upon this bond is contained his good-will towards them: ſhall not he be ſo much the more moved with theſe, as it is more lively repreſented out of how great miſery he hath been delivered? In a word: becauſe our mind can neither ardently enough take hold of life in the mercy of God, nor receive it with ſuch thankfulneſs as we ought, but when it is before ſtriken and thrown down with the fear of the wrath of God and dread of eternal death, we are ſo taught by holy ſcripture, that without Chriſt we may ſee God as it were wrathfully bent againſt us, and his hand armed to our deſtruction: and that we may embrace his good-will and fatherly kindneſs no otherwhere, but in Chriſt.

God loving us freely as his creatures, but hating that iniquity which is in us, gave his Son to take away that which hindered us from the benefits of his love.

3. And although this be ſpoken according to the weakneſs of our capacity, yet it is not falſely ſaid. For God who is the higheſt righteouſneſs, cannot love wickedneſs which he ſeeth in us all. Therefore we all have in us that which deſerves God's hatred. Therefore in reſpect our corrupted nature, and then of evil life addeth unto it, truly we all are ſubject to God's diſpleaſure guilty in his ſight, and, born to damnation of hell. But becauſe the Lord will not loſe that which is his in us, he findeth yet ſomewhat that he of his goodneſs may love. For howſoever we be ſinners by our own fault, yet we may remain his creatures. Howſoever we have purchaſed death to ourſelves, yet he made us unto life. So is he moved by mere and free loving of us to receive us into favour. But ſince there is a perpetual and unappeaſable diſagreement between righteouſneſs and iniquity, ſo long as we remain ſinners, he cannot receive us wholly. Therefore, that taking away all matter of diſagreement, he might wholly reconcile us unto himſelf, he doth by expiation ſet forth in the death of Chriſt, take away whatſoever evil is in us, that we, who before were unclean and impure, may now appear righteous and holy in his ſight. Therefore God the Father doth with his love prevent and go before our reconciliation in Chriſt, yea, becauſe he firſt loved us, 1 John iv. 19. therefore he afterwards doth reconcile us unto himſelf. But becauſe until Chriſt with his death come to ſuccour us, there remaineth wickedneſs in us, which deſerveth God's indignation, and is accurſed and damned in his ſight, therefore we are not fully and firmly joined to God, until Chriſt do join us. Therefore if we will aſſure ourſelves to have God made well pleaſed and favourable unto us, we muſt fix our eyes and minds upon Chriſt only: as indeed we obtain by him only, that our ſins be not imputed to us, the imputing whereof, draweth with it the wrath of God.

S. Auguſtine's judgment that we were loved even when we were hated.

4. And for this reaſon Paul ſaith, that the ſame love, wherewith God embraced us before the creation of the world, was ſtayed and grounded upon Chriſt. Theſe things are plain and agreeable with the ſcripture, and do make thoſe places of ſcripture to accord very well together, where it is ſaid: that God declared his love toward us in this, John iii. 16. that he gave his only begotten Son to death: and yet (Rom. v. 10.) that was our enemy till he was made favourable again to us by the death of Chriſt. But that they be more ſtrongly proved to them that require the Teſtament of the old church I will allege one place of Auguſtine (*Tract. in Evang. Joh.* i. 10.) where he teacheth the very ſame that we do. The love of God, ſaith he, is incomprehenſible and unchangeable. For he began not to love us ſince the time that we were reconciled to him by the blood of his Son. But before the making of the world he loved us, even before that we were any thing at all, that we might alſo be his children with his only begotten Son. Therefore whereas we were reconciled by the death of Chriſt, it is not ſo to be taken as though the Son did therefore reconcile us unto him, that he might now begin to love

love us whom he hated before: but we are reconciled to him that already loved us, to whom we were enemies by reason of sin. And whether this be true or no that I say, let the apostle bear witness. (Rom. v. 8.) He doth commend (saith he) his love towards us, because when we were yet sinners, Christ died for us. He therefore had a love to us, even then when we were enemies to him and wrought wickedness. Therefore after a marvellous and divine manner he loved us, even then when he hated us. For he hated us in that we were such as he had not made us, and because our wickedness had on every side wasted away his work, he knew how in every one of us, both to hate that which we ourselves had made, and to love that which he had made. These are the words of Augustin.

Although Christ wrought our redemption by the whole course of his life, yet he is said to have reconciled us especially by death wherein we are to note, that he died willingly, was reputed worthy, and yet pronounced unworthy to die.

5. Now where it is demanded, how Christ hath done away our sins, and taken away the strife between us and God, and purchased such righteousness as might make him favourable and well willing toward us: it may be generally answered that he hath brought it to pass by the whole course of his obedience, Which is proved by the testimonies of Paul: (Rom. v. 19.) As by one man's offence many were made sinners, so by one man's obedience we are made righteous. And in another place (Gal. iv. 4.) he extendeth the cause of the pardon that delivereth us from the curse of the law, to the whole life of Christ saying: when the fulness of time was come, God sent his Son made of a woman, subject to the law, to redeem them that were under the law: and so affirmed that in his very baptism (Matth. iii. 25.) was fulfilled one part of righteousness, that he obediently did the commandment of his Father. Finally, from the time that he took upon him the person of a servant, he began to pay the ransom to redeem us. But the scripture to set out the manner of our salvation more certainly, doth ascribe this as peculiar and properly belonging to the death of Christ. He himself pronounced that he gave his life (Matth. x. 18.) to be a redemption for many. Paul teacheth (Rom. iv. 25.) that he died for our sins. John Baptist cried out (John i. 29.) that Christ came to take away the sins of the world, because he was the Lamb of God. In another place Paul saith, (Rom. iii.) that we are justified freely by the redemption that is in Christ, because he is set forth the reconciler in his own blood. Again, (Rom. v.) that we are justified in his blood and reconciled by his death. Again, (1 Cor. v. 21.) he that knew not sin, was made sin for us, that we might be the righteousness of God in him. I will not recite all the testimonies, because the number would be endless, and many of them must be hereafter alleged in their order. Therefore in the sum of belief, which they call the apostle's Creed, it is very orderly passed immediately from the birth of Christ to his death and resurrection, wherein consisteth the sum of perfect salvation. And yet is not the rest of his obedience excluded, which he performed in his life: As Paul comprehendeth (Phil. i. 7.) it wholly from the beginning to the end, in saying, that he abased himself, taking upon him the form of a servant, and was obedient to his Father to death, even the death of the cross. And truly even in the same death his willing submission hath the first degree, because the sacrifice, unless it had been willingly offered, had nothing profited toward righteousness. Therefore (John x. 15.) where the Lord testifieth, that he gave his soul for his sheep, he expressly addeth this, no man taketh it away from my self. According to which meaning Isaiah saith, (Isa. liii. 7.) that he held his peace like a lamb before the shearer. And the history of the gospel rehearseth, (Matth. xxvii. 2.) that he went forth and met the soldiers, and before Pilate he left defending of himself, and stood still to yield himself to judgment to be pronounced upon him. But that not without some strife: for both he had taken our infirmities upon him, and it behoved that his obedience to his Father, should be this way tried. and this was no slender shew of his incomparable love towards us, to wrestle with horrible fear, and in the midst of these cruel torments to cast away all care of himself, that he might provide for us. And this is to be believed, that there could no sacrifice be well offered to God any otherwise, but by this that Christ forsaking all his own affection, did submit and wholly yield himself to his Father's will. For proof whereof, the apostle doth fitly allege that testimony of the Psalm: (Heb. 5.) in the book of the law it is written of me, To do thy will I take delight, O my God, (Psal. xl. 9.) and thy law is in the midst of my heart. Then I said: Lo, I come. But because trembling consciences find no rest but in a sacrifice and washing whereby sins are cleansed: therefore for good cause we are directed thither, and in the

death

death of Chriſt is appointed for us the matter of life. Now foraſmuch as by our own guiltineſs, curſe was due unto us, before the heavenly judgment-ſeat of God, therefore firſt of all is recited how he was condemned before Pontius Pilate the Roman governour: that we ſhould know that the puniſhment to which we were ſubject, was juſtly laid upon us. We could not eſcape the dreadful judgment of God: Chriſt, to deliver us from it, ſuffered himſelf to be condemned before a mortal man, yea a wicked and heathen man. For the name of the governour is expreſſed not only to procure credit to the hiſtory, but that we ſhould learn that which Iſaiah teacheth, (Iſa. liii. 9.) that the chaſtiſement of our peace was upon him, and that by his ſtripes we are healed. For to take away our damnation, every kind of death ſufficed not for him to ſuffer, but to finiſh our redemption, one ſpecial kind of death was to be choſen, wherein both drawing away our damnation to himſelf, and taking our guiltineſs upon himſelf, he might deliver us from them both. If he had been murdered by thieves, or had been ragingly ſlain in a commotion of the common people: in ſuch a death there ſhould have been no appearance of ſatisfaction. But when he was brought to be arraigned before the judgment-ſeat, when he was accuſed and preſſed with witneſſes againſt him, and was by the mouth of the judge condemned to die: by theſe tokens we underſtand, that he did bear the perſon of a guilty man and of an evil doer. And here are two things to be obſerved, which both were before ſpoken by the prophecies of the prophets, and do bring a ſingular comfort and confirmation of faith. For when we hear that Chriſt was ſent from the judges ſeat to death, and was hanged among thieves, we have the fulfilling of that prophecy, which is alleged by the Evangeliſt. He was accounted among the wicked. (Iſa. liii. 21.) And why ſo? even to take upon him the ſtead of a ſinner, not of a man righteous or innocent, (Mat. xv. 18.) becauſe he ſuffered death not for the cauſe of innocency, but for ſin. On the other ſide when we hear that he was acquitted by the ſame mouth whereby he was condemned, for Pilate was conpelled openly more than once to bear witneſs of his innocency: let that come in our mind which is in the other prophet: (Pſal. xcix. 5.) that he repayeth that which he had not taken away. And ſo we ſhall behold the perſon of a ſinner and evil doer repreſented in Chriſt: and by the open appearance of his innocency it ſhall become plain to ſee, that he was charged rather with other offence than his own. He ſuffered therefore under Pontius Pilate, (John xviii. 38.) and ſo by the ſolemn ſentence of the governour, was reckoned in the number of wicked doers: but yet not ſo, but that he was by the ſame judge at the ſame time pronounced righteous, when he affirmed that he found no cauſe of condemnation in him. This is our acquital, that the guiltineſs which made us ſubject to puniſhment, is removed upon the head of the Son of God. For this ſetting of one againſt the other, we ought principally to hold faſt, leſt we tremble and be careful all our life long, as though the juſt vengeance of God did hang over us, which the Son of God hath taken upon himſelf.

The myſtery of the croſs in the death of Chriſt.

6. Beſide that, the very manner of his death is not without a ſingular myſtery. The croſs was accurſed, not only, by the opinion of men, but alſo by the decree of the law of God. Therefore when Chriſt was lifted up upon the croſs, he made himſelf ſubject to the curſe. And ſo it behoved to be done, that when the curſe was removed from us to him, we might be delivered from all that curſe that for our ſins was prepared for us, or rather did already reſt upon us. Which thing was alſo by ſhadow expreſſed in the law. For the ſacrifices and ſatisfactory oblations that were offered for ſins, were called *Aſhemoth*. Which word properly ſignifieth ſin it ſelf. By which figurative change of name, the holy Ghoſt meant to ſhew, that they were like unto cleanſing plaiſters to draw out to themſelves, and bear the curſe due to ſin. But the ſame which was figuratively repreſented in the ſacrifices of Moſes, is indeed delivered in Chriſt the original pattern of all the figures. Wherefore he, (Iſa. liii. 5. and 21.) to perform a perfect expiation, gave his own ſoul to be an *aſham*, that is a ſatisfactory oblation, as the prophet calleth it, upon which our filth and puniſhment might be caſt, and ſo ceaſe to be imputed to us. The apoſtle teſtifieth (2 Cor. v. 21.) the ſame thing more plainly, where he teacheth that he who knew no ſin, was by his Father made ſin for us, that we might be made the righteouſneſs of God in him. For the Son of God being moſt clean from all fault, did yet put upon him the reproach and ſhame of our iniquities, and on the other ſide covered us with his cleanneſs. It ſeemeth that he meant the ſame when he ſpeaketh of ſin, that ſin was condemned in his fleſh. For the Father deſtroyeth the force of ſin, when the curſe thereof was removed, and laid upon the fleſh of Chriſt. It is therefore declared

declared by this saying, (Rom. viii. 3.) that Christ was in his death offered up to his Father for a satisfactory sacrifice, that the whole satisfaction for sin being ended by his sacrifice, we might cease to dread the wrath of God. Now it is plain, what that saying of the prophet (Isa. liii. 6.) meaneth, that the iniquities of us all were laid upon him, that is, that he intending to wipe away the filthiness of our iniquities, was himself as it were by way of interchanged imputation, covered with them. Of this, the cross wherenunto he was fastened was a token, as the apostle testifieth. Christ (saith he) Gal. iii. 13. redeemed us from the curse of the law, when he was made a curse for us. For it is written: Cursed is every one that hangeth (Deut. xxvii. 26.) on a tree: that the blessing of Abraham might in Christ come to the Gentiles. And the same had (1 Pet. ii. 24.) Peter respect unto, where he teacheth that Christ did bear our sins upon the tree. Because by the very token of the curse we do more plainly learn that the burden wherewith we were oppressed was laid upon him. And yet it is not so to be understood, that he took upon him such a curse, wherewith himself was overloaden, but rather that in taking it upon him, he did tread down, break and destroy the whole force of it. And so faith conceiveth acquittal in the condemnation of Christ, and blessing in his being accursed. Wherefore Paul doth not without a cause honourably report the triumph that Christ obtained to himself on the cross, as if the cross which was full of shame, had been turned into a chariot of triumph. For he saith, (Col ii. 19.) that the hand writing which was against us, was fastened to the cross, and the princely powers were spoiled and led openly. And no wonder: because (as the other apostle testifieth Heb. ix. 17.) Christ offered up himself by the eternal spirit. And thereupon proceeded that turning of the nature of things. But that these things may take deep root, and be throughly settled in our hearts, let us always think upon his sacrifice and washing. For we could not certainly believe that Christ was the ransom, redemption, and satisfaction, unless he had been a sacrificed offering. And therefore there is so often mention made of blood, where the scripture sheweth the manner of our redemption. Altho' the blood of Christ, that was shed, served, not only for sacrifice, but also in stead of washing, to cleanse away our filthiness.

Two benefits by Christ's dying

7. It followeth in the creed, that he was dead and buried. Where again it is to be seen, how he did every where put himself in our stead, to pay the price of our redemption. Death held us bound under his yoke. Christ in our stead did yield himself into the power of death, to deliver us from it. This the apostle meaneth where he writeth that he tasted of death for all men. For he by dying brought to pass that we should not die, or, (which is all one) by his death he did redeem life for us. But in this he differed from us, that he gave himself to death, as it were to be devoured, not that he should be swallowed up with the gulfs of it, but rather that he should swallow up it, of which we should have been presently swallowed: that he gave himself to death to be subdued, not that he should be oppressed with the power thereof, but rather that he should overthrow death which approached near us, yea, and had already beaten us down and triumphed upon us. Finally, (Heb. ii. 19.) that by death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is the devil, and might deliver them that by fear of death were all their life long subject to bondage. This is the first fruit that his death did bring us. Another is that by our participating of him, he mortifieth our earthly members, that they should no more hereafter use their own works: and killeth our old man, that it should no more live and bear fruit. And to the same purpose pertaineth his burial, that we being partakers thereof, should also be buried to sin. For when the apostle teacheth (Gal. ii. 19. and vi. 14.) that we are grafted into the likeness of the death of Christ, and buried with him to the death of sin, that by his cross the world was crucified to us, and we to the world, that we are dead together with him, he doth not only exhort us to express (Col. iii. 3.) the example of Christ's death, but he declareth that there is such effectualness in it, as ought to appear in all christians, unless they will make his death unprofitable and fruitless. Therefore in the death and burial of Christ, there is offered us a double benefit to be enjoyed, that is deliverance from death, to which we were become bond, and the mortifying of our flesh.

our deliverance from death and our mortification.

8. But it is not meet to pass over his descending to hell, wherein is no small importance to the effect of redemption. For although it appeareth by the writings of the old fathers, that that part which is read in

Christ's descending into hell a necessary article of our faith, whereby to understand his lying

in the grave were an idle fancy.

the Creed was not in old time so much used in the churches: yet in treating of the sum of our doctrine, it is necessary that it have a place allowed it, as a thing that containeth a very profitable mystery of a very important matter, which ought not to be despised. And there are also some of the old writers that do not leave it out. Whereby we may guess, that it was after a certain time added, and did not presently but by little and little grow in use in the churches. But this certainly is out of question, that it proceeded of the common judgment of all the godly: for as much as their is none of the fathers that doth not in his writings make mention of Christ's going down to hell, although after divers manner of exposition. But by whom, or at what time it was first added, maketh little to the purpose. But rather in the creed this is to be taken heed unto, that we therein certainly have a full and in all points a perfect sum of our faith, whereinto nothing may be thrust, but that which is taken out of the most pure word of God. Now, if any will not for precise curiosity admit it into the Creed, yet it shall straightway be made to appear plainly, that it is of so great importance to the sum of our redemption, that if it be left out, there is lost a great part of the fruit of the death of Christ. There are again some who think, that there is no new thing spoken in this article, but that in other words the same thing is repeated which was spoken before of his burial: for as much as the word *infernum*, hell, is in the scripture oftentimes used for the grave. I grant that to be true, which they allege of the signification of the word, that hell is oftentimes taken for the grave: but there are against their opinion two reasons, by which I am easily persuaded to dissent from them. For what an idleness were it, when a thing not hard to understand, hath once been set out in plain and easy words, afterwards with darker implication of words, rather to point towards it than to declare it. For when two manners of speaking that express one thing be joined together, it behoveth that the later be an exposition of the former. But what an exposition were this, if a man should say thus: whereas it is said that Christ was buried, thereby is meant that he went down to hell? Again it is not likely that such a superfluous vain repetition could have crept into this abridgement, wherein the chief points of our faith are summarily noted in as few words as was possible. And I doubt not that so many as shall have somewhat diligently weighed the matter itself will easily agree with me.

To take hell for a lake where the souls of the fathers were who died before Christ is a fabulous vanity.

9. Some expound it otherwise, and say that Christ went down to the souls of the fathers that died in the time of the law, to carry them tidings, that the redemption was performed, and to deliver them out of prison wherein they were kept inclosed: and to prove this, they do wrongfully draw testimonies out of (Psal. x. 16.) that he brake the brazen gates and iron bars. Again, out of Zachariah, ix. 11. that he redeemed them that were bound out of the pit wherein was no water. But whereas the Psalm speaketh of their deliverances that in far countries are cast captive into bonds, and Zachariah compareth the overthrow of Babylon, wherein the people was oppressed, to a dry pit or bottomless depth, and therewithal teacheth that the salvation of the whole church is as it were a coming out of the deep hell. I know not how it is come to pass, that they who came after thought that there was a certain place under the earth to which they have given the name of *Limbus*. But this fable, although they were great authors, and at this day many do earnestly defend it for a truth; is yet nothing else but a fable. For, to inclose the souls of dead men as in a prison, is very childish. And what need was it that Christ's soul should go down thither to set them at liberty? I do indeed willingly confess, that Christ shined to them by the power of his spirit, that they might know that the grace which they had only tasted of by hope, was then delivered to the world. And to this purpose may the place of Peter (1 Pet. iii. 19.) be probably applied, where he saith, that Christ came and preached to the spirits that were in a dungeon or prison, as it is commonly translated. For the very process of the text leadeth us to this, that the faithful who were dead before that time, were partakers of the same grace that we were: because he doth thereby amplify the force of Christ's death, for that it pierced even to the dead, when the godly souls enjoyed the present sight of that visitation which they had carefully looked for: on the other side it did more plainly appear to the reprobate that they were excluded from all salvation. But whereas Peter in his saying maketh no distinction between them, that is not so to be taken, as though he mingled together the

the godly and ungodly without difference: but only he meant to teach that generally they both had one common feeling of the death of Christ.

By his descending into hell, his feeling the rigour of God's vengeance and his wrestling in soul with infernal horror must be understood.

10. But concerning Christ's going down to hell, beside the consideration of the Creed, we must seek for a more certain exposition, and we assuredly have such a one out of the word of God, as is not only holy and godly, but also full of singular comfort. Christ's death had been to no effect, if he had suffered only a corporal death: but it behoved also that he should feel the rigour of God's vengeance: that he might both appease his wrath and satisfy his just judgment. For which cause also it behoved that he should as it were hand to hand wrestle with the armies of hell, and the horror of eternal death. We have even now alleged out of the prophet (Isa. liii. 5.) that the chastisement of our peace was laid upon him: that he was striken of his Father for our sins, and bruised for our infirmities. Whereby is meant, that he was put in the stead of sinners, as surety and pledge, yea, and as the very guilty person himself, to abide and suffer all the punishments that should have been laid upon them: this one thing excepted, that he could not be holden still of the sorrows of death. Therefore it is no wonder if it be said (Acts ii. 24.) that he went down to hell, since he suffered that death wherewith God in his wrath striketh evil doers. And their exception is very fond, yea and to be scorned, who say, that by this exposition the order is perverted, because it were an absurdity to set that after his burial which went before it. For after the setting forth of those things that Christ suffered in the sight of men, in very good order followeth that invisible and incomprehensible judgment which he suffered in the sight of God: that we should know that not only the body of Christ was given to be the price of our redemption; but that there was another greater and more excellent price paid in this, that in his soul he suffered the terrible torments of a damned and forsaken man.

Christ sorrowed, feared, cryed, feeling the very torments which they do whose enemy God is, although God were not his enemy. If he had not done this, where were our comfort?

11. According to this meaning doth Peter say, (Acts ii. 24.) that Christ rose again having loosed the sorrows of death, of which it was impossible that he should be holden, or overcome. He doth not name it simply death: but he expresseth that the Son of God was wrapped in the sorrows of death, which proceeded from the curse and wrath of God, which is the original of death. For how small a matter had it been, carelessly as it were, in sport to come forth to suffer death? But this was a true proof of his infinite mercy, not to shun that death which he so sore trembled at. And without doubt the same is the apostle's meaning to teach, in the epistle to the Hebrews where he writeth: that Christ was heard of his own Fear: some translate it reverence or pity, but how unfitly, both the matter itself, and the very manner of speaking proveth. Christ therefore praying with tears and mighty cries, is heard of his own fear: not to be free from death, but not to be swallowed up of death as a sinner: because in that place he had put our person upon him. And truly there can be imagined no more dreadful bottomless depth than for a man to feel himself forsaken and estranged from God, and not to be heard when he calleth upon him, even as if God himself had conspired to his destruction. Even thither we see that Christ was thrown down, so far that by enforcement of distress he was compelled to cry out; (Mat. xxvii. 46.) my God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? For whereas some would have it taken, that he so spake rather according to the opinion of others, than as he felt in himself: that is in no case probable, forasmuch as it is evident, that this saying proceeded out of the very anguish of the bottom of his heart. Yet do we not mean thereby, that God was at any time his enemy or angry with him. For how could he be angry with his beloved Son, upon whom his mind rested? Or how could Christ (*Vide Cyril. lib. 2. de rect. fide. ad regi.*) by his intercession appease his Father's wrath towards others, having him hatefully bent against himself? But this is our meaning: that he suffered the grievousness of God's rigour, for that he being stricken and tormented with the hand of God, did feel all the tokens of God when he is angry and punisheth. Whereupon Hilariy argueth thus, that by this going down we have obtained this, that death is slain. And in other places he agreeth with our judgment, as where he saith: the cross, death, and hell are our life. Again, in another place: the Son of God is in the hell, but man is carried up to heaven. But why do I allege the testimony of a private man, when the apostle affirmeth the same, mentioning

this for a fruit of his victory, that they were delivered which were by fear of death all their life long subject to bondage? It behoved therefore, that he should overcome that fear, that naturally doth continually torment and oppress all mortal men: which could not be done but by fighting with it. Moreover, that his fear was no common fear or conceived upon a slender cause, shall by and by more plainly appear. So by fighting hand to hand with the power of the devil, with the horror of death, with the pains of hell, it came to pass, that he both had the victory of them, and triumphed over them, that we now in death should no more fear those things, which our prince hath swallowed up.

Their reasons frivolous who can not like this interpretation of Christ's descending into hell, as if it were a disgrace unto him to be made subject unto such passions.

12. Here some lewd men, although unlearned, yet rather moved by malice than by ignorance, cry out that I do a hainous wrong to Christ, because it was against reason, that he should be fearful for the salvation of his soul. And then they more strongly enforce this cavil, with saying, that I ascribe to the Son of God desperation, which is contrary to faith. First they do but maliciously move controversy of Christ's fear and trembling, which the evangelists do so plainly report. For a little before that the time of his death approached, he was troubled in spirit and struck with heaviness, and at his very meeting with it, he began more vehemently to tremble for fear. If they say that he did but counterfeit, that is too foul a shift. We must therefore as Ambrose truly teacheth, boldly confess the sorrowfulness of Christ, unless we be ashamed of his cross. And truly, if his soul had not been partaker of pain, he had been only a Redeemer for our bodies. But it behoved that he should wrestle, to raise up them that lay thrown down. And his heavenly glory is so nothing impaired thereby, that even herein gloriously shineth his goodness which is never sufficiently praised, that he refused not to take our weakness upon him. From whence is also that comfort of our anguishes and sorrows, which the apostle setteth before us: that this Mediator did feel our infirmities, that he might be the more earnestly bent to succour us in misery. They say: that that thing which is evil of it self, is unworthily ascribed unto Christ. As though they were wiser than the Spirit of God, which joineth these two things together, (Heb. iv. 15.) that Christ was in all things tempted as we are, and yet that he was without sin. Therefore there is no cause that the weakness of Christ should make us afraid, whereunto he was not by violence or necessity compelled, but by mere love of us, and by mercy was led to submit himself. And whatsoever he of his own will suffered for us, diminisheth nothing of his power. But in this one point are these backbiters deceived, that they do not perceive in Christ an infirmity clean and free from all fault and spot, because he kept himself within the bounds of obedience. For whereas there can be found no moderation in our corrupt nature, where all our affections do with troublesome violence exceed all measure, they do wrong to measure the form of God by that standard. But when man was in his uncorrupted state, then there was a moderation having force in all his affections, to restrain excess. Whereby it might well be that he was like unto us in sorrow, dread, and fearfulness, and yet that by this mark he differed from us. Being so confuted, they have recourse to another cavil, that though Christ feared death, yet he feared not the curse and wrath of God from which he knew himself to be safe. But let the godly readers weigh how honourable this is for Christ, that he was more tender and more fearful than the most part of the very dregs of men. Thieves and other evil doers do obstinately hasten to death, many do with haughty courage despise it, some others do mildly suffer it. But what constancy or stout courage were it for the Son of God to be astonished and in a manner struck dead with the fear of it? For even that which among the common sort might be accounted miraculous, is reported of him, that for vehemency of grief, even drops of blood did fall from his face. Neither did he this to make a shew to the eyes of others, but when in a secret corner whither he was gone out of company, he groaned unto his Father. And this putteth it out of all doubt, that it was needful that he should have angels to come down from heaven to relieve him with an unwonted manner of comforting. How shameful a tenderness, as I said, should this have been, to be so far tormented for fear of common death, as to melt in bloody sweat, and not to be able to be comforted, but by sight of angels? What? doth not that prayer thrice repeated, (Matth. xxvi. 39.) Father if it be possible, let this cup depart from me) proceeding from an incredible bitterness of heart, shew that Christ had a more cruel and harder battle than with common death? Whereby appeareth that those

thoſe triflers againſt whom I now diſpute, do boldly babble upon things that they know not, becauſe they never earneſtly conſidered what it is, or of how great importance it is that we be redeemed from the judgment of God. But this is our wiſdom, well to underſtand how dear our ſalvation did coſt the Son of God. Now if a man ſhould aſk me, if Chriſt went then down to hell, when he prayed to eſcape that death: I anſwer, that then was the beginning of it: whereby may be gathered, how grievous and terrible torments he ſuffered, when he knew himſelf to ſtand to be arraigned for our cauſe before the judgment ſeat of God. But although for a moment of time, the divine power of the Spirit did hide itſelf to give place to the weakneſs of the fleſh: yet muſt we know, that the temptation by feeling of ſorrow and fear was ſuch as was not againſt faith. And ſo was that fulfilled which is in the ſermon of Peter, Acts ii. 24. that he could not be holden of the ſorrows of death, becauſe when he felt himſelf as it were forſaken of God, yet he did nothing at all ſwerve from the truſt of his goodneſs. Which is proved by that his notable calling upon God, when for extremity of pain he cried out, Matth. xxvii. 47. My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me? For though he was above meaſure grieved, yet he ceaſeth not to call him his God, of whom he crieth out that he was forſaken. Moreover hereby is confuted as well the error of Apollinaris, and theirs that were called Monothelites. Apollinaris, imagined that Chriſt had an eternal ſpirit inſtead of a ſoul, ſo that he was only but half a man. As though he could cleanſe our ſins any other way, but by obeying his Father. But where is that affection or will of obedience but in the ſoul? which ſoul of his we know was troubled for this purpoſe, to drive away fear, and bring peace and quietneſs to our ſoul. Again, for confuſion of the Monothelites, we ſee how now he willed not that thing according to his nature of manhood, which he willed according to his nature of Godhead. I omit to ſpeak how he did ſubdue the foreſaid fear with a contrary affection. For herein is a plain ſhew of contrariety. John xii. 27. Father deliver me from this hour. But even for this end I came even unto this hour. Father, glorify thy name. In which perplexity yet was there no ſuch outrage in him as is ſeen in us, even then when we moſt of all endeavour to ſubdue ourſelves.

The fruit of Chriſt's reſurrection.

13. Now followeth his reſurrection from the dead, without which all that we have hitherto were but imperfect. For ſince there appeareth in the croſs, death, and burial of Chriſt nothing but weakneſs: faith muſt paſs beyond all thoſe things, that it may be furniſhed with full ſtrength. Therefore altho' we have in his death a full accompliſhment of ſalvation, becauſe by it we are both reconciled to God, and his juſt judgment is ſatisfied, and the curſe taken away, and the penalty fully paid: yet we are ſaid to be regenerate into a living hope, not by his death, but by his riſing again. For as he in riſing again roſe up the vanquiſher of death, ſo the victory of our faith conſiſteth in the very reſurrection: but how this is, is better expreſſed in the words of Paul. Rom. iv. 25. For he ſaith that Chriſt died for our ſins, and was raiſed up again for our juſtification: as if he ſhould have ſaid, that by his death ſin was taken away, and by his riſing again, righteouſneſs was renewed and reſtored. For how could he by dying deliver us from death, if he himſelf had lyen ſtill overcome by death? How could he have gotten victory for us, if himſelf had been vanquiſhed in fight? Wherefore we do ſo part the matter of our ſalvation between the death and reſurrection of Chriſt, that by his death we ſay, ſin was taken away and death deſtroyed, and by his reſurrection righteouſneſs was repaired, and life raiſed up again: but ſo that by means of his reſurrection, his death doth ſhew forth its force and effect unto us. Therefore Paul affirmeth that in his very reſurrection he was declared the Son of God, becauſe then at laſt he diſcovered his heavenly power, which is both a clear glaſs of his Godhead, and a firm pillar of our faith. As alſo in another place he teacheth, 1 Cor. xiii. 4. that Chriſt ſuffered after the weakneſs of the fleſh, and roſe again by the power of the ſpirit. And in the ſame meaning in another, where he treateth of perfection, he ſaith: Phil. iii. 10. That I may know him and the power of his reſurrection. Yet ſoon after he adjoineth the fellowſhip with death. With which that ſaying of Peter very well agreeth: 1 Pet. i. 21. that God raiſed him up from the dead and gave him glory, that our faith and hope might be in God: not that our faith being ſupported by his death ſhould waver, but that the power of God, which keepeth us in the faith, doth principally ſhew itſelf in the reſurrection. Therefore let us remember, that ſo oft as mention is made of his death only, there is alſo comprehended that which properly belongeth to his reſurrection: and the ſame figure of com-

prehenſion is there in the word Reſurrection, as oft as it is uſed ſeparately without ſpeaking of his death, ſo that it draweth with it that which peculiarly pertaineth to his death. But foraſmuch as by riſing again he obtained the crown of conqueſt, ſo that there ſhould be both reſurrection and life: therefore Paul doth for good cauſe affirm, 1 Cor. xv. 17. that our faith is deſtroyed, and the goſpel is become vain and deceitful, if the reſurrection of Chriſt be not fixed in our hearts. Therefore in another place, Rom. viii. 34. after he had gloried in the death of Chriſt againſt all the terrors of damnation, to amplify the ſame, he ſaith further: Yea, the ſame Jeſus who died is riſen up again, and now ſtandeth a Mediator for us in the preſence of God. Furthermore, as we have before declared that upon the partaking of his croſs depends the mortification of our fleſh: ſo is it to be underſtood, that by his reſurrection we obtain another benefit which anſwereth that mortification. For (ſaith the apoſtle) Rom. vi. 4. we are therefore planted into the likeneſs of his death, that being partakers of his reſurrection, we may walk in newneſs of life. Therefore in another place: as he gathereth an argument of this that we are dead together with Chriſt, to prove that we ought to mortify our members upon earth: Col. iii. 5. likewiſe alſo becauſe we are riſen up with Chriſt, he gathereth thereupon that we ought to ſeek for thoſe things that are above, and not thoſe that are upon the earth. By which words (Col. iii. 1.) we are not only exhorted to be raiſed up after the example of Chriſt, to follow a newneſs of life: But we are taught that it is wrought by his power, that we are regenerate into righteouſneſs. We obtain alſo a third fruit of his reſurrection, that we are, as by an earneſt delivered us, aſſured of our own reſurrection, of which we know that his reſurrection is a moſt certain argument. Whereof he diſputeth more at large in the fifteenth chapter of his epiſtle to the Corinthians. But by the way this is to be obſerved, that it is ſaid, that he roſe again from the dead: in which ſaying is expreſſed the truth both of his death and of his reſurrection: as if it had been ſaid, that he did both die the ſame death that other men naturally do die, and received immortality in the ſame fleſh which he had put on mortal.

His aſcending into heaven.

14. To his reſurrection is not unfitly adjoined his aſcending into heaven. For although Chriſt began more fully to ſet forth his glory and power by riſing again, becauſe he had now laid away that baſe and unnoble ſtate of mortal life, and the ſhame of the croſs: yet by his aſcending up into heaven only, he truly began his kingdom. Which the Apoſtle (Eph. 4. 10.) ſheweth where he teacheth, that Chriſt aſcended to fulfil all things. Wherein ſeeming of repugnancy he ſheweth that there is a goodly agreement: becauſe he ſo departed from us, that yet his preſence might be more profitable to us, which had been ſhut up in a baſe lodging of the fleſh, while he was converſant in earth. And therefore John, (Joh. vii. 37.) after that he had rehearſed that notable calling, If any thirſt let him come to me, &c. by and by ſaith, that the holy Ghoſt was not yet given to the faithful, becauſe Jeſus was not yet glorified. Which the Lord himſelf did alſo teſtify to the Diſciples, ſaying, (John xvi. 7.) It is expedient for you that I go away. For if I do not go away, the holy Ghoſt ſhall not come. But he giveth them a comfort for his corporal abſence, that he will not leave them as parentleſs, but will come again to them after a certain manner, indeed inviſible, but yet more to be deſired, becauſe they were then taught by more aſſured experience, that the authority which he enjoineth, and the power which he uſeth, is ſufficient for the faithful, not only to make them live bleſſedly but alſo to die happily. And truly we ſee how much greater abundance of his ſpirit he then poured out, how much more royally he then advanced his kingdom, how much greater power he then ſhewed, both in helping his, and in overthrowing his enemies. Being therefore taken up into heaven, he took away the preſence of his body out of our ſight: not to ceaſe to be preſent with the faithful that yet wandered in the earth, but with more preſent power to govern both heaven and earth. But rather the ſame that he had promiſed, that he would be with us to the end of the world, he performed by this his aſcending, by which as his body was lifted up above all heavens, ſo his power and effectual working was poured and ſpread abroad beyond all the bounds of heaven and earth. But this I had rather declare in Auguſtine's words, (*Tract in Evan. Johan.* 109.) than mine own. Chriſt (ſaith he) was to go by death to the right hand of the Father, from whence he is to come to judge the quick and the dead: and that likewiſe in bodily preſence, according to the ſound doctrine and rule of faith. For in ſpiritual preſence with them, he was to come after his aſcenſion. And in another place more largely and plainly: according to an unſpeakable and inviſible grace is that fulfilled which he had ſpoken: Matth. xxviii. 20. Behold I am with you all the days, even to the end of the world. But according to the fleſh which the Word took

took upon him, according to that that he was born of the virgin, according to that that he was taken of the Jews, that he was faſtened on the tree, that he was taken down from the croſs, that he was wrapped in linen clothes, that he was laid in the grave that he was openly ſhewed in his riſing again: this was fulfilled, Ye ſhall not always have me with you. Why ſo? becauſe he was converſant (Acts i. 3, and 9.) according to the preſence of his body forty days with his diſciples, and they being in his company, ſeeing him, not following him, he aſcended into heaven, and is not here, for he ſitteth there at the right hand of his Father: and is here, for he is not gone away in preſence of majeſty. Therefore according to the preſence of his majeſty, (Matth. xvi.) we always have Chriſt: according to the preſence of his fleſh, it was truly ſaid to his diſciples, but me ye ſhall not always have. For the church had him a few days according to the preſence of his fleſh, but now ſhe holdeth him by faith, but ſeeth him not with eyes.

His ſitting at the right hand of his Father.

15. Wherefore, it by and by followeth, that he is ſat down at the right hand of his father: which is ſpoken by way of ſimilitude, taken of princes that have their ſitters by, to whom they commit their office to rule and govern in their ſtead, So it is ſaid, that Chriſt in whom the father will be exalted and reign by his hand, was received to ſit at his right hand as if it had been ſaid, that he was inveſted in the dominion of heaven and earth, ſolemnly entred upon the poſſeſſion of the government committed unto him, and that he not only entred upon it, but alſo continueth in it till he come down to judgment. For ſo doth the Apoſtle (Phil. ii. 9.) expound it, when he ſaith thus: The father hath ſet him at his right hand, above all principality and power, and ſtrength and dominion, and every name that is named not only in this world, but in the world to come, &c. (1 Cor. xv, 27.) He hath put all things under his feet, (Eph. iv. 15.) and hath given him to be head of the church above all things. Now you ſee to what purpoſe belongeth that ſitting, Act, 2. 30. and 3. 21. that is, that all creatures both heavenly and earthly may with admiration look upon his majeſty, be governed with his hand, behold his countenance, and be ſubject to his power. And the Apoſtles mean nothing elſe when they ſo oft rehearſe it, but to teach that all things are left to his will. Therefore they think not rightly, who think that bleſſedneſs is only meant by it. And it forceth not, that in the Acts, Stephen teſtifieth (Acts vii. 56.) that he ſaw him ſtanding, becauſe we ſpake not here of the geſture of his body, but of the majeſty of his dominion: ſo that to ſit is nothing elſe, but to be chief judge in the heavenly judgment ſeat.

Three collections of faith out of Chriſt's aſcending and ſitting in heaven.

16. Hereupon doth faith gather manifold fruit: For it learneth, that the Lord by his aſcending into heaven, hath opened the entry of the heavenly kingdom, which before had been ſtopped up by Adam. For when he entred into it in our fleſh as in our name, thereupon followeth that which the Apoſtle ſaith, that we do already in him after a certain manner ſit in heaven, For that we do not with bare hope look for heaven, but already in our head we poſſeſs it. Moreover faith perceiveth that he ſitteth with his father to our great benefit. For he is entred into a ſanctuary not made with hands, and there appeareth before the face of the father (Heb. 7. 25. and 9. 11.) a continual advocate and interceſſor for us: he ſo turneth the father's eyes to his righteouſneſs, that he turneth them away from our ſins: (Rom. 8. 34.) He ſo reconcileth his mind unto us, that by his interceſſion he prepareth us a way and paſſage to his throne, filling it with grace and mercifulneſs, which otherwiſe would have been full of horror to wretched ſinners. Thirdly, faith conceiveth his power, wherein conſiſteth our ſtrengh, might, wealth, and glorying againſt hell. For (Eph. iv. 6.) aſcending into heaven he led captivity captive, and ſpoiling his enemies he enriched his people, and daily filleth them with abundance of ſpiritual riches. He ſitteth therefore on high, that from thence pouring out his power unto us, he may quicken us to a ſpiritual life, ſanctify with his ſpirit, and beautify his church with the divers gifts of his grace, preſerve it ſafe againſt all harm by his protection, reſtrain with the ſtrength of his hand the raging enemies of his croſs and of our ſalvation: finally, hold all power, both in heaven and earth, till he hath overthrown all his enemies who are alſo our enemies, and made perfect the building up of his church. And this is the true ſtate of his kingdom: this is the power that his father hath given him, till he make an end of the laſt act, when he cometh to judge the quick and the dead.

His coming to judge quick and dead at the laſt day.

17. Chriſt doth indeed here ſhew to them that are his, plain proofs of his power preſent among them: but becauſe under the baſeneſs of fleſh his kingdom doth in a manner lie hidden in earth, therefore for good cauſe is faith called to think

think upon that visible presence, which he will openly shew at the last day. For he shall in visible form come down from heaven, even such as he was seen to go up: and he shall appear to all men with unspeakable majesty of his kingdom, with bright glistering of immortality, with infinite power of Godhead, with a guard of angels. From thence therefore we are bidden to look for him to come our Redeemer at that day, when he shall severe the lambs from the goats, the chosen from the forsaken: and there shall be none of all either the quick or the dead, that shall escape his judgment, for from the furthest corners of the world shall be (Matth. xxv. 31.) heard the sound of the trumpet, wherewith all shall be called to his judgment seat, (1 Thes. iv. 16.) both they that shall be found alive at that day, and they whom death hath before taken out of the company of the quick. Some there are who in this place expound the words of the quick and the dead otherwise: and we see that some of the old writers did stick in doubt upon the construction of this article. But as the aforesaid meaning is plain and easy to be understood; so doth it better agree with the Creed which is evident that it was written according to the capacity of the common people. (Heb. ix. 17.) And herewith nothing disagreeth that which the apostle affirmeth, that it is appointed to all men once to die. For although they who shall remain in mortal life at the last judgment shall not die after a natural manner and order; yet that change which they shall suffer, because it shall be like a death, is not unproperly called death. It is indeed certain, (1 Cor. xv. 51.) that not all shall sleep, but all shall be changed. What meaneth that? In one moment their mortal life shall perish and be swallowed up and be utterly transformed into a new nature. This perishing of the flesh no man can deny to be a death: and yet in the mean time it remaineth true, that the quick and the dead shall be summoned to the judgment: (1 Thes. iv. 16.) because the dead that are in Christ shall first rise, and then they that shall remain and be living, shall with them be suddenly taken up into the air to meet the Lord. And truly it is likely that this article was taken out of the sermon of Peter, (Acts x. 42.) which Luke reciteth, and out of the solemn protestation of Paul to Timothy.

A comfort to us to know that our Saviour shall be our judge.

18. Hereupon ariseth a singular comfort, when we hear that he is judge, which hath already appointed us partners with him in judging: so far is it off, that he will go up into the judgment seat to condemn us. For how should the most merciful prince destroy his own people? how should the head scatter abroad his own members? how should the patron condemn his own clients? For if the apostle (Rom. v. 33.) dare cry out, that while Christ is intercessor for us, there can none come forth that can condemn us: it is much more true, that Christ himself being our intercessor, will not condemn them whom he hath received into his charge and tuition. It is truly no small assuredness, that we shall be brought before no other judgment seat, but of our own Redeemer, from whom our salvation is to be looked for: moreover that he who now by the gospel promiseth eternal blessedness, shall then by sitting in judgment perform his promise. Therefore to this end (John v. 22.) the Father hath honoured the Son, in giving him all judgment, that so he hath provided for the consciences of them that are his, trembling for fear of the judgment. Hitherto I have followed the order of the Apostles Creed, because whereas it shortly in few words containeth the chief articles of our redemption, it may serve us for a table, wherein we do distinctly and separately see those things that are in Christ worthy to be taken heed unto. I call it the Apostles Creed, not carefully regarding who were the authors of it. It is truly by great consent of the old writers ascribed to the apostles, either because they thought that it was by common travel written and set out by the Apostles; or for that they judged that this abridgement being faithfully gathered out of the doctrine, delivered by the hands of the Apostles, was worthy to be confirmed with such a title. And I take it for no doubt, that whencesoever it proceeded at the first, it hath even from the first beginning of the church, and from the very time of the Apostles, been used as a public confession, and received by consent of all men. And it is likely that it was not privately written by any one man, forasmuch as it is evident that even from the farthest age it hath always continued of sacred authority and credit among all the godly. But that thing which is only to be cared for, we have wholly out of controversy, that the whole history of our faith is shortly and well in distinct order rehearsed in it, and that there is nothing contained in it, that is not sealed with sound testimonies of scripture. Which being understood, it is to no purpose either curiously

curiously to doubt, or to strive with any man who was the author of it: unless perhaps it be not enough for some man to be assured of the truth of the holy Ghost, but that he do also understand either by whose mouth it was spoken, or by whose hand it was written.

All good things to be sought and found in Christ alone.

19. But forasmuch as we do see, that the whole sum of our salvation, and all the parts thereof, are comprehended in Christ, we must beware, that we do not draw away from him any part thereof be it never so little. If we seek for salvation, we are taught by the very name of Jesus (Acts iv. 12.) that it is in him, if we seek for any other gifts of the spirit, (1 Cor. i. 30.) they are to be found in his anointing, if we seek for strength, it is in his dominion: if we seek for cleanness, it is in his conception: if we seek for tender kindness, it sheweth it self in his birth, whereby he was made in all things like unto us, that he might learn to sorrow with us: if we seek for redemption, it is in his passion; if we seek for absolution, it is in his condemnation: if we seek for release of the curse, it is in his cross: if we seek for satisfaction, it is in his sacrifice: if we seek for cleansing, it is in his blood: if we seek for reconciliation, in his going down to hell: if we seek for mortification of the flesh, it is in his burial: if we seek for newness of life, it is in his resurrection: if we seek for immortality, it is in the same: if we seek for the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven, it is in his entrance into heaven: if we seek for defence, for assuredness, for plenty and store of all good things, it is in his kingdom: if we seek for a dreadless looking for the judgment, it is in the power given to him to judge. Finally, since the treasures of all sorts of good things are in him, let us draw thence and from no where else, even till we be full withal. For they who being not content with him alone, are carried hither and thither into divers hopes, although they have principal regard to him, yet even in this they are out of the right way, that they turn any part of their knowlege to any other where. Although such distrust cannot creep in where the abundance of his good gifts hath once been known.

CHAP. XVII.

That it is truly and properly said, that Christ hath deserved God's favour and salvation for us.

Christ's meriting our salvation is not opposite to God's free bestowing it, but both are repugnant unto our deserving.

THIS question is also to be resolved for an addition. For there are some subtile men after a wrong manner, who although they confess that we obtain salvation by Christ, yet cannot abide to hear the name of deserving, by which they think the grace of God is obscured: and so they will have Christ to be only the instrument, or minister, not the author, guide, or prince of life, as Peter (Acts iii. 20.) calleth him. Indeed I confess, that if a man will set Christ simply and by himself against the judgment of God, then there shall be no room for deserving: because there cannot be found in man any worthiness that may deserve the favour of God. But as Augustine (*Lib. 1. de præ. sanctorum.*) most truly writeth, the most clear light of predestination and grace is our Saviour himself, the man Christ Jesus, who hath obtained so to be, by the nature of man, which is in him, without any deservings of works or of faith going before. I beseech you let me be answered, whereby that same man deserved to be taken up by the word that is co-eternal with the Father into one person, and so to be the only begotten Son of God. Let therefore appear in our head the very fountain of grace, from whom according to the measure of every one, it floweth abroad into all his members. By that grace every one from the beginning of his faith is made a christian, by which that same man from his beginning was made Christ. Again in another place: (*De bono perseverant, ca. ult.*) there is no plainer example of predestination than the Mediator himself. For he who made of the seed of David a man righteous that never should be unrighteous, without any deserving of his will going before, even the same he doth of unrighteous make them righteous that are members of that head: and so on as there followeth. Therefore when we speak of Christ's deserving, we do not say that in him is the beginning of deserving, but we ascend to the ordinance of God, which is the first cause thereof: because God of his own mere good will appointed him Mediator, to purchase salvation for us. And so is the deserving of Christ unfitly set against the mercy of God. For it is a common rule, that things orderly one under another do not disagree. And

therefore it may well ſtand together, that man's juſtification is free by the mere mercy of God, and, that there alſo the deſerving of Chriſt come between which is contained under the mercy of God. But againſt our works are aptly ſet, as directly contrary, both the free favour of God, and the obedience of Chriſt, either of them in their degree. For Chriſt could not deſerve any thing but by the good pleaſure of God, and but becauſe he was appointed to this purpoſe, with his ſacrifice to appeaſe the wrath of God, and with his obedience to put away our offences. Finally in a ſum: becauſe the deſerving of Chriſt depends entirely upon the nearer grace of God, which appointed us this mean of ſalvation, therefore as well the ſame deſerving, as that grace, is fitly ſet againſt all the works of men.

The grace of God hath appointed the worthineſs of his Son for a mean to make us ſons, who in our ſelves are by nature enemies.

2. This diſtinction is gathered out of many places of the ſcripture. (John 3. 16.) God ſo loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whoſoever believeth in him ſhall not periſh. We ſee how the love of God holdeth the firſt place, as the ſovereign cauſe original, and then followeth faith in Chriſt, as the ſecond or nearer cauſe. If any man take exception and ſay, that Chriſt is but the formal cauſe, he doth more diminiſh his power than the words may bear. For if we obtain righteouſneſs by faith that reſteth upon him, then is the matter of our ſalvation to be ſought in him, which is in many places plainly proved. Not that we firſt loved him, but he firſt loved us, and ſent his Son to be the propitiation for our ſins. In theſe words is clearly ſhewed, that God to the end that nothing ſhould withſtand his love toward us, appointed us a mean to be reconciled in Chriſt. And this word propitiation is of great weight; becauſe God after a certain unſpeakable manner, even the ſame time that he loved us, was alſo angry with us, until he was reconciled in Chriſt. And to this purpoſe ſerve all thoſe ſayings: (1 John ii. 2.) He is the propitiation for our ſins. Again: (Col. i. 20.) It pleaſed God by him to reconcile all things to himſelf, appeaſing himſelf through the blood of the Croſs by him, &c. Again, (2 Cor. v. 19.) God was in Chriſt, reconciling the world to himſelf, not imputing to men their ſins. Again, (Eph. ii. 16.) he accepted us in his beloved Son. Again, That he might reconcile both to God into one man by the Croſs. The reaſon of this myſtery is to be fetched out of the firſt chapter to the Epheſians, where Paul, after that he had taught that we were choſen in Chriſt, addeth therewithal, that we have obtained favour in him. How did God begin to embrace with his favour them whom he loved before the making of the world, but becauſe he uttered his love when he was reconciled by the blood of Chriſt? For ſince God is the fountain of all righteouſneſs, it muſt needs be, that man ſo long as he is a ſinner, have God his enemy and his Judge. Wherefore the beginning of his love is righteouſneſs, ſuch as is deſcribed by Paul: (1 Cor. v. 21.) He made him that had done no ſin, to be ſin for us, that we might be the righteouſneſs of God in him. For he meaneth, that we have obtained free righteouſneſs by that ſacrifice of Chriſt, that we ſhould pleaſe God, who by nature are the children of wrath and by ſin eſtranged from him. But this diſtinction is alſo meant ſo oft as the grace of Chriſt is joined to the love of God. Whereupon followeth, that he giveth us of his own that which he hath purchaſed: for otherwiſe it would not agree with him, that this praiſe is given him diſtinctly from his Father, that it is his grace and proceedeth from him.

Chriſt in his obedience, righteouſneſs and death hath purchaſed and merited our ſalvation.

3. But it is truly and perfectly gathered by many places of the Scripture, that Chriſt by his obedience hath purchaſed us favour with his father. For this I take for a thing confeſſed, that if Chriſt hath ſatisfied for our ſins, if he hath ſuffered the puniſhment due unto us, if by his obedience he hath appeaſed God, finally, if he being righteous, hath ſuffered for the unrighteous, then is ſalvation purchaſed for us by his righteouſneſs: which is as much in effect as to deſerve it. But as Paul (Rom. v. 11.) witneſſeth, we are reconciled and have received reconciliation by his death. But, reconciliation hath no place, but where there went offence before. Therefore the meaning is: that God, to whom we were hateful by reaſon of ſin, is by the death of his Son appeaſed, ſo that he might be favourable unto us. And the compariſon of contraries that followeth a little after, is diligently to be obſerved, as by the tranſgreſſion of one man, many were made ſinners: ſo alſo by the obedience of one many are made righteous. For the meaning is thus: (Rom. v. 19.) As by the ſin of Adam we are eſtranged from God and ordained to deſtruction, ſo by the obedience of Chriſt we are received into favour as righteous. And the future time of the verb doth not exclude preſent righteouſneſs, as appeareth by the proceſs of the text: For he had ſaid before, that

that the free gift was of many ſins unto juſtification.

What is meant by ſaying that Chriſts deſerving purchaſed grace.

4. But when we ſay, that grace is purchaſed us by the merits of Chriſt, we mean this, that we are cleanſed by his blood, and that his death was a ſatisfaction for our ſins. John i. 5. This blood is it that is ſhed for remiſſion of ſin. If this be the effect of his bloodſhed, that ſins be not imputed unto us: it followeth, that with that price the judgment of God is ſatisfied. To which purpoſe ſerveth that ſaying of John the Baptiſt: John i. 29. Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the ſin of the world. For he ſetteth in compariſon Chriſt againſt all the ſacrifices of the law, to teach, that in him only was fulfilled that which thoſe figures ſhewed. And we know, what Moſes every where ſaith: Iniquity ſhall be cleanſed, ſin ſhall be put away and forgiven. Finally, we are very well taught in the old figures, what is the force and effect of the death of Chriſt: and this point the Apoſtle ſetteth out in the epiſtle to the Hebrews, very fitly taking this principle, Heb. ix. 12. that remiſſion is not wrought without ſhedding of blood. Whereupon he gathereth, that Chriſt for the aboliſhing of ſin, appeared once for all by his ſacrifice. Again: that he was offered up to take away the ſins of many. And he had ſaid before, that not by the blood of goats or of calves, but by his own blood he once entered into the holy place, finding eternal redemption. Now when he thus reaſoneth: If the blood of a calf do ſanctify according to the cleanneſs of the fleſh, that much more conſciences are cleanſed by the blood of Chriſt from dead works, it eaſily appeareth that the grace of Chriſt is too much diminiſhed, unleſs we grant unto his ſacrifice the power of cleanſing, appeaſing and ſatisfying. As a little after he addeth: This is the Mediator of the new Teſtament, that they who are called may receive the promiſe of eternal inheritance by mean of death for the redemption of ſins going before, which remained under the law. But ſpecially it is convenient to conſider the relation which Paul deſcribeth, Gal. iii. 13. that he became a curſe for us, &c. For it were ſuperfluous, yea, and an abſurdity, that Chriſt ſhould be charged with a curſe, but for this intent, that he paying that which others did owe, ſhould purchaſe righteouſneſs for them. Alſo the teſtimony of Iſaiah, (Iſa. liii. 5.) is plain, that the chaſtiſement of our peace was laid upon Chriſt, and that we obtained health by his ſtripes. For if Chriſt had not ſatisfied for our ſins, it could not have been ſaid, that he appeaſed God by taking upon him the pains to which we were ſubject. Wherewith agreeth that which followeth in the ſame place: 1 Pet. ii. 24. which ſhall leave nothing doubtful: that he did bear our ſin upon the tree. For he ſaith, that the burthen of damnation from which we were delivered, was laid upon Chriſt.

5. And the Apoſtles do plainly pronounce, that he paid the price of ranſom to redeem us from the guiltineſs of death. Being juſtified by his grace, thro' the redemption which is in Chriſt, whom God hath ſet forth to be a propitiation by faith which is in his blood. Rom. iii. 24. Paul commendeth the grace of God in this point, becauſe he hath given the price of of redemption in the death of Chriſt: and then he biddeth us to flee unto his blood, that having obtained righteouſneſs, we may ſtand boldly before the judgment of God. And to the ſame effect is that ſaying of Peter: (1 Pet. i. 18.) that we are redeemed not by gold and ſilver, but by the precious blood of the unſpotted Lamb. For the compariſon alſo would not agree, unleſs with that price ſatisfaction had been made for ſins: for which reaſon Paul (1 Cor. vi. 20) ſaith that we are preciouſly bought. Alſo that other ſaying of his, (Col. i. 14.) would not ſtand together. There is one Mediator that gave himſelf to be a redemption, unleſs the pain had been caſt upon him which we had deſerved: therefore the ſame Apoſtle defineth, (Col. i. 14.) that the redemption in the blood of Chriſt is the forgiveneſs of ſins: as if he ſhould have ſaid, that we are juſtified or acquitted before God, becauſe that blood anſwereth for ſatisfaction for us. Wherewith alſo agreeth the other place, Col. ii. 14. that the hand-writing which was againſt us, was cancelled upon the croſs. For therein is meant the payment or recompence that acquitteth us from guiltineſs. There is alſo great weight in theſe words of Paul: Gal. ii. 21. If we be juſtified by the works of the law, then Chriſt died in vain. For hereby we gather, that we muſt fetch from Chriſt that which the law would give, if any man can fulfil it: or (which is all one) that we obtain by the grace of Chriſt, that which God promiſed to our works in the law when he ſaid: Lev. xviii. 5. He that doth theſe things ſhall live in them. Which he no leſs plainly confirmeth in his ſermon made at Antioch, Acts xiii. 38. affirming that by believing in Chriſt we are juſtified from all thoſe things from which we could not be juſtified by the law of Moſes. For if the keeping of the law be righteouſneſs

That which Chriſt hath paid for, we may look for as if we our ſelves had paid.

who can deny that Chriſt deſerved favour for us, when taking that burden upon him, he ſo reconciled us to God, as we ourſelves had kept the law? To the ſame purpoſe ſerveth that which he afterwards writeth to the Galatians: (Gal. iv. 4.) God ſent his Son ſubject to the law, that he might redeem thoſe that were under the law. For to what end ſerved that ſubmiſſion of his, but that he purchaſed to us righteouſneſs, taking upon him to make good that which we were not able to pay? Hereof cometh that imputation of righteouſneſs without works, whereof Paul ſpeaketh, Rom. iv. becauſe the righteouſneſs is reckoned to us which was found in Chriſt only. And truly for no other cauſe is the fleſh of Chriſt called our meat, John vi. 55. but becauſe we find in him the ſubſtance of life. And that power proceedeth from nothing elſe, but becauſe the Son of God was crucified, to be the price of our righteouſneſs, As Paul ſaith, Eph. v. 2. that he gave himſelf a ſacrifice of ſweet ſavour. And in Rom. iv. 25. He died for our ſins, he roſe again for our juſtification. From which we may gather, that not only ſalvation is given us by Chriſt, but alſo that for his ſake his Father is now favourable unto us. For there is no doubt but that is perfectly fulfilled in him, which God under a figure pronounceth by Iſaiah, ſaying, Iſa. xxxvii. 35. I will do it for mine own ſake, and for David my ſervant's ſake. Whereof the Apoſtle is a right good witneſs, where he ſaith: 1 Joh. ii. 12. Your ſins are forgiven you for his name's ſake. For tho' the name of Chriſt be not expreſſed, yet John, after his accuſtomed manner, ſignifieth him by the pronoun *He*. In which ſenſe alſo the Lord pronounceth; John vi. 57. As I live by the Father, ſo ſhall ye alſo live by me. Wherewith agreeth that which Paul ſaith, Phil. i. 29. It is given you becauſe of Chriſt, not only to believe on him, but alſo to ſuffer for him.

Whether Chriſt did merit for himſelf, it is both curioſity to demand and raſhneſs to anſwer.

6. But to demand, whether Chriſt deſerved for himſelf, (as Lombard, and the other ſchoolmen do) is no leſs fooliſh curioſity, than it is a raſh determination when they affirm it. For what needed the Son of God to come down to purchaſe any new thing for himſelf? And the Lord declaring his own counſel, doth put it wholly out of doubt. For it is not ſaid, that the Father provided for the advance of his Son in his deſervings, but that he delivered him to death, and ſpared him not, becauſe he loved the world. And the prophets manners of ſpeaking are to be remarked, as, Iſa. ix. 6. A Child is born to us. Again: Rejoice, thou daughter of Zion; behold thy King cometh to thee. Alſo that confirmation of love ſhould be very cold, which Paul ſetteth out, Rom. v. 10. that Chriſt ſuffered death for his enemies. For thereupon we gather, that he had no reſpect of himſelf: and that ſame he plainly affirmeth in ſaying, John xvii. For their ſakes I ſanctify myſelf. For he that giveth away the fruit of his holineſs unto others, doth thereby teſtify that he purchaſeth nothing for himſelf. And truly this deſerves to be taken notice of, that Chriſt, to give himſelf wholly to ſave us, did after a certain manner forget himſelf. But to this purpoſe they do wrongfully draw this teſtimony: Phil. ii. 9. Therefore the Father hath highly exalted him, and given him a name, &c. For by what deſervings could man obtain to be judge of the world, and the head of the angels, and to enjoy the ſovereign dominion of God, and that in him ſhould reſt that ſame majeſty, the thouſand part whereof all the powers of men and angels cannot reach unto? But the ſolution thereof is eaſy and plain, that Paul doth not there treat of the cauſe of exalting of Chriſt, but only to ſhew the effect enſuing thereof, that it might be for an example to us. And no other thing is meant by that which is ſpoken in another place, that it behoveth that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer, and ſo enter into the glory of his Father. Luke xxiv. 26.

THE END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

THE

THE INSTITUTION OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION,

BOOK THIRD,

Which treateth of the Manner how to receive the grace of CHRIST, and what benefits do accrue to us, and what effects follow from it.

CHAP. I.

That those things which are spoken of Christ, do profit us by the secret working of the Holy Ghost.

No benefit cometh by Christ to us till the bond of the spirit have united us unto him.

NOW it is to be seen how those good things do come unto us, which the Father hath given to his only begotten Son, not for his own private use, but to enrich them that were without them and stood in need of them. And first this is to be learned, that so long as Christ is out of us, and we are separated from him, whatsoever he suffered or did for the salvation of mankind, is unprofitable and nothing availeth for us. Therefore that he may impart to us those things which he hath received of his Father, it behoveth that he become ours, and dwell in us. And for that cause he is called (Eph. iv. 15.) our head, and the first begotten among many brethren: and on the other side it is said, (Rom. viii. 29.) that we are grafted into him, (Rom. xi. 17.) and did put on him. For (as I have before said) all that ever he possesseth belongeth nothing to us, (Gal. iii. 16.) until we grow together into one with him. But although it be true that we obtain this by faith; yet forasmuch as we see that not all without difference do embrace this participation of Christ, which is offered by the gospel, therefore reason itself teacheth us to ascend higher, and to enquire of the secret effectual working of the Spirit, by which it is brought to pass, that we enjoy Christ and all his good things. I have before treated of the eternal Godhead and essence of the spirit, at this present let us be content with this one special

article, that Chriſt ſo came in water and blood that the Spirit ſhould teſtify of him, leaſt the ſalvation that he hath purchaſed, ſhould ſlip away from us. (1 John v. 7.) For as there are alleged three witneſſes in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, ſo are there alſo three in earth, Water, Blood, and the Spirit. And not without cauſe is the teſtimony of the Spirit twice repeated, which we feel to be engraven in our hearts inſtead of a ſeal: whereby cometh to paſs, that it ſealeth the waſhing and ſacrifice of Chriſt. After which meaning Peter alſo ſaith, (1 Pet. i. 2.) that the faithful are choſen in ſanctification of the Spirit unto obedience and ſprinkling of the blood of Chriſt. By which words he telleth us that to the intent the ſhedding of that holy blood ſhould not become void, our ſouls are cleanſed with it by the ſecret watering of the holy Spirit. Agreeably to which Paul alſo ſpeaking of cleanſing and juſtification, ſaith that we are made partakers of them both in the name of Jeſus Chriſt and in the Spirit of our God. Finally, this is the ſum, that the holy Spirit is the bond wherewith Chriſt effectually bindeth us unto him. For proof of which alſo do ſerve all that we have taught in the laſt book before this, concerning his anointing.

The Spirit being Chriſt's after a peculiar manner both to have and to beſtow, is by property his in fulneſs, and in meaſure ours by gift.

2. But that this, being a matter eſpecially worthy to be known, may be made more certainly evident, we muſt bear this in mind, that Chriſt came furniſhed with the holy Spirit after a certain peculiar manner, to the end that he might ſevere us from the world, and gather us together into the hope of an eternal inheritance. For this cauſe he is called the Spirit of ſanctification, becauſe he doth not only quicken and nouriſh us with that general power which appeareth as well in mankind as in all other living creatures, but alſo is in us the root and ſeed of a heavenly life. Therefore the prophets do principally commend the kingdom of Chriſt by this title of prerogative, that then ſhould flouriſh a more plentiful abundance of the Spirit. And remarkable above all the reſt is that place of Joel: (Joel. ii. 28.) In that day I will power of my Spirit upon all fleſh. For though the prophet there ſeem to reſtrain the gifts of the Spirit to the office of prophecying, yet under a figure he meaneth, that God by the enlightening of his Spirit will make thoſe his ſcholars which before were unſkilful and void of all heavenly doctrine. Now foraſmuch as God the Father doth for his Son's ſake give us his holy Spirit, and yet hath left with him the whole fulneſs thereof, to the end that he ſhould be a miniſter and diſtributer of his free goodneſs: he is ſometimes called the Spirit of the Father, and ſometimes the Spirit of the Son. (Rom. viii. 9.) Ye are not (ſaith Paul) in the fleſh, but in the Spirit, for the Spirit of God dwelleth in you. But if any man have not the Spirit of Chriſt, he is none of his. And hereupon he putteth us in hope of full renewing, for that he who raiſed up Chriſt from the dead, ſhall quicken our mortal bodies, becauſe of his Spirit dwelling in us. For it is no abſurdity, that to the Father be aſcribed the praiſe of his own gifts, whereof he is the author: (Rom. viii. 11.) and yet that the ſame be aſcribed to Chriſt, with whom the gifts of the Spirit are left, that he may give them to thoſe that are his. Therefore he calleth all them that thirſt, (John vii. 37.) to come to him to drink. And Paul teacheth (Eph. iv. 7.) that the Spirit is diſtributed to every one, according to the meaſure of the gift of Chriſt. And it is to be known, that he is called the Spirit of Chriſt, not only in reſpect that the eternal word of God is with the ſame Spirit joined with the Father, but alſo according to his perſon of Mediator, (1 Cor. xv. 45.) becauſe if he had not had that power, he had come to us in vain. After which meaning he is called the ſecond Adam given from heaven, to be a quickening Spirit: whereby Paul compareth the ſingular life that the Son of God breatheth into them that are his that they may be all one with him, with the natural life that is alſo common to the reprobate. Likewiſe where he wiſheth to the faithful the favour of Chriſt and the love of God, he joineth withal the common partaking of the Spirit, without which no man can taſte neither of the fatherly favour of God, nor of the bountifulneſs of Chriſt. As alſo he ſaith in another place: (Rom. v. 5.) the love of God is ſhed abroad in our hearts by the holy Spirit that is given us.

The titles which the ſcripture giveth the Spirit, teach that without it Chriſt is altogether dead and unprofitable unto us.

3. And here it ſhall be profitable to obſerve, with what titles the ſcripture ſetteth out the holy Spirit, where it treateth of beginning and whole reſtoring of our ſalvation. Firſt, he is called the Spirit of adoption, becauſe he is a witneſs unto us of the free good will of God, wherewith God the Father hath embraced us in his beloved only begotten Son, that he

he might be a Father unto us, and doth encourage us to pray boldly, yea and doth minister unto us words to cry without fear, (Gal. iv. 6.) Abba, Father: by the same reason he is called the earnest, pledge, and seal of our inheritance, (2 Cor. i. 21.) because he so giveth life from heaven to us wandering in the world, and being like to dead men, that we may be assured that our soul is in safe guard under the faithful keeping of God, for which cause he is also called life, by reason of righteousness. And forasmuch as by his secret watering he maketh us fruitful to bring forth the buds of righteousness, he is oftentimes called water, as in Isaiah: (Isa. lv. 1.) All ye that thirst come to the waters. Again, (Isa. xliv. 2.) I will pour out my Spirit upon the thirsty, and floods upon the dry land: wherewith agreeth that saying of Christ, which I did even now allege. (John vii. 17.) If any thirst let him come to me. Although sometimes he is so called, by reason of his power to purge and cleanse, as in Ezekiel xxxvi. 25. where the Lord promiseth clean waters wherewith he will wash his people from filthiness. And forasmuch as he restoreth and nourisheth into lively quickness, them upon whom he hath poured the liquor of his grace, he is therefore called (1 John ii. 20.) by the name of oil and anointment. Again because in continually seething out and burning up the vices of our lust, he setteth our hearts on fire with the love of God and zeal of godliness, he is also for this effect justly called (Luke iii. 16.) fire. Finally, he is described unto us as a fountain, (John iv. 14.) from whence do flow unto us all heavenly riches, or the hand of God, wherewith he useth his power: because by the breath of his power he so breatheth divine life into us, that we are not now stirred by ourselves, but ruled by his stirring and moving: so that if there be any good things in us, they are the fruits of his grace: but our own gifts without him, are darkness of mind and perverseness of heart. This point is set out plainly enough, that till our minds are bent upon the holy Ghost, Christ lieth in a manner idle, because we coldly espy him without us, yea and far away from us. But we know that he profiteth none other but them whose (Eph. iv. 15.) head he is, and the (Rom. iii. 29.) first begotten among brethren, and them who have put on him. This conjoining only maketh that, as concerning us, he is come not unprofitably with the name of Saviour. And for proof of this serveth that (Gal. iii. 27.) holy marriage, whereby we are made flesh of his flesh, and bones of his bones, yea and all one with him. But by the Spirit only he maketh himself one with us: by the grace and power of the same Spirit (Eph. iii. 30.) we are made his members, so that he containeth us under him, and we again possess him.

It is the Spirit which worketh faith in our hearts.

4. But forasmuch as faith is his principal work, to it are for the most part referred all those things, that we commonly find spoken to express his force and working: because he bringeth us into the light of the gospel by nothing but by faith: as John Baptist teacheth, (John i. 13.) that this prerogative is given to them that believe in Christ, that they be the children of God who are born not of flesh and blood, but of God: where setting God against flesh and blood, he affirmeth it to be a supernatural gift that they receive Christ by faith, who otherwise should remain subject to their own infidelity. Like to which is that answer of Christ: (Matth. xix. 17.) flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father who is in heaven. These things I do now but shortly touch because I have already treated of them at large. And like also is that saying of Paul, (Eph. i. 13.) that the Ephesians were sealed up with the holy Spirit of promise. For Paul sheweth that he is an inward teacher, by whose working the promise of salvation pierceth into our minds, which otherwise should but beat the air or our ears. Likewise, when he saith, that (2 Thes. i. 3.) the Thessalonians were chosen of God in the sanctification of the Spirit and believing of the truth: by which joining of them together, he briefly admonisheth that faith it self proceedeth from nothing else but from the holy Spirit: which thing John setteth out more plainly, saying (2 John iii. 24. and iv.) We know that there abideth in us of the Spirit which he hath given us. Again, John xiv. 7. by this we know that we dwell in him, and he in us, because he hath given us of his Spirit. Therefore Christ promised to his disciples the Spirit of truth which the world cannot receive, that they might be able to receive the heavenly wisdom. And he assigneth to the same Spirit this proper office, to put them in mind of those things that he had taught them by mouth. Because in vain should the light shew itself to the blind, unless the same spirit of understanding should open the eyes of their mind: so as a man may rightly call the holy Spirit, the key by which the treasures of the heavenly kingdom are opened unto us: and may call his enlightening, the eye-

sight

ſight of our mind to ſee. Therefore doth St. Paul (2 Cor. iii. 6.) ſo much commend the miniſtry of the Spirit: becauſe teachers ſhould cry without profiting, unleſs Chriſt himſelf the inward maſter ſhould draw them with his Spirit that are given him by his Father. Therefore as we have ſaid, (Luke iii. 16.) that perfect ſalvation is found in the perſon of Chriſt: ſo that we may be made partakers thereof, he doth baptize us in the holy Spirit and fire, lightening us into the faith of his goſpel, and ſo new begetting us, that we may be new creatures: and purging us from unholy filthineſs, doth dedicate us to be holy temples to God.

CHAP. II.

Of Faith, wherein both is given the definition of it, and the properties that it hath are declared.

The object of faith is not barely God, as the ſchoolmen coldly diſpute, but God diſplaying himſelf in Chriſt.

But all theſe things ſhall be eaſy to be underſtood when there ſhall have been given a plain definition of faith, that the readears may know the force and nature of it. But firſt it is proper to call to mind again thoſe things that have been already ſpoken, that ſince God doth appoint us by his law what we ought to do, if we fail in any point thereof, the ſame terrible judgment of eternal death that he pronounceth doth reſt upon us. Again, that foraſmuch as it is not only hard but altogether above our ſtrength and beyond all our power to fulfil the law if we only behold our ſelves, and weigh what eſtate is worthy for our deſervings, there is no good hope left, but we ly caſt away from God under eternal deſtruction. Thirdly, this hath been declared, that there is but one mean of deliverance to draw us out of ſo wretched a calamitiy; wherein appeareth Chriſt the Reedemer, by whoſe hand it pleaſed our heavenly father, having mercy upon us of his infinite goodneſs and clemency, to ſuccour us, ſo that we with ſound faith embrace this mercy, and with conſtant hope reſt upon it. But now it is convenient for us to weigh this, what manner of faith this ought to be, by which all they that are adopted by God to be his children, do enter upon the poſſeſſion of the heavenly kingdom, foraſmuch as it is certain, that not every opinion, nor yet every perſuaſion is ſufficient to bring to paſs ſo great a thing. And with ſo much the more care and ſtudy muſt we look about for, and ſearch out the natural property of faith, by how much the more hurtful at this day is the error of many in this behalf. For a great part of the world, hearing the name of faith, conceiveth no higher thing, but a certain common aſſent to the hiſtory of the goſpel. Yea, when they diſpute of faith in the ſchools, in barely calling God the object of faith, they do nothing but (as we have ſaid in another place) by vain ſpeculation rather draw wretched ſouls out of the right way, than direct them to the true mark. For whereas (1 Tim. vi. 16.) God dwelleth in a light that none can attain to, it behoveth of neceſſity that Chriſt become mean between us and it. For which cauſe he calleth himſelf the light of the world: and in another place, (John 8. 12.) The way, the truth, and the life, becauſe no man cometh to the to the father (who is the fountain of John xiv. 6. life) but by him: becauſe he only knoweth the father, and by him the faithful to whom it pleaſeth him to diſcloſe him. According to this reaſon Paul affirmeth, (1 Cor. ii.) that he accounteth nothing excellent to be known, but Chriſt: and in the xx. Chapter of the Acts (Acts xx. 17.) he ſaith, that he preached faith in Chriſt, &c. And in another place he bringeth in Chriſt ſpeaking after this manner, I will ſend thee among the Gentiles that they may receive forgiveneſs of ſins, and an inheritance among them that are ſanctified, by the faith which is in me. And Paul teſtifieth, (2 Cor. iv. 6.) that the glory of God is in his perſon viſible unto us: or (which is all one in effect) that the enlightening of the knowlege of God's glory ſhineth in his face. It is true indeed, that faith hath reſpect only to the one God, but this alſo is to be added, that it acknowlege him whom he hath ſent, even Jeſus Chriſt. Becauſe God himſelf ſhould have lyen ſecret and hidden far from us, unleſs the brightneſs of Chriſt did caſt his beams upon us. For this intent the Father left all that he had with his only begotten Son, even by the communicating of good things with him to expreſs the true image of his glory. For as it is ſaid, that we muſt be drawn by the Spirit, that we may be ſtirred to ſeek Chriſt, ſo again we ought to be admoniſhed, that the inviſible Father is no where elſe to be ſought but in this image. Of which matter Auguſtine ſpeaketh excellently well, (*Lib.* 11. *de civit. Dei. cap.* 2.) who treating of the mark that faith ſhould ſhoot at, ſaith that we muſt know whither we muſt go, and which way:

way: and then by and by after he gathereth that the safest way against all errors is that he is both God and man. For it is God to whom we go, and man by whom we go: and both these are found no where but in Christ. Neither doth Paul, when he speaketh of faith in God, mean to overthrow that which he so oft repeateth of faith that hath its whole stay upon Christ. As Peter doth most fitly join them both together, 1 Pet. i. 21. saying that by him we believe in God.

Faith is not implicite or unexpressed knowlege.

2. Therefore this evil, even as innumerable others is to be imputed to the schoolmen, who have hidden Christ as it were with a veil drawn before him, to the beholding of whom unless we be directly bent, we shall always wander in many uncertain mazes. But beside this, that with their dark definition they do deface and in a manner bring to nought the whole force of faith, they have forged a device of unexpressed faith, with which name they garnishing their most gross ignorance do with great hurt deceive the silly people, yea (to say truly and plainly as the thing is indeed) this device doth not only bury but utterly destroy the true faith. Is this to believe, to understand nothing, so that thou obediently submit thy sense to the church? Faith standeth not in ignorance but in knowlege, and that not only of God, but of the will of God. For neither do we obtain salvation by this that we either are ready to embrace for true whatsoever the church appointeth, or that we do commit to it all the office of searching and knowing: but when we acknowlege God to be a merciful father to us by the reconciliation made by Christ, and that Christ is given us unto righteousness, sanctification, and life. By this knowlege, I say, not by submitting of our sense, we attain an entry into the kingdom of heaven. For when the Apostle saith, Rom. x. 10. that with the heart we believe to righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made to salvation, he sheweth that it is not enough, if a man unexpressedly believe that which he understandeth not, nor seeketh to learn: but he requireth an expressed acknowleging of God's goodness, in which consisteth our righteousness.

Simple men abused when they are made believe it is faith indeterminately to hold what the church holdeth, without

3. Indeed I deny not (such is the ignorance with which we are surrounded) that there now are and hereafter shall be many things wrapped and hidden from us, till having put off the burden of our flesh we come nearer to the presence of God: in which very things that are hidden from us, nothing is more profitable than to suspend our judgment, but to stay our mind in determined purpose to keep unity with the church. But under this colour to imitate ignorance tempered with humility by the name of faith, is a great absurdity. For faith lieth in the knowlege of God and of Christ, not in reverence of the church. And we see what a maze they have framed with this then hidden implication, that any thing whatsoever it be without any choice, so that it be thrust in under title of the church, is greedily received of the ignorant as it were an oracle; yea, sometimes also most monstrous errors. Which unadvised lightness of belief, whereas it is a most certain downfal to ruin, is nevertheless excused by them, for that it believeth nothing determinately, but with this condition adjoined, If the faith of the church be such. So do they feign, that truth is holden in error, light in blindness, true knowlege in ignorance. But because we will not tarry long in confuting them, we do only warn the readers to compare their doctrine with ours. For the very plainness of the truth itself will of itself minister a confutation ready enough. For this is not the question among them, whether faith be yet wrapped with many remnants of ignorance, but they definitively say that they believe aright, who stand amazed in their ignorance, yea and do flatter themselves therein, so that they do agree to the authority and judgment of the church, concerning things unknown. As though the scripture did not every where teach, that with faith is joined knowlege.

Our faith as long as we live is unexpressed, yet unexpressed faith be taken for faith mingled with ignorance, of that which should ever more and more proceed on further forward with gentle willingness to learn.

4. But we do grant, that so long as we wander from home in this world, our faith is not fully expressed, not only because many things are hidden from us, but being compassed with many mists of errors, we attain not all things. For the highest wisdom of the most perfect is this, to profit more and more, proceed on further forward with gentle willingness to learn. Therefore Paul, Phil. iii. 15. exhorteth the faithful, if upon any thing they differ one from another, to abide for revelation. And truly experience teacheth, that till we be unclothed of our flesh, we attain to know less than were to be wished, and daily in reading we light upon many dark places which do convince us of ignorance. And with this bridle

God holdeth us in modesty, assigning to every one a measure of faith, that even the very best teacher may be ready to learn. And remarkable examples of this unexpressed faith, we may mark in the disciples of Christ, before that they had obtained to be fully enlightened. We see, how they hardly tasted the very first introductions, how they did stick even in the smallest points, how they hanging at the mouth of their master did not yet much proceed, yea, when at the women's information they ran to the grave, the resurrection of their master was like a dream unto them. Since Christ did before bear witness of their faith, we may not say that they were utterly without faith: but rather if they had not been persuaded that Christ should rise again, all care of him would have perished in them. For it was not superstition that did draw the women to embalm with spices the corpse of a dead man, of whom there was no hope of life: but although they believed his words whom they knew to be a speaker of truth, yet the grossness that still possessed their minds so wrapped their faith in darkness, that they were in a manner amazed at it. Whereupon it is said, that they then at the last believed when they had by trial of the thing itself proved the truth of the words of Christ, not that they then began to believe, but because the seed of hidden faith, which was as it were dead in their hearts, then receiving livelines, did spring up. There was therefore a true faith in them, but an unexpressed faith, because they reverently embraced Christ for their only teacher, and then being taught of him, they determined that he was the author of their salvation: finally, they believed that he came from heaven by the grace of his Father to gather his disciples to heaven. And we need not seek any more familiar proof hereof than this, that in all things always unbelief is mingled with faith.

When we begin by faith to know somewhat, and have a desire to learn more, this may be termed an unexpressed faith.

5. We may also call it an unexpressed faith, which yet indeed is nothing but a preparation of faith. The Evangelists do rehearse that many believed, who only being ravished to admiration with miracles, proceedeth no further but that Christ was the Messias who has been promised, altho' they tasted not so much as any slender learning of the gospel. Such obedience which brought them in subjection willingly to submit themselves to Christ, beareth the name of faith where it was indeed but the beginning of faith. So the courtier that believed Christ's promise, concerning the healing of his Son when he came home, as the Evangelists testifieth, (John 4. 3.) believed again: because he received as an oracle that which he heard of the mouth of Christ, and then submitted himself to his authority to receive his doctrine. Although it is to be known, that he was so tractable and ready to learn, that yet in the first place the word of the believing signifieth a particular belief: and in the second place maketh him of the number of the disciples, that professed to be the schollars of Christ. A like example doth John set forth in the Samaritans, John iv. who so believed the woman's report, that they ran earnestly to Christ, who yet when they had heard him, said thus: Now we believe not because of thy report, but we have heard him, and we know that he is the Saviour of the world. Hereby appeareth that they, who are not yet instructed in the first introductions, so that they be disposed to obedience, are called faithful, indeed not properly, but in this respect, that God of his tender kindness vouchsafeth to grant so great honour to that godly affection. But this willingness to learn, with a desire to proceed further, differ far from that gross ignorance, wherein they ly dull that are content with the unexpressed faith, such as the Papists have imagined. For if Paul severely condemneth them (2 Tim. iii. 7.) who, always leaning, yet never come to the knowlege of truth, how much more grievous reproach do they deserve that of purpose study to know nothing?

Faith beholdeth Christ but in no other glass than the gospel.

6. This therefore is the true knowlege of Christ, if we receive him such as he is offered of his Father, that is to say, clothed with his gospel. For as he is appointed to be the object of our faith, so we cannot go the right way to him, but by the gospel going before to guide us. And truly there are opened to us the treasures of grace, which being shut up, Christ should little profit us. So Paul joineth faith an inseparable companion to doctrine, where he saith: Eph. iv. 20. Ye have not so learned Christ, for ye have been taught what is the truth in Christ. Yet do I not so restrain faith to the gospel, but that I confess that there hath been so much taught by Moses and the prophets, as sufficed to the edification of faith, but because there hath been delivered in the gospel a fuller opening of faith, therefore it is justly called of Paul, Rom. x. 4. the doctrine of faith. For which cause also he saith in another place, that by the coming of faith the law is taken away, meaning by this word faith, the new and unaccustomed manner of teaching, whereby Christ since he appeared

peared our ſchoolmaſter, hath more plainly ſet forth the mercy of his Father, and more certainly teſtified of our ſalvation. Although it ſhall be the more eaſy and more convenient order, if we deſcend by degrees from the generalty to the ſpecialty. Firſt, we muſt be put in mind that there is a general relation of faith to the word, and that faith can no more be ſeparated from the word, than the ſun beams from the ſun from whom the proceed. Therefore in Iſaiah, (Iſa. lv. 3.) God crieth out: Hear me and your ſoul ſhall live. And that the ſame is the fountain of faith, John ſheweth in theſe words: Joh. x. 13. Theſe things are written that ye may believe. And the prophet meaning to exhort the people to believe, ſaith: Pſal. xcv. 8. This day if ye ſhall hear his voice. And to hear is commonly taken for to believe. Moreover, God doth not without cauſe in Iſaiah ſet this mark of difference between the children of the church and ſtrangers, that he will inſtruct them all, that they may be taught of him. For if it were a benefit univerſal to all, why ſhould he direct his words to a few? Wherewith agreeth this that the Evangeliſts do commonly uſe the words Faithful and Diſciples, as ſeveral words expreſſing one thing, and ſpecially Luke very oft in the Acts of the Apoſtles. Acts vi. 1. and ix. 26. and xi. 26. and xiii. and 14. Yea and he ſtretcheth that name even to a woman in the ninth chapter of the Acts. Wherefore if faith do ſwerve never ſo little from this mark, to which it ought to be directly levelled, it keepeth not her own nature, but becometh an uncertain lightneſs of belief and wandering error of mind. The ſame word is the foundation wherewith faith is upholden and ſuſtained, from which if it ſwerve, it falleth down. Therefore take away the word, and then there ſhall remain no faith. We do not here diſpute whether the miniſtry of man be neceſſary to ſow the word of God that faith may be conceived thereby, which queſtion we will elſewhere treat of: but we ſay that the word itſelf howſoever it be conveyed to us, is like a mirror where faith may behold God. Whether God doth therein uſe the ſervice of man, or work it by his own only power, yet he doth always ſhew himſelf by his word unto thoſe, whom his will is to draw unto him: Whereupon Paul defineth faith to be an obedience that is given to the goſpel, Rom. i. 5. And in another place he praiſeth the obedience of faith in the Philippians. Phil. ii. 17. For this is not the only purpoſe in the underſtanding of faith, that we know that there is a God, but this alſo, yea, this chiefly, that we underſtand what will he beareth us. For it not ſo much behoveth us to know what he is in himſelf, but what a one he will be to us. Now therefore we are come to this point, that faith is a knowlege of the will of God, perceived by the word. And the foundation hereof is a pre-conceived perſuaſion of the truth of God. Of the aſſuredneſs whereof ſo long as thy mind ſhall diſpute with itſelf, the word ſhall be but of doubtful and weak credit, yea rather no credit at all. But alſo it ſufficeth not to believe that God is a true ſpeaker, who can neither deceive nor lie, unleſs thou further hold this for undoubtedly determinded, that whatſoever proceedeth from him is the ſacred and inviolable truth.

The true and full definition of faith.

7. But becauſe not at every word of God man's heart is raiſed up to faith, we muſt yet further ſearch what this faith in the word hath properly reſpect unto. It was the ſaying of God to Adam: (Gen. ii. 17. and iv.) Thou ſhalt die the death. It was the ſaying of God to Cain: The blood of thy brother crieth to me out of the earth. Yet theſe are ſuch ſayings as of themſelves can do nothing but ſhake faith, ſo much leſs are they able to ſtabliſh faith. We deny not in the mean time that it is the office of faith to agree to the truth of God, how oft ſoever, whatſoever, and in what ſort ſoever it ſpeaketh: but now our queſtion is only, what faith findeth in the word of the Lord to lean and reſt upon. When our conſcience beholdeth only indignation and vengeance, how can it but tremble and quake for fear? And how ſhould it but flee God, of whom it is afraid? But faith ought to ſeek God, and not to flee from him. It is plain therefore, that we have not yet a full definition of faith, becauſe it is not to be accounted for faith to know the will of God, of what ſort ſoever it be: but what if in the place of will, whereof many times the meſſage is ſorrowful and the declaration dreadful, we put kindneſs or mercy? Truly ſo we ſhall come nearer to the nature of faith. For we are then allured to ſeek God, after that we have learned that ſalvation is laid up in ſtore with him for us. Which thing is confirmed unto us, when he declareth that he hath care and love of us. Therefore there needeth a promiſe of grace, whereby he may teſtify that he is our merciful Father, for that otherwiſe we cannot approach unto him, and upon that alone the heart of man may ſafely reſt. For this reaſon commonly in the Pſalms theſe two things Mercy and Truth do cleave together, becauſe neither ſhould it any thing profit us to know that God is true, unleſs he did mercifully allure us un-

to him: neither were it in our power to embrace his mercy, unleſs he did with his own mouth offer it (Pſal. xl. 11.) I have reported thy truth and thy ſalvation, I have not hidden thy goodneſs and thy truth. (Pſal. xxv. 20.) Thy goodneſs and thy truth keep me. In another place: (Pſal. xxxvi. 6.) Thy mercy reacheth to the heavens, thy truth even to the clouds. Again: (Pſal. cvii.) All the ways of the Lord are mercy and truth, to them that keep his covenant. Again, (Pſal. cxxxviii.) His mercy is multiplied upon us, and the truth of the Lord abideth for ever. Again: I will ſing to thy name upon thy mercy and truth. I omit that which is in the prophets to the ſame meaning, that God is merciful and faithful in his promiſes. For we ſhall raſhly determine that God is merciful unto us, unleſs himſelf do teſtify of himſelf, and prevent us with his calling, leaſt his will ſhould be doubtful and unknown. But we have already ſeen, that Chriſt is the only pledge of his love, without whom on every ſide appear the tokens of hatred and wrath. Now foraſmuch as the knowlege of God's goodneſs ſhall not much prevail, unleſs he make us to reſt in it, therefore ſuch an underſtanding is to be baniſhed as is mingled with doubting, and doth not ſoundly agree in itſelf, but as it were, diſputeth with itſelf. But man's wit, as it is blind and darkened, is far from attaining and climbing up to perceive the very will of God: and alſo the heart of man, as it wavereth with perpetual doubting, is far from reſting aſſured in that perſuaſion. Therefore it behoveth both that our underſtanding be enlightened, and our heart ſtrengthened by ſome other mean, that the word of God may be of full credit with us. Now we ſhall have a perfect definition of faith, if we ſay, that it is a ſtedfaſt and aſſured knowlege of God's kindneſs toward us, which being grounded upon the truth of the free promiſe in Chriſt, is both revealed to our minds, and ſeal'd in our hearts by the holy Ghoſt.

Againſt the diſtinction of faith unformed, and faith formed by acceſs of a godly affection added unto aſſent.

8. But before I proceed any further, it ſhall be neceſſary that I make ſome preambles to diſſolve certain doubts that otherwiſe might make ſome ſtop to the readers. And firſt I muſt confute that diſtinction that flyeth about in the ſchools, between faith formed and unformed. For they imagine that ſuch as are touched with no fear of God, with no feeling of godlineſs, do believe all that is neceſſary to ſalvation. As though the holy Ghoſt in enlightening our hearts unto faith, were not a witneſs to us of our adoption. And yet preſumptuouſly, when all the ſcripture crieth out againſt it, they give the name of faith to ſuch perſuaſion void of the fear of God. We need to ſtrive no further with their definition, but ſimply to rehearſe the nature of faith, ſuch as it is declared by the word of God. Whereby ſhall plainly appear how unſkilfully and fooliſhly they rather make a noiſe than ſpeak of it. I have already touched part, the reſt I will add hereafter as place ſhall ſerve. At this preſent I ſay that there cannot be imagined a greater abſurdity, than this invention of theirs. They will have faith to be an aſſent, whereby every deſpiſer of God may receive that which is uttered out of the ſcripture. But firſt they ſhould have ſeen whether every man of his own power do bring faith to himſelf, or whether the holy Ghoſt be by it a witneſs of adoption. Therefore they do childiſhly play the fools, in demanding whether faith which a quality added doth form, be the ſame faith or another and a new faith. Whereby appeareth certainly, that in ſo babbling they never thought of the ſingular gift of the holy Ghoſt. For the beginning of believing doth already contain in it the reconciliation, whereby man approacheth to God. But if they did weigh that ſaying of Paul: (Rom. x. 10.) With the heart man believeth unto righteouſneſs, they would ceaſe to feign that ſame cold quality. If we had but this one reaſon, it ſhould be ſufficient to end this contention: that the very ſame aſſent (as I have already touched, and will again more largely repeat) is rather of the heart than of the brain, rather of affection than of underſtanding. For which cauſe it is called (Rom. i. 5.) the obedience of faith, which is ſuch as the Lord preferreth no kind of obedience above it: and that deſervedly, for as much as nothing is more precious to him than his truth, which as (John iii. 25.) John the Baptiſt witneſſeth, the believers do as it were ſubſcribe and ſeal unto. Since the matter is not doubtful we do in one word determinately ſay, that they ſpeak fondly when they ſay that faith is formed by adding of godly affection unto aſſent: whereas aſſent itſelf, at leaſt ſuch aſſent as is declared in the ſcriptures, conſiſteth of godly affection. But yet there is another plainer argument that offereth itſelf to be alleged. For whereas faith imbraced Chriſt as he is offered us of the Father: and Chriſt is offered not only for righteouſneſs, forgiveneſs of ſins and peace, but alſo for ſanctification, and a fountain of living water:

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without doubt no man can ever truly know him, unleſs he do therewithal receive the ſanctification of the Spirit. Or, if any man deſire to have it more plainly ſpoken, Faith conſiſteth in the knowlege of Chriſt. And Chriſt cannot be known but with ſanctification of his Spirit: therefore it followeth, that faith can by no mean be ſeparated from godly affection.

St. Paul's words abuſed for the maintenence of unformed faith.

9. Whereas they are wont to lay this againſt us, that Paul ſaith: If a man have all faith, ſo that he remove mountains, if he have not charity, he is nothing: whereby they would deform faith, in ſpoiling it of charity: they conſider not what the apoſtle in that place meaneth by faith. For when in the chapter next before it, he had ſpoken of the divers gifts of the holy Ghoſt, among which he had reckoned the divers kinds of languages, power and prophecy, and had exhorted the Corinthians to follow the beſt of theſe gifts, that is to ſay, ſuch gifts whereby more profit and advantage might come to the whole body of the church: he ſtraightway ſaith further, that he would ſhew them yet a more excellent way. That all ſuch gifts, how excellent ſoever they be of themſelves, yet are they nothing to be eſteemed, unleſs they ſerve charity. For they were given to the edifying of the church, and unleſs they be applied thereunto, they loſe their grace. For proof of this he particularly rehearſeth them, repeating the ſelf ſame gifts that he had ſpoken of before, but in other names. And he uſeth the words power and faith, for all one thing, that is for the power to do miracles. Since therefore this, whether ye call it power or faith, is a particular gift of God, which every ungodly man may both have and abuſe, as the gift of tongues, as prophecy and other gifts of grace: it is no marvel if it be ſevered from charity. But all the error of theſe men ſtandeth in this, that where this word faith, hath divers ſignifications, they not conſidering the diverſity of the thing ſignified, diſpute as though it were taken for one thing in all places alike. The place of James which they alleg: for maintenance of the ſame error, ſhall be elſe where diſcuſſed. But although for teaching's ſake, when we mean to ſhew what manner of knowlege of God there is in the wicked, we grant that there are divers ſorts of faith: yet we acknowlege and ſpeak of but one faith of the godly, as the ſcripture teacheth. Many indeed do believe that there is a God, they think that the hiſtory of the goſpel and other parts of the ſcripture are true (as commonly we are wont to jndge of ſuch things, as either are reported being done long ago, or ſuch as we ourſelves have been preſent at and ſeen.) There be alſo ſome that go further, for both they believe the word of God to be a moſt aſſured oracle, and they do not altogether deſpiſe his commandments, and they ſomewhat after a ſort are moved with his threatenings and promiſes. It is indeed teſtified that ſuch have faith: but that is ſpoken out by abuſe, becauſe they do not with open ungodlineſs fight againſt the word of God, or refuſe or deſpiſe it: but rather pretend a certain ſhew of obedience.

A kind of faith ſaid to be in them who notwithſtanding are no true believers.

10. But this image or ſhadow of faith, as it is of no value, ſo it is not worthy of the name of faith. From the ſound truth whereof how far it differeth, although it ſhall be hereafter more largely treated, yet there is no cauſe to the contrary, why it ſhould not now be touched by the way. It is ſaid, (Acts viii. 13. and 18.) that Simon Magus believed, which yet within a little after bewrayed his own unbelief. And whereas it is ſaid that he believed, we do not underſtand it as ſome do, that he feigned a belief when he had none in his heart: but we rather think that being overcome with the majeſty of the goſpel, he had a certain faith ſuch as it was, and ſo acknowleged Chriſt to be the author of life and ſalvation, that he willingly profeſſed himſelf to be one of his. After the ſame manner it is ſaid in the goſpel of Luke, (Luke viii. 7. and 13.) that they believe for a time, in whom the ſeed of the word is choaked up before it bring forth fruit, or before it take any root at all, it by and by withereth away and periſheth: we doubt not that ſuch delighted with a certain taſte of the word do greedily receive it, and begin to feel the divine force of it: ſo far that with deceitful counterfeiting of faith, they beguile not only other mens eyes, but alſo their own minds. For they perſuade themſelves, that that reverence which they ſhew to the word of God, is moſt true godlineſs, becauſe they think that there is no ungodlineſs but manifeſt and confeſſed reproach or contempt of his word. But what manner of aſſent ſoever that be, it pierceth not to the very heart to remain there ſtabliſhed: and though ſometime it ſeemeth to have taken root, yet thoſe are not lively roots. The heart of man hath ſo many ſecret corners of vanity, is full of ſo many hiding holes of lying, is covered with

ſo guileful hypocriſy, that it oft deceiveth himſelf. But let them that glory in ſuch ſhadows of faith underſtand, that therein they are no better than the devil. But that firſt ſort of men are far worſe than the devil, who do ſenſeleſly hear and underſtand thoſe things, for knowlege whereof the devils do tremble. And the other are in this point equal with the devil that the feeling ſuch as it is wherewith they are touched, turned only to terror and diſcouragement.

The difference between the faith of God's elect and reprobates.

11. I know that ſome think it hard, that we aſſign faith to the reprobate, whereas Paul affirmeth faith to be the fruit of election. Which doubt yet is eaſily diſſolved: for though none receive the light of faith, nor do truly feel the effectual working of the goſpel, but they that are fore-ordained to ſalvation: yet experience ſheweth that the reprobate are ſometime moved with the ſame feeling that the elect are, ſo that in their own judgement they nothing differ from the elect. Wherefore it is no abſurdity, that the apoſtle aſcribeth to them the taſte of the heavenly gifts, that Chriſt aſcribeth to them a faith for a time: not that they ſoundly perceive the ſpiritual force of grace and aſſured light of faith: but becauſe the Lord, the more to condemn them and make them inexcuſable, conveyeth himſelf into their minds ſo far forth, as his goodneſs may be taſted without the ſpirit of adoption. If any object, that then there remaineth nothing more to the faithful whereby to prove certainly their adoption: I anſwer that though there be a great likeneſs and affinity between the elect of God and them that are endowed with a falling faith for a time, yet there liveth in the elect only that affiance which Paul ſpeaketh of, that they cry with full mouth, *Abba*, Father. Therefore as God doth regenerate only the elect with incorruptible ſeed for ever, ſo that the ſeed of life planted in their hearts never periſheth: ſo ſoundly doth he ſeal in them the grace of his adoption, that it may be ſtable and ſure. But this withſtandeth not but that that other inferior working of the Spirit may have its courſe, even in the reprobate. In the mean ſeaſon the faithful are taught, carefully and humbly to examine themſelves, leaſt inſtead of aſſuredneſs of faith, do creep in careleſs confidence of the fleſh. Beſide that, the reprobate do never conceive but a confuſed feeling of grace, ſo that they rather take hold of the ſhadow than of the ſound body, becauſe the holy Spirit doth properly ſeal the remiſſion of ſins in the elect only, ſo that they apply it by ſpecial faith to their uſe. But yet it is truly ſaid, that the reprobate believe God to be merciful unto them, becauſe they receive the gift of reconciliation, although confuſedly and not plainly enough: not that they are partakers of the ſelf ſame faith or regeneration with the children of God, but becauſe they ſeem to have as well as they, the ſame beginning of faith, under a cloke of hypocriſy. And I deny not, that God doth ſo far give light unto their minds, that they acknowlege his grace, but he maketh that ſame feeling ſo different from the peculiar teſtimony which he giveth to his elect, that they never come to the ſound effect and fruition thereof. For he doth not therefore ſhew himſelf merciful unto them, for that he having truly delivered them from death, doth receive them to his ſafeguard, but only he diſcloſeth to them a preſent mercy. But he vouchſafeth to grant to the only elect the lively root of faith, ſo that they continue to the end. So is that objection anſwered, if God do truly ſhew his grace, that the ſame remaineth perpetually ſtabliſhed, for that there is no cauſe to the contrary, but that God may enlighten ſome with a preſent feeling of his grace, which afterward vaniſheth away.

Wicked men who by reaſon of a vaniſhing ſweetneſs which they feel in the grace of God towards them for a time, are ſaid to believe, yet indeed do neither embrace what they ſhould, nor as they ſhould.

12. Alſo though faith be a knowlege of God's kindneſs toward us, and an aſſured perſuaſion of the truth thereof: yet it is no marvel that the feeling of God's love in temporal things doth vaniſh away: which although it have an affinity with faith, yet doth it much differ from faith. I grant, the will of God is unchangeable, and the truth thereof doth alway ſtedfaſtly agree with itſelf, but I deny that the reprobate do proceed ſo far as to attain unto that ſecret revelation, which the ſcripture faith doth belong to the elect only. Therefore I deny that they do either conceive the will of God as it is unchangeable, or do ſtedfaſtly embrace the truth thereof, becauſe they abide in a feeling that vaniſheth away: like as a tree that is not planted deep enough to take lively roots, in proceſs of time waxeth dry, although for a few years it bringeth forth not only bloſſoms and leaves but alſo fruit. Finally, as by the fall of the firſt man, the image of God might have been blotted out of his mind,

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and ſoul, ſo it is no marvel, if God do ſhine upon the reprobate with certain beams of his grace, which afterward he ſuffereth to be quenched. And there is no cauſe to the contrary, but that he may lighty overwaſh ſome, and throughly ſoak other ſome with the knowlege of his goſpel. This is in the mean time to be holden for truth, that how ſmall and weak ſoever faith be in the elect, yet becauſe it is to them a ſure pledge of the Spirit of God, and a ſeal of their adoption, the print thereof can never be blotted out of their hearts: as for the reprobate, that they are overſpread with ſuch a light as afterward cometh to nought, and yet the Spirit is not deceitful becauſe he giveth not life to the ſeed that he caſteth in their hearts, to make it abide always incorruptible, as he doth in the elect. I go yet further, for whereas it is evident by the teaching of the ſcripture and by daily experience, that the reprobate are ſometime touched with the feeling of God's grace, it muſt needs be that there is raiſed in their hearts a certain deſire of mutual love. So for a time there lived in Saul a godly affection to love God, by whom he knew himſelf to be fatherly handled, and therefore was delighted with a certain ſweetneſs of his goodneſs. But as the perſuaſion of the fatherly love of God is not faſt rooted in the reprobate, ſo do they not ſoundly love him again as his children, but are led with a certain affection like hired ſervants. For to Chriſt only was the ſpirit of love given, to this end, that he ſhould pour it into his members. And truly that ſaying of Paul (Rom. v. 5.) extendeth no further, but to the elect only. The love of God is poured abroad into our hearts by the holy Spirit that is given us, even the ſame love that engendereth the ſame confidence of calling upon him, which I have before touched. As on the contrary ſide we ſee God to be marvellouſly angry with his children, whom yet he ceaſeth not to love: not that in himſelf he hateth them, but becauſe his will is to make them afraid with the feeling of his wrath, to the intent to abate their pride of fleſh, to ſhake off their drowſineſs, and to move them to repentance. And therefore all at one time they conceive him to be both angry with them or with their ſins, and alſo merciful unto them: becauſe they not feignedly do pray to appeaſe his wrath, to whom yet they flee with quiet aſſured truſt. Hereby it appeareth that it is not true that ſome do counterfeit a ſhew of faith, which yet do lack the true faith, but while they are carried with a ſudden violent motion of zeal, they deceive themſelves with falſe opinion. And it is no doubt that ſluggiſhneſs ſo poſſeſſeth them, that they do not well examine their heart as they ought to have done. It is likely that they were ſuch to whom (as John witneſſeth John ii. 24.) Chriſt did not commit himſelf when yet they believed in him, becauſe he knew them all, and knew what was in man. If many did not fall from the common faith (I call it common, becauſe the faith that laſteth but a time hath a great likeneſs and affinity with the lively and continuing faith) Chriſt would not have ſaid to his diſciples: (John viii. 31.) If ye abide in my word, then are ye truly my diſciples, and ye ſhall know the truth, and the truth ſhall make you free. For he ſpeaketh to them that had embraced his doctrine, and exhorteth them to the increaſe of faith, that they ſhould not by their own ſluggiſhneſs quench the light that is given them. Therefore doth Paul affirm, that faith peculiarly belongeth to the elect, declaring that many vaniſh away, becauſe they have not taken lively root. Like as Chriſt alſo ſaith in Matthew xv. 13. every tree that my Father hath not planted, ſhall be rooted up. In other there is a groſſer kind of lying, that are not aſhamed to mock both God and men. James enveigheth againſt that kind of men, that with deceitful pretence do wicked abuſe faith. James ii. Neither would Paul require of the children of God a faith unfeigned, 1 Tim. i. 5. but in reſpect that many do preſumptuouſly challenge unto themſelves that which they have not, and with vain coloured deceit do beguile others or ſometimes themſelves. Therefore he compareth a good conſcience to a cheſt wherein faith is kept, becauſe many in falling from good conſcience have ſuffered ſhipwreck of their faith.

The name of faith diverſly taken.

13. We muſt alſo remember the doubtful ſignification of the word faith. For oftentimes faith ſignifieth the ſound doctrine of religion, as in the place that we now allege, and in the ſame epiſtle where Paul will have deacons (1 Tim. iii. 9.) to hold faſt the myſtery of faith in a pure conſcience. Again, 1 Tim. iv. 1. and 6. where he publiſheth the falling away of certain from the faith. But on the other ſide, he ſaith, that Timothy was nouriſhed up with the words of faith. Again (2 Tim. ii. 16. and iii. 8.) where he ſaith that prophane vanities and oppoſitions, falſely named ſciences, are the cauſe that many depart from the faith: whom in another place he calleth reprobate touching faith. As again he chargeth Titus, (Tit. i. 13. and ii. 2.) ſaying, Warn them that they be ſound in the faith.

faith. By ſoundneſs he meaneth nothing elſe but pureneſs of doctrine, which is eaſily corrupted and brought out of kind by the lightneſs of men. Even becauſe in Chriſt, whom faith poſſeſſeth, are hidden all the treaſures of wiſdom and knowlege: therefore faith is worthily extended to ſignify the whole ſum of heavenly doctrine, from which it cannot be ſeparated. Contrariwiſe, ſometimes it is reſtrained to ſignify ſome particular object, as when Matthew ſaith, (Matth. ix. 2.) that Chriſt ſaw the faith of them that did let down the man ſick of the palſy through the tiles: and Chriſt himſelf crieth out, (Matth. viii. 10.) that he found not in Iſrael ſo great faith as the centurion brought. But it is likely that the centurion was earneſtly bent to the healing of his daughter, the care whereof occupied all his mind: yet becauſe being contented with the only aſſent and anſwer of Chriſt, he requireth not Chriſt's bodily preſence, therefore in reſpect of this circumſtance, his faith was ſo much commended. And a little here before we have ſhewed, that Paul taketh faith for the gift of working miracles, 1 Cor. xiii. 10. which gift they have that neither are regenerate by the Spirit of God, nor do heartily worſhip him. Alſo in another place he ſetteth faith for the doctrine whereby we are inſtructed in faith. For where he writeth that faith ſhall be aboliſhed, it is out of queſtion that that is meant by the miniſtry of the church, which at this time is profitable for our weakneſs. In theſe forms of ſpeech ſtandeth a proportional relation. But when the name of faith is unproperly removed, to ſignify a falſe profeſſion or a lying title of faith, that ſhould ſeem to be as hard a figurative abuſe, as when the fear of God is ſet for a corrupt and wrongful manner of worſhipping, as when it is oftentimes ſaid in the ſacred hiſtory, that the foreign nations which had been tranſplanted into Samaria and the places bordering thereabout, feared the feigned gods and the God of Iſrael, which is as much as to mingle heaven and earth together. But now our queſtion is, What is that faith which maketh the children of God different from the unbelievers, by which we call upon God by the name of our Father, by which we paſs from death to life, and by which Chriſt the eternal ſalvation and life dwelleth in us. The force and nature thereof I think I have ſhortly and plainly declared.

Faith a knowlege.

14. Now let us again go thro' all the parts of it, even from the beginning, which being diligently examined, (as I think) there ſhall remain nothing doubtful. When in defining faith we call it a knowlege, we mean not thereby a comprehending, ſuch as men uſe to have of thoſe things that are ſubject to man's underſtanding. For it is ſo far above it, that man's wit muſt go beyond and ſurmount itſelf to come unto it, yea, and when it is come unto it, yet doth it not attain that which it feeleth, but while it is perſuaded of that which it conceiveth not, it underſtandeth more by the very aſſuredneſs of perſuaſion, than if he did with man's own capacity thoroughly perceive any thing familiar to man. Therefore Paul ſaith very well, Eph. iii. 18. where he calleth it to be comprehended what is the length, breadth, depth and height, and to know the love of Chriſt that far ſurmounteth knowlege. For his meaning was to ſignify, that the thing which our mind conceived by faith, is every way infinite, and that this kind of knowlege is far higher than all underſtanding. But yet becauſe the Lord hath diſcloſed to his ſaints the ſecret of his will which was hidden from ages and generations, therefore by good reaſon faith is in ſcripture ſometimes called an acknowleging: and John calleth it (1 John iii. 2.) a certain knowlege, where he teſtifieth expreſly, that the faithful do certainly know that they are the children of God. And undoubtedly they know it aſſuredly, but rather by being conformed by perſuaſion of God's truth, than by being informed by natural demonſtration. And this alſo the words of Paul do declare, ſaying, (2 Cor. v. 6. that while we dwell in the body, we are wandring abroad from the Lord, becauſe we walk by faith and not by ſight: whereby he ſheweth, that thoſe things which we underſtand by faith, are yet abſent from us, and are hidden from our ſight. And hereupon we determine, that the knowlege of faith ſtandeth rather in certainty than in comprehending.

Faith a ſure and ſtedfaſt knowlege.

15. We further call it a ſure and ſtedfaſt knowlege, to expreſs thereby a more found conſtancy of perſuaſion. For as faith is not contented with a doubtful and wavering opinion, ſo is it alſo not contented with a dark and entangled underſtanding: but requireth a full and fixed aſſuredneſs, ſuch as men are wont to have of things found by experience and proved. For unbelief ſticketh ſo faſt and is ſo deep rooted in our hearts, and we are ſo bent unto it, that this which all men confeſs with their mouth to be true, that God is faithful, no man is without great contention perſuaded in his heart. Specially when he cometh to the proof, then the wavering of all men diſcloſeth the fault that

that before was hidden. And not without cauſe the ſcripture with ſo notable titles of commendation maintaineth the authority of the word of God, but endeavoureth to give remedy for the aforeſaid diſeaſe, that God may obtain to be fully believed of us in his promiſes: The words of the Lord (ſaith David, Pſal. xix. 10.) are pure words, as the ſilver tried in a furnace of earth, fined ſeven times. Again, the word of the Lord fined is a ſhield to all that truſt in him. And Solomon confirming the ſame, and in a manner in the ſame words, ſaith, (Prov. xxx. 5.) Every word of God is pure. But ſince the whole cxix. Pſalm treateth only in a manner upon the ſame, it were ſuperfluous to allege any more places. Truly ſo oft as God doth ſo commend his word unto us, he doth therein by the way reproach us with our incredulity: becauſe that commendation tendeth to no other end, but to root up all perverſe doubtings out of our hearts. There be alſo many which ſo conceive the mercy of God, that they take little comfort thereof. For they be even therewithal pinched with a miſerable carefulneſs, while they doubt whether he will be merciful to them or no, becauſe they incloſe within too narrow bounds the very ſame mercifulneſs, of which they think themſelves moſt aſſuredly perſuaded. For thus they think with themſelves, that his mercy is indeed great and plentiful poured out upon many, offering itſelf, and ready for all men: but that it is not certain whether it will extend unto them or no, or rather whether they ſhall attain unto it or no. This thought when it ſtayeth in the mid race is but an half. Therefore it doth not ſo confirm the Spirit with aſſured quietneſs, as it doth trouble it with unquiet doubtfulneſs. But there is a far other feeling of full aſſuredneſs, which in the ſcriptures is always aſſigned to faith, even ſuch a one as plainly ſetting before us the goodneſs of God, doth clearly put it out of doubt. And that cannot be, but that we muſt needs truly feel and prove in ourſelves the ſweetneſs thereof. And therefore the apoſtle out of faith deriveth aſſured confidence, and out of it again boldneſs. For thus he ſaith, (Eph. iii. 12.) that by Chriſt we have boldneſs, and an entrance with confidence, which is through faith in him. By which words truly he ſheweth that it is no right faith, but when we are bold with quiet minds to ſhew ourſelves in the preſence of God. Which boldneſs proceedeth not but of aſſured confidence of God's good-will and our ſalvation. Which is ſo true, that many times this word faith is uſed for confidence.

Faith ſuch an aſſurance as maketh the promiſes of mercy our own.

16. But hereupon hangeth the chief ſtay of our faith, that we do not think the promiſes of mercy which the Lord offereth to be true only in others beſide us, and not at all in ourſelves: but rather that in inwardly embracing them we make them our own. from hence proceedeth the confidence which the ſame Paul in another place calleth peace, unleſs ſome had rather ſay, that peace is derived of it. It is an aſſuredneſs that maketh the conſcience quiet and chearful before God, without which the conſcience muſt of neceſſity be vexed, and in a manner torn in pieces with troubleſome trembling, unleſs perhaps it do forget God and itſelf, and ſo ſlumber a little while. And I may truly ſay, for a little while, for it doth not long enjoy that miſerable forgetfulneſs, but is with often recourſe of the remembrance of God's judgment ſharply tormented. Briefly, there is none truly faithful, but he that being perſuaded with a ſound aſſuredneſs that God is his merciful and loving Father, doth promiſe himſelf all things upon truſt of God's goodneſs: and none but he that truſting upon the promiſes of God's good-will towards him, conceiveth an undoubted looking for of ſalvation: as the Apoſtle ſheweth in theſe words: if we keep ſure to the end our confidence and glorying of hope. For hereby he meaneth that none hopeth well in the Lord, but he that with confidence glorieth that he is an heir of the kingdom of heaven, There is none (I ſay) faithful, but he that leaning upon the aſſuredneſs of his own ſalvation, doth confidently triumph over the devil and death, as we are taught by that notable concluding ſentence of Paul: (Rom. viii. 38.) I am perſuaded (ſaith he) that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things preſent, nor things to come, ſhall be able to ſeparate us from the love of God, wherewith he embraceth us in Chriſt Jeſus. And in like manner, the ſame Apoſtle thinketh, that the eyes of our mind are by no other mean well lightened, unleſs we ſee what is the hope of the eternal inheritance to which we are called. And each where his common manner of teaching is ſuch, that he declareth that no otherwiſe we do well comprehend the goodneſs of God, unleſs we gather of it the fruit of great aſſuredneſs.

We have no ſuch certainty of faith as is free from being ſhaken with

17. But (ſome men will ſay) the faithful do find by experience a far other thing within themſelves, which in recording

fears and terrors.

the grace of God toward them, are not only tempted with unquietneſs, which oftentimes chanceth unto them, but alſo are ſometimes ſhaken with moſt grievous terrors: ſo great is the vehemency of temptations to throw down their minds: which thing ſeemeth not ſufficiently well to agree with that aſſuredneſs of faith. Therefore this doubt muſt be anſwered if we will have our aforeſaid doctrine to ſtand. But truly when we teach that faith ought to be certain and aſſured, we do not imagine ſuch a certainty as is touched with no doubting, nor ſuch an aſſuredneſs as if aſſailed with no carefulneſs: but rather we ſay, that the faithful have a perpetual ſtrife with their own diſtruſtfulneſs. So far are we from ſettling their conſciences in ſuch a peaceable quietneſs, as may be interrupted with no troubles at all. Yet on the other ſide we ſay, that in what ſort ſoever they be afflicted, they do never fall and depart from that aſſured confidence which they have conceived of the mercy of God. The ſcripture ſetteth forth no example of faith more plain, or more notable than in David, eſpecially if a man behold the whole continual courſe of his life. But yet how he was not always of quiet mind himſelf declareth by innumerable complaints, of which at this time it ſhall be ſufficient to chuſe out a few. When he reproacheth his own ſoul with troubleſome motions, what is it elſe but that he is angry with his own unbelief? Pſal. xlii. 4. lxiii. 5. Why trembleſt thou my ſoul, (ſaith he) and why art thou diſquieted within me? truſt in God. And truly that ſame diſcouragement was a plain token of deſtruction, even as if he thought himſelf to be forſaken of God. And in another place we read a larger confeſſion thereof, Pſal. xxxi. 22. where he ſaith: I ſaid in my overthrow, I am caſt out from the ſight of thy eyes. Alſo in another place he diſputeth with himſelf in careful and miſerable perplexity, yea, and quarrelleth of the very nature of God, ſaying, Pſal. lxxvii. 10. Hath God forgotten to have mercy? will he caſt off for ever? And yet harder is that which followeth: But I have ſaid, To die is mine: charges are of the right hand of the Higheſt. For as in deſpair he condemneth himſelf to deſtruction, and not only confeſſeth himſelf to be toſſed with doubting, but as if he were vanquiſhed in battle, he leaveth nothing to himſelf, becauſe God hath forſaken him, and hath turned to deſtroy him, the ſame hand that was wont to be his helper. Wherefore not without cauſe he exhorteth his ſoul to return to her quietneſs, Pſal. cxvi. 7. becauſe he had found by experience, that he was toſſed among troubleſome waves. And yet (which is marvellous in all theſe aſſaults, faith upholdeth the hearts of the godly, and is truly like unto a date tree to endeavour and riſe upwards againſt all burdens, how great ſoever they be: as David when he might ſeem to be utterly overwhelmed, yet in rebuking himſelf, ceaſeth not to riſe up to God. And truly he that ſtriving with his own weakneſs, reſorteth to faith in his troubles, is already in a manner conqueror. Which may be gathered by this ſentence and other like: Pſal. xxvii. 14. Wait for the Lord, be ſtrong, he ſhall ſtrengthen thy heart: wait for the Lord. He reproacheth himſelf of fearfulneſs, and in repeating that ſame twice, confeſſeth himſelf to be ſometimes ſubject to many troubleſome motions. And in the mean time he doth not only become diſpleaſed with himſelf in theſe faults, but earneſtly endeavoureth to amendment. Truly if we will more nearly by good examination compare him with Achaz, there ſhall be found great difference, Iſaiah was ſent to bring remedy to the careful grief of the wicked king and hypocrite, and ſpake unto him in theſe words: Iſai. vii. 3. Be in ſafeguard and be quiet: fear not, &c. But what did Achaz? As it was before ſaid, that his heart was moved as the trees of the wood are ſhaken with wind, though he heard the promiſe, yet he ceaſed not to quake for fear. This therefore is the proper reward and puniſhment of unbelief, ſo to tremble for fear, that in temptation he turneth himſelf away from God, that doth not open to himſelf the gate by faith. Contrariwiſe the faithful whom the weighty burden of temptations maketh to ſtoop, and in a manner oppreſſeth do conſtantly riſe up, although not without trouble and hardneſs. And becauſe they know not their own weakneſs, they pray with the prophet: Pſal. cxix. 43. Take not the word of truth away from my mouth continually. By which words we are taught, that ſometimes they become dumb as though their faith were utterly overthrown, yet they faint not nor turn their backs, but proceed in their battle, and with prayer do encourage their ſlothfulneſs, leſt by favouring themſelves they ſhould grow to inſenſible dulneſs.

Faith wreſtling with diſtruſtfulneſs doth always conquer.

18. For the underſtanding thereof, it is needful to return to that diviſion of the fleſh and ſpirit, whereof we made mention in another place, which doth in this behalf moſt clearly appear. The godly heart therefore feeleth a diviſion in itſelf, which is partly delighted with ſweetneſs by acknowleging the goodneſs of God, and partly grieved with bitterneſs by feel-

feeling of his own misery; partly resteth upon the promise of the gospel, and partly trembleth by reason of the testimonies of his own wickedness; partly rejoiceth with conceiving of life, and partly quaketh for fear of death. Which variations cometh by imperfection of faith, forasmuch as we never are in so good case in the course of this present life, as being healed from all disease of distrustfulness to be altogether filled and possessed by faith. Hereupon proceed those battles, when the distrustfulness that abideth in the remnants of the flesh, riseth up to assail the faith that is inwardly conceived. But if in a faithful mind assuredness be mixed with doubtfulness, come we not alway to this point, that faith standeth not in a certain and clear knowlege, but in a dark and doubtfully entangled knowlege of God's will toward us? No; not so. For though we be diversly drawn with sundry thoughts, yet we are not therefore by and by severed from faith, though we be vexed with tossing up and down of distrustfulness, yet are we not therefore drowned in the bottomless depths thereof: and though we are shaken, yet are we not thrust down out of our place. For this is alway the end of this battle, that faith doth at length with wrestling overcome those hard troubles wherewith when she is so besieged, she seemeth to be in danger.

The imbecility of our knowlege excludeth not the certainty of that we know by faith.

19. Let this be the sum of all. So soon as any drop of faith, be it never so small, is poured into our hearts, we by and by begin to behold the face of God mild and pleasant, and loving toward us: yet the same we see from afar off, and far distant from us, but with so sure sight that we know we are not deceived. From thence forward how much we profit (as we ought continually to profit) as it were by proceeding further, we come unto so much the nearer, and therefore certainer beholding of him, and by very continuance he is made more familiar unto us. So we see that the mind enlightened with the knowlege of God, is first holden wrapped in much ignorance, which by little and little is wiped away. Yet the same mind is not so hindered by being ignorant of some things, or by darkly seeing that which she seeth, but that she enjoyeth a clear knowlege of God's will toward her, which is the first and principal point in faith. For as if a man being shut up in prison, have beams of the sun shining in sidelong at a narrow window, or as it were but half glimmering, he wanteth indeed the free beholding of the sun, yet he seeth with his eyes an undoubted brightness thereof, and receiveth the use of it: so we being bound with the fetters of an earthly body, howsoever we be on each side covered with much darkness, yet are we sufficiently enlightned unto perfect assuredness, by the light of God extending his beams of light upon us, though it be but a little, to shew forth his mercy.

Our faith unperfect but stedfast, though our hearts be both naturally inclined, and partly by outward temptations, partly by inward guiltiness of conscience provoked to distrustfulness.

20. Both these points the Apostle very well teacheth in divers places. For when he saith, 1 Cor. xiii. 9. that we know imperfectly, and prophecy imperfectly, and see by a dark speaking as by a glass, he sheweth how scanty a portion of the true godly wisdom is given us in this present life. For though these words do not expresly shew that our faith is imperfect so long as we groan under this burden of the flesh, but that it happeneth us by our own imperfection that we have need to be continually exercised in learning, yet he secretly declareth, that that thing which is infinite cannot be comprehended by our small capacity, and narrow compass. And this Paul reporteth of the whole church, 1 Cor. iii. 18. but unto every one of us his own, dulness is an hinderance and stay that he cannot come so near as were to be wish'd. But how sure and undeceivable a taste of itself, even a small drop of faith doth make us feel, the same apostle sheweth in another place, where he affirmeth, that by the gospel we behold the glory of God with uncovered face, having no veil between us and it, so effectually that we be transformed into the same image. In such entanglements of ignorance there must needs be wrapped together both much doubting and fearful trembling, specially forasmuch as our heart, by a certain natural instinct of itself, is inclined to unbelief. Beside that, there be temptations, both infinite in number, and divers in kind, do oftentimes with great sudden violently assail us. But especially our own conscience oppressed with heavy burden of sins lying upon it, doth sometimes lament and groan with itself, and sometimes accuseth itself: sometimes it secretly murmureth, and sometimes is openly troubled. Whether therefore adversities do shew an appearance of the wrath of God, or the conscience doth find in itself any proof or matter of his wrath, from thence unbelief doth take weapons and engines to vanquish faith withal: which are always directed to this end, that we thinking God to be our adversary and hatefully bent against us, should both not hope for any

help at his hand, and also be afraid of him as of our deadly enemy.

How faith being assaulted getteth the victory and remaineth still unconquerable.

21. To bear these assaults, faith doth arm and fortify herself with the word of God. And when such a temptation assaileth, that God is our enemy, because he is sharp against us: faith on the other side answereth, that even when he punisheth he is also merciful, because his chastisement cometh rather of love than of wrath. When faith is stricken with this thought, that God is a revenger of iniquities, against that stroke it setteth his pardon ready for all offences, so oft as the sinner resorteth to the mercifulness of the Lord. So a godly mind howsoever it be in marvellous wise tossed and vexed, yet at length riseth up above all dangers, and never, suffereth the confidence of God's mercy to be plucked away from it: but rather whatsoever contentions do trouble and weary it, in the end they turn to the assuredness of this confidence. And hereof this is a proof: that the saints, when they think themselves most of all pressed with the vengeance of God, yet even then they make their complaints to the same God: and when it seemeth that they shall not be heard at all, even then nevertheless they call upon him. For to what purpose were it to make their moan to him from whom they hoped for no comfort? truly they would never find in their hearts to call upon him, unless they believed that there were some help at his hand prepared for them. So the disciples, in whom Christ blameth their smallness of faith, complained indeed that they perished, (Matth. viii. 25.) but yet they called to him for help. And when he rebuked them for their small faith, yet he doth not reject them from the number of his people, nor maketh them of the number of the unbelievers, but stirreth them to shake off that fault. Therefore we affirm again that which we have above spoken, that the root of faith is never plucked out of a godly heart, but sticketh so fast in the bottom, that howsoever it be shaken and seem to bend this way or that way, the light thereof is never so quenched or choaked up, but that it lieth at least hidden under some embers: and by this token is plainly shewed that the word which is an incorruptible seed, bringeth forth seed like to itself, the spring whereof doth never wither and utterly perish. For whereas this is the most extreme matter of despair to the saints, to feel according to the consideration of present things, the hand of God bent to their destruction: yet Job affirmeth (Job xiii. 15) that his hope shall proceed so far, that though God do kill him, yet he will not therefore cease to trust in him. This is the truth therefore. Unbelief reigneth not within the hearts of the godly, but outwardly assaileth them: neither doth she deadly wound them with her weapons, but only troubleth them, or so hurteth them, that yet the wound is curable. For faith, as Paul teacheth, Eph. vi. 16. serveth us for a shield, that being holden up against weapons, doth so receive the force of them, that it either utterly driveth them back, or at least so breaketh their violence, that they cannot pierce them to endanger their life. Therefore when faith is shaken, it is like as if a strong soldier with the violent stroke of a dart be compelled to remove his foot, and give ground a little: and when faith itself is wounded, that is like as if his buckler by some stroke be in some part broken, but yet so that it is not struck through. For alway the godly mind will attain to rise thus high as to say with David, if I walk in the midst of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, because thou art with me. Psal. xxiii. 4. It is indeed terrible to walk in the darkness of death, and it cannot be but that the faithful how much strength soever they have, must be afraid of it. Yet because this thought surmounteth it, that they have God present with them, and providing for their safety, that fear is overcome with assuredness. For (as Augustine saith) how great engines soever the devil raiseth up against us, so long as he possesseth not the place of the heart, where faith dwelleth, he is cast out of the doors. And so if we may judge by the success, the faithful not only escape safe from every battle, so that by and by receiving fresh courage they are ready to come again into the field: but also that is fulfilled which John saith in his canonical epistle, 1 John v. 4. This is the victory that overcometh the world, even your faith. For he affirmeth that it shall not only win the victory in one or few battles, or against some one assault, but also that it shall get the upper hand of the whole world, although it be a thousand times assailed.

All fear is not repugnant unto faith.

22. There is another kind of fear and trembling, but such a one as by it the assuredness of faith is nothing at all diminished, that thereby it is the more soundly stablished. That is, when the faithful either in thinking that the examples of God's vengeance against the wicked are shewed as lessons for them to learn by, do carefully beware that they happen not

not to provoke God's wrath againſt themſelves with the ſame offences: or recording with themſelves their own miſery, do learn to depend altogether upon the Lord without whom they ſee themſelves to be more fickle and vaniſhing ſooner than any blaſt of wind. For when the Apoſtle, in ſetting forth the ſcourges wherewith the Lord in old time had puniſhed the people of Iſrael, putteth the Corinthians in fear (1 Cor. x. 11.) that they intangle not themſelves with like evils: he doth not thereby abate their affiance, but only ſhaketh away the dulneſs of the fleſh by which faith is wont more to be expreſſed than ſtrengthened. And when he taketh occaſion of the Jews fall, to exhort him that ſtandeth, to take heed that he fall not, he doth not thereby bid us waver as though we were not fully aſſured of our ſtedfaſtneſs, but only he taketh away arrogant preſumption and raſh truſting too much in our own ſtrength, that after the thruſting out of the Jews, the Gentiles being received into their place, ſhould not too much outrageouſly triumph againſt them, (Rom. xi. 22. Albeit he ſpeaketh there not only to the faithful, but alſo in the ſame ſaying comprehendeth the hypocrites that gloried only in outward ſhew. For neither doth he admoniſh every man particularly, but making a compariſon between the Jews and the Gentiles, after that he had ſhewed that the Jews in this that they were rejected, did ſuffer juſt judgment for their unbelief and unthankfulneſs, he alſo exhorted the Gentiles that they ſhould not, by being proud and extolling themſelves, loſe the grace of adoption lately conveyed into them. But as in that general rejecting of the Jews, there remained yet ſome that were not fallen from the covenant of adoption, ſo out of the Gentiles there might ariſe ſome, which without true faith, ſhould be puffed up only with fooliſh confidence of the fleſh, and ſo abuſe God's loving kindneſs to their own deſtruction. But although you take this as ſpoken to the elect and faithful, yet thereupon ſhall follow no inconvenience. For it is one thing to hold down the raſh preſumption which out of the remnants of the fleſh creepeth ſometime even into the holy ones, that with vain confidence it wax not outrageouſly wanton: and another thing to ſtrike the conſcience with fear, that it reſt not with full aſſuredneſs in the mercy of God.

We may fear at the conſideration of our own frailty and corruption

23. Then, when he teacheth, that with fear and trembling we ſhould work our own ſalvation, he requireth nothing elſe, but that we ſhould accuſtom us with much abaſing of our ſelves, reverently to look up unto the mightineſs of God. For truly nothing doth ſo much awake us to caſt all our confidence and aſſurance of mind upon the Lord as doth the diſtruſt of our ſelves and carefulneſs conceived by knowlege in conſcience of our own wretchedneſs. And according to this meaning is that ſaying in the prophet to be taken: In the multitude of thy goodneſs I will enter into thy temple: I will worſhip in fear. (Pſal. v. 8.) Where he comelily joineth the boldneſs of faith that leaneth upon Gods mercy with a reverent fear, which we muſt needs feel ſo oft as coming into the ſight of Gods majeſty, we perceive by the glorious brightneſs thereof, how great is our own filthineſs. And Solomon ſaith truly, (Prov. xxviii. 14.) where he pronounceth the man bleſſed, that continually maketh his own heart afraid, for by hardning thereof men fall headlong into evil. But ſuch fear he meaneth as may make us more heedful, not ſuch whereby we ſhould be troubled and utterly fall: even ſuch a fear as when the mind confounded in it ſelf, doth recover it ſelf again in God: when deſpairing it ſelf, it reviveth by truſt in him. Therefore there is no cauſe to the contary, but that the faithful may at one time both be in fear, and alſo enjoy moſt aſſured comfort in reſpect that ſometime they turn their eyes to behold their own vanity, and ſometimes they caſt the thought of their mind upon the truth of God. But how (will ſome man ſay) ſhall fear and faith dwell both in one mind? Even thus, as contrarily unſenſible dulneſs, and carefulneſs. For whereas the wicked travel to procure to themſelves a want of grief, that no fear of God might trouble them, yet, the judgment of God ſo preſſeth them, that they cannot attain that which they deſire. So there is nothing to withſtand, but that God may exerciſe them that be his to humility, that in fighting valiantly, they may reſtrain themſelves under the bridle of modeſty. And by the proceſs of the text it appeareth, that this was the intent of the Apoſtle, where he aſſigneth the cauſe of fear, and trembling to be the good pleaſure of God, whereby he giveth to them that are his both to will well, and valiantly to go through with it. According to this meaning ought we to take that ſaying of the prophet: (Hoſ. iii. 5.) The children of Iſrael ſhall fear God and his goodneſs: becauſe not only godlineſs begetteth a reverence of God, but the very ſweetneſs and pleaſant taſte of grace, filleth man being diſcoura-

and yet in his mercy reſt with ſure and certain confidence.

ged in himſelf with fear and admiration, to make him depend upon God, and humbly yeild himſelf ſubject to his power.

By faith we look for aſſured ſalvation in Chriſt notwithſtanding the weakneſs and unworthineſs which we find to be in ourſelves.

24. Yet we do not hereby make room to that moſt peſtilent philoſophy, which many half Papiſts at this day begin to coin in corners. For, becauſe they cannot defend that groſs doubtfulneſs which hath been taught in ſchools, they flie to another device, to make a confidence mingled with diſtruſtfulneſs. They confeſs, that ſo oft as we look unto Chriſt, we find in him full matter to hope well: but becauſe we are always unworthy of thoſe good things that are offered us in Chriſt, they would have us to waver and ſtagger in beholding our own unworthineſs. Briefly, they place conſcience ſo between hope and fear, that it altereth from the one to the other, by enterchangeable times and courſes: and they ſo compare faith and hope together, that when the one ſpringeth up, the other is preſſed down, when the one ariſeth, the other again falleth. So when Satan ſeeth that thoſe open engines wherewith before time he was wont to deſtroy the aſſuredneſs of faith, do now nothing prevail, he endeavoureth by crooked underminings to overthrow it. But what manner of confidence ſhall that be, which ſhall now and then yield to deſperation? If (ſay they) thou conſider Chriſt, there is aſſured ſalvation: but if thou return to thy ſelf, there is aſſured damnation. Therefore of neceſſity diſtruſt and good hope muſt by enterchangeable courſes reign in thy mind: As though we ought to imagine Chriſt ſtanding a far off, and not rather dwelling within us. For therefore we look for ſalvation at his hand, not becauſe he appeareth afar off unto us, but becauſe he hath graffed us into his body, and ſo maketh us partakers not only of all his good things, but alſo of himſelf. Therefore I turn this their argument againſt themſelves: if thou conſider thy ſelf, there is certain damnation. But becauſe Chriſt with all his good things is by way of communicating ſo given unto thee that all his things are made thine, and thou art made a member of him, yea and all one with him: his righteouſneſs drowneth thy ſins, his ſalvation taketh away thy damnation: he by his worthineſs cometh between thee and God, that thy unworthineſs come not in the ſight of God. Briefly, this is the truth: we ought neither to ſeparate Chriſt from us, nor us from him, but with both hands to hold faſt that fellowſhip whereby he hath united himſelf unto us. So the apoſtle teacheth us: (Rom. viii. 10.) The body indeed (ſaith he) is dead by reaſon of ſin: but the Spirit of Chriſt that dwelleth in you, is life for righteouſneſs. According to theſe mens trifling device he ſhould have ſaid, Chriſt indeed hath life with himſelf: but you, as you be ſinners, remain ſubject to death and damnation. But he ſaith far otherwiſe. For he teacheth that that damnation which we deſerve of ourſelves, is ſwallowed up by the ſalvation of Chriſt: and to prove it, he uſeth the ſame reaſon that I have alleged, becauſe Chriſt is not without us, but dwelleth within us, and cleaveth unto us not only with an indiviſible knot of fellowſhip, but with a certain marvellous communion daily more and more groweth with us into one body, till he be made altogether one with us. And yet I deny not, as I have ſaid a little before, that ſometimes there happen certain interruptions of faith, as the weakneſs thereof is among violent ſudden motions bowed hither or thither. So in the thick miſt of temptation the light thereof is choaked, but whatſoever happeneth, it ceaſeth not from endevour to ſeek God.

How wretched ſoever we be in ourſelves, by faith we know that by God's moſt gracious acceptation we are bleſſed.

25. And no otherwiſe doth Bernard argue, when he purpoſely treateth of this queſtion in his fifth Homilie in the dedication of the temple. Oftentimes (I ſay) by the benefit of God ſtudying upon the ſoul, me thinks I find in it two things as it were contrary. If I behold the ſoul itſelf, as it is in itſelf and of itſelf, I can ſay nothing more truly of it, than that it is utterly brought to nought. What need I now to reckon up particularly all the miſeries of the ſoul, how it is loaden with ſins, covered with darkneſs, entangled with deceitful enticements, itching with luſts, ſubject to paſſions, filled with illuſions, alway enclined to evil, bent to all kinds of vice, finally full of ſhame and confuſion? Now if all the very righteouſneſs of it being looked upon by the light of truth be found like a cloth ſtained with flowers, then what ſhall the unrighteouſneſs thereof be accounted? If the light that is in us be darkneſs, how great ſhall the

the very darkneſs be? (Matth. vi. 13.) What then? without doubt man is made like unto vanity: man is brought to nought: man is nothing. But how then? is he utterly nothing whom God doth magnify? How then is he nothing, toward whom God's heart is ſet? Brethren, let us take heart again. Though we be nothing in our own hearts, peradventure there may ſomewhat of us lie hidden in the heart of God. O Father of mercies? O Father of the miſerable, how doeſt thou ſet thy heart toward us? For thy heart is where thy treaſure is. But how are we thy treaſure, if we be nothing? All nations are ſo before thee as if they were not, they ſhall be reputed as nothing. Even before thee, not within thee: ſo in the judgment of thy truth, but not in the affection of thy pity. Thou calleſt thoſe things that are not, as though they were. Therefore both they are not, becauſe thou calleſt thoſe things that are not, and alſo they are becauſe thou calleſt them. For though they are not, in reſpect of themſelves, yet with thee they are, according to that ſaying of Paul, (Rom. ix. 12.) not of the works of righteouſneſs, but of him that calleth. And then he ſaith, that this joining together of both conſiderations is marvellous. Truly thoſe things that are knit together, do not the one deſtroy the other. Which alſo in the concluſion he more plainly declareth in theſe words. Now if with both theſe conſiderations we diligently look upon ourſelves what we be, yea in the one conſideration how we be nothing, and in the other how much we be magnified, I think our glorying ſeemeth to be tempered, but peradventure it is more increaſed. Truly it is perfectly ſtabliſhed, that we glory not in ourſelves but in the Lord. If we think thus: If he hath determined to ſave us we ſhall by and by be delivered: now in this we may take courage. But let us climb up into a higher watch tower, and ſeek for the city of God, ſeek for the temple, ſeek for the houſe, ſeek for the ſpouſe. I have not forgotten, but I ſay it with fear and reverence, we, I ſay, are but in the heart of God. We are but by his allowing us, worthy, not by our own worthineſs.

A fear which we ought to nouriſh in our ſelves.

26. Now, the fear of the Lord, whereof commonly in every place witneſs is born to all the ſaints, and which is in ſome places called the beginning of wiſdom, (Prov. i. 7.) and in ſome places wiſdom itſelf, (Pſal. cix. 10. and Prov. xv. 14.) although it be but one, yet it proceedeth from a double underſtanding. For God hath in himſelf the reverence both of a Father and of a Lord. Therefore he that will truly worſhip him, will endeavour to ſhew himſelf both an obedient ſon and a ſerviceable ſervant unto him. The obedience that is given to him as to a father, the Lord by the prophet calleth honour: the ſervice that is done to him as to a Lord, he calleth fear. The Son (ſaith he) honoureth the Father, and the ſervant the Lord. If I be a father, where is my honour? If I be a Lord, where is my fear? (Mal. i. 7.) But howſoever he putteth difference between them, thou ſeeſt how he confoundeth them both together. Therefore let the fear of the Lord be unto us a reverence mingled with that ſame honour and fear. Neither is it any marvel if one mind receive both thoſe affections. For he that conſidereth with himſelf what a father God is unto us, he hath cauſe enough, although there were no hells at all, why he ſhould dread his diſpleaſure more grievouſly than any death. But alſo (ſuch is the wantonneſs of our fleſh to run to licentiouſneſs of ſinning) to reſtrain the ſame by all means we ought therewithal to take hold of this thought, that the Lord under whoſe power we live, abhorreth all iniquity, whoſe vengeance they ſhall not eſcape, that in living wickedly do provoke his wrath againſt themſelves.

What fear it is which perfect charity caſteth out.

27. But that which John ſaith, that fear is not in charity, but perfect charity caſteth out fear, becauſe fear containeth puniſhment, diſagreeth not with this that we ſay. For the wicked fear not God in this reſpect that they dread to incur his diſpleaſure, if they might do it without puniſhment but becauſe they know him to be armed with power to revenge: therefore they ſhake for fear at the hearing of his wrath. (1 John iv. 18.) And alſo they ſo fear his wrath, becauſe they think that it hange-h over them, for that they look every moment when it ſhall fall upon their heads. As for the faithful: they (as is above ſaid) both fear his diſpleaſure more than puniſhment, and are not troubled with fear of puniſhment as if it did hang over their necks, but they are made the more wary not to procure it. So ſaith the Apoſtle when he ſpeaketh to the faithful: Be ye not deceived: for this cometh the wrath of God upon the children of unbelief. He threateneth not that God's wrath will come upon them, but putteth them in mind to think upon this, that the wrath of God is prepared for ſuch wicked doings as he had recited, that they themſelves ſhould not be willing alſo to prove it. Altho' it ſeldom happeneth

peneth, that the reprobate be awaked with only and bare threatnings, (Eph. v. 16.) but rather being already groſs and ſtupidly dull with their own hardneſs, ſo oft as God thundereth from heaven they harden themſelves to obſtinacy, but when they are once ſtriken with his hand, then whether they will or no, they are enforced to fear. This fear they commonly call a ſervile fear: and in compariſon ſet it far in oppoſition to free natured and willing fear which becometh children. Some others do ſubtily thruſt in a middle kind, becauſe that ſame ſervile and conſtrained affection ſometime ſo ſubdueth mens minds that they come willingly to the fear of God.

Faith being perſuaded of the good will of God, cannot but perſuade itſelf of all good things, eſpecially eternal life and ſalvation at the hands of God.

28. Now we underſtand, that in the good will of God, whereunto faith is ſaid to have reſpect, the poſſeſſion of ſalvation and eternal life is obtained. For if we can want no good thing, while God is favourable unto us, it abundantly ſufficeth us to the aſſuredneſs of ſalvation, when he himſelf doth aſſure us of his love. Let him ſhew his face (ſaith the Prophet) and we ſhall be ſafe. Whereupon the Scriptures determine this to be the ſum of our ſalvation, that God putting away all enmities, hath received us into favour. Whereby they ſhew, that when God is reconciled unto us, there remaineth no peril, but that all things ſhall proſper well with us. Therefore faith having taking hold of the love of God, hath promiſes of the preſent life, and of the life to come, and perfect aſſuredneſs of all good things but that ſame ſuch as may be gathered out of the word of God. For faith doth not certainly promiſe to it ſelf either the length or honour or wealth of this life, foraſmuch as God willed none of theſe things to be appointed unto us, but is contented with this aſſuredneſs, that God will never fail, howſoever many things fail us that pertain to the maintenance of this preſent life. But the chief aſſuredneſs of faith reſteth in expectation of the life to come, which is ſet out of doubt by the word of God. But whatſoever miſeries and calamities befal unto them whom God loveth, they cannot work the contrary, but that his good-will is perfect felicity. Therefore when we meant to expreſs the ſum of bleſſedneſs, we named the favour of God, out of which ſpring flows unto us all kinds of good things. And this we may commonly note throughout the ſcriptures, that whenſoever mention is made not only of eternal ſalvation, but alſo of any good thing in us, we are always called back to the love of God. For which cauſe David ſaith, Pſal. lxiii. 4. that the goodneſs of God, when it is felt in a godly heart, is ſweeter and more to be deſired than life itſelf. Finally, if all things elſe do flow unto us according to our own wiſhing, and we be uncertain of God's love or hatred, our felicity ſhall be accurſed, and therefore miſerable: but if the favourable face of God do ſhine upon us, even our very miſeries ſhall be bleſſed, becauſe they are turned to helps of our ſalvation. As Paul, when he heapeth up a rehearſal of all adverſities, Rom. viii. 35. yet he glorieth that he was not by them ſeparated from the love of God: and in his prayers he always beginneth at the favour of God from whence floweth all proſperity. Likewiſe David (Pſal. xxiii. 4.) ſetteth the favour of God alone againſt all the terrors that trouble us. Tho' (ſaith he) I ſhall walk in the midſt of the ſhadow of death, I will fear no evils, becauſe thou art with me. And we always feel that our minds do waver, unleſs being contented with the favour of God, they ſeek their peace in it, and have this inwardly fixed in them that is ſaid in the Pſalm, bleſſed is the people whoſe God is the Lord, (Pſal. xxxiii. 12. and the nation whom he hath choſen to him for his inheritance.

Though faith do believe whatſoever God ſpeaketh, yet it principally reſpecteth the promiſe of ſalvation freely offered in the Goſpel.

29. We make the foundation of faith to be the free promiſe of God becauſe faith properly ſtayeth upon it. For though faith doth believe God to be true in all things whether he command or forbid, whether he promiſe or threaten, and alſo obediently receiveth his commandments, and beware of things that he prohibiteth, and hath regard to his threatnings, yet properly it beginneth at the promiſe, and therein continueth, and thereupon endeth. For faith ſeeketh for life in God, which is not found in commandments or declarations of penalties, but in the promiſe of mercy and in no other promiſe, but ſuch as is freely given. For the conditonal promiſe, by which we are ſent to our own works, doth no otherwiſe promiſe life, but if we perceive it to ſtand in our ſelves. Therefore if we will not have our faith to tremble and waver, we muſt ſtay it with that promiſe of ſalvation, which is willingly and liberally offered us of the Lord, rather in reſpect of our miſery, than of our own worthineſs. Wherefore the Apoſtle beareth this witneſs of the Goſpel, (Rom. x. 8.) that it is the word of faith, which name he taketh both from the commandments and alſo from the promiſes of the law, becauſe there is nothing that can ſtabliſh

faith

faith but that liberal embassay, by which God reconcileth the world to himself. Therefore the same apostle oftentimes maketh a relation of faith and the gospel together, when he teacheth (Rom. i. 6. and xvi. 17.) that the ministry of the gospel was committed to him unto the obedience of faith, that the same is the power of God to salvation to every one that believeth: that in it is revealed the righteousness of God from faith to faith. And no wonder. For since the gospel is the ministry of reconciliation (2 Cor. v. 18.) there is no other testimony sure enough of God's good will toward us, the knowlege whereof faith requireth. Therefore when we say that faith must rest upon the free promise, we do not deny but that the faithful do every way embrace and receive the word of God, but we appoint the promise of mercy to be the proper mark of faith. Even as the faithful ought indeed to acknowlege God to be the judge and punisher of wicked doings, and yet they properly have regard unto his merciful kindness: forasmuch as he is described to them to be considered such a one as is loving and merciful, far from wrath, of much goodness, gentle unto all, pouring forth his mercy upon all his works. Psal. lxxxvi. 5. and ciii. lxxxi. 5.

The reasons why the promise of mercy in Christ is put not for the only, yet for the principal object of faith.

30. Neither yet do I regard the barkings of Pighius, or such other dogs, when they find fault with this restraint, as though in dividing faith it did take hold but of one piece thereof. I grant (as I have already said) that the general object of faith (as they term it) is the truth of God, whether he threaten or put us in hope of favour. Wherefore the apostle ascribeth this to faith, that Noah feared the destruction of the world, when it was not yet seen. Heb. xi. If the fear of a punishment shortly to come was the work of faith, then ought not the threatnings to be excluded out of the definition of faith. This is indeed true. But the cavillers do unjustly accuse us, as though we denied that faith hath respect to all the parts of the word of God. For our meaning is only to shew those two things, first, that faith never stedfastly standeth until it come to free promise: and then that we are no otherwise by it to be reconciled to God, but because it uniteth us to Christ. Both those points are worthy to be noted. We seek such a faith, which may make difference between the children of God and the reprobate, between the faithful and the unbelieving. If a man do believe that God both justly commandeth all that he commandeth, and truly threateneth, shall he be therefore called faithful? Nothing less. Therefore there can be no stedfast stay of faith unless it be grounded upon the mercy of God. But now to what end do we dispute of faith? Is it not that we may learn the way of salvation? But how doth faith bring salvation but in respect that it graffeth us into the body of Christ? Therefore there is no inconvenience, if in the definition we do enforce the principal effect thereof, and do join unto the general name, instead of a difference that mark which distinguisheth the faithful from the unbelieving. Finally, the malicious have nothing to find fault withal in this doctrine, but they must wrap up Paul with us in the same blame, who calleth the gospel properly the word of faith. Rom. x. 8.

The consideration of the power of God and of the works which he hath done confirmeth us in faith: yet all vanisheth except we rely upon his word.

31. But hereupon again we gather that which we have before declared, that faith doth no less need the word than the fruit doth need the lively root of the tree, because no other (as David Psal. ix. 11. testifieth) can trust in the Lord, but they that know his name. But this knowlege is not according to every man's imagination, but so far as God himself is witness of his own goodness. Which the same prophet confirmeth in another place, cxix. 43. saying: Thy salvation is according to thy word. Again, I have trusted in thy word, save me. Where is to be noted the relation of faith to the word, and then how salvation followeth. And yet in the mean time we do not exclude the power of God, with beholding whereof, unless faith sustain it self, it can never give unto God his due honour. Paul seemeth to rehearse a certain slender and common thing of Abraham, (Rom. iv. 21.) that he believed that God which had promised him the blessed seed, was able to perform it. Again in another place, speaking of himself: (2 Tim. i. 18.) I know whom I have believed, and I am sure that he is able to keep that which I have left with him until that day. But if a man weigh with himself how many doubtings of the power of God do oftentimes creep into man's mind, he shall well perceive that they which do highly esteem it as it is worthy, have not a little profited in faith. We all will confess that God is able to do whatsoever he will, but when even the least temptation throweth us down with fear, and amazeth us with horror, thereby appeareth plainly, that we diminish the estimation of God's power, when we prefer

above it thoſe things, that Satan threateneth againſt God's promiſes. This is the reaſon why Iſaiah, meaning to print into the hearts of the people the aſſuredneſs of ſalvation, doth ſo honourably treat of the infinite power of God. It ſeemeth oft that ſo ſoon as he hath begun to ſpeak of the hope of pardon and reconciliation, he by and by turneth to another thing, and wandereth about in long and ſuperfluous circumſtances, rehearſing how marvellouſly the Lord governeth the frame of heaven and earth and the whole order of nature, yet is here nothing that ſerveth not fitly for the circumſtance of the matter that he ſpeaketh of. For unleſs the power of God whereby he is able to do all things be preſently ſet before our eyes, our ears will hardly hear the word, or will not eſteem it ſo much as it is worth. Beſide that, here is declared his effectual power, becauſe godlineſs (as we have already ſhewed in another place) doth alway apply the power of God to uſe and work, ſpecially it ſetteth before itſelf thoſe works of God, whereby he hath teſtified himſelf to be a father. Hereupon cometh that in the ſcriptures is ſo often mention made of the redemption, whereby the Iſraelites might have learned that God which was once the author of ſalvation, will be an everlaſting preſerver thereof. And David putteth us in mind by his own example, that thoſe benefits which God hath particularly beſtowed upon every man, do afterward avail to the confirmation of his faith. Yea when God ſeemeth to have forſaken us, it behoveth us to ſtretch our wits further, that his ancient benefits may recomfort us, as it is ſaid in Pſalm civ. 43. I have been mindful of old days. I have ſtudied upon all thy works, &c. Again, Pſal. lxxvii. 11. I will remember the works of the Lord, and his marvels from the beginning. But becauſe without the word all quickly vaniſheth away that we conceive of the power of God and of his works, therefore we do not without cauſe affirm that there is no faith, unleſs God give light unto it with teſtimony of his grace. But here a queſtion might be moved, what is to be thought of Sarah and Rebecca, (Gen. xv.) both which being moved as it ſeemeth with zeal of faith, paſſed beyond the bounds of the word. Sarah, when ſhe fervently deſired the promiſed iſſue, gave her bondmaid to her huſband. It cannot be denied but that ſhe many ways ſinned, but now I touch only this fault, that being carried away with her zeal, ſhe did not reſtrain herſelf within the bounds of God's word, yet it is certain that that deſire proceeded of faith. (Gen. xxvi.) Rebecca being certified by the oracle of God of the election of her ſon Jacob, procured his bleſſing by evil crafty means: ſhe deceived her huſband the witneſs and miniſter of the grace of God: ſhe compelled her ſon to lie: ſhe by divers guiles and deceits corrupted the truth of God: Finally, in making a ſcorn of his promiſe, ſhe did as much as in her lay, deſtroy it. And yet this act, how much ſoever it was evil, and worthy of blame, was not without faith, for it was neceſſary that ſhe ſhould overcome many offences, that ſhe might ſo earneſtly endeavour to attain that which without hope of earthly profit was full of great troubles and dangers. As we may not ſay that the holy Patriarch Iſaac was altogether without faith, becauſe he being by the ſame oracle of God admoniſhed of the honour transferred to the younger ſon, yet ceaſed not to be more favourably bent to his firſt begotten ſon Eſau. Truly theſe examples do teach, that oftentimes errors are mingled with faith, but yet ſo that faith if it be a true faith, hath alway the upper hand. For as the particular error of Rebecca did not make void the effect of the bleſſing, ſo neither did it make void her faith which generally reigned in her mind, and was the beginning and cauſe of that doing. Nevertheleſs therein Rebecca ſhewed how ready man's mind is to fall ſo ſoon as he giveth himſelf, never ſo little liberty. But though man's default and weakneſs doth darken faith, yet it doth not quench it: in the mean time it putteth us in mind, how carefully we ought to depend upon the mouth of God, and alſo confirmeth that which we have taught, that faith vaniſheth away, unleſs it be upholden by the word: as the minds both of Sarah and Iſaac and Rebecca had become vain in their crooked wanderings out of the way, unleſs they had been by God's ſecret bridle holden in obedience of the word.

Faith embraceth no promiſe but in Chriſt by whom the thing promiſed is derived from God to us.

32. Again, not without cauſe we include all the promiſes in Chriſt, for as much as in the knowlege of him the apoſtle includeth all the goſpel: (Rom. i. 3.) and in another place he teacheth, 2 Cor. i. 20.) that all the promiſes of God are in him, yea and Amen. The reaſon whereof is ready to be ſhewed. For if God promiſe any thing, he therein ſheweth his good will: ſo that there is no promiſe of his, that is not a teſtimony of his love. Neither maketh it any matter that the wicked when they have great and continual benefits of God's liberality heaped upon them, do thereby

thereby wrap themſelves in ſo much the more grievous judgment. For ſince they do neither think nor acknowlege that thoſe things come unto them from the hand of God, for if they acknowlege it, they do not with themſelves conſider his goodneſs, therefore they cannot thereby be better taught of his mercy than brute beaſts, which according to the meaſure of their eſtate, do receive the ſame fruit of God's liberality, and yet they perceive it not. Neither doth it any more make againſt us, that many times in refuſing the promiſes appointed for them, they do by that occaſion procure to themſelves the greater vengeance. For although the effectual working of the promiſes do then only appear, when they have found faith with us, yet the force and natural property of them is never extinguiſhed by our unbelief or unthankfulneſs. Therefore when the Lord by his promiſes doth provoke man not only to receive, but alſo to think upon the fruits of his bountifulneſs, he doth therewithal declare unto him his love. Whereupon we muſt return to this point, that every promiſe is a teſtifying of God's love toward us. But it is out of queſtion, that no man is loved of God but in Chriſt, he is the beloved Son, in whom the love of the Father abideth and reſteth, and then from him poureth it ſelf abroad unto us: (Eph. i. 6.) as Paul teacheth, that we have obtained favour in the beloved one. Therefore it muſt needs be derived and come unto us by means of him. For this cauſe the apoſtle in another place calleth him our peace: (Eph. ii. 14.) in another place he ſetteth him out as a bond, whereby God is with fatherly natural kindneſs bound unto us. (Rom. vii. 3 and v. 8.) It followeth then that we muſt caſt our eyes upon him, ſo oft as any promiſe is offered us. And that Paul teacheth no abſurdity, that all God's promiſes whatſoever they be, are confirmed and fulfilled in him. There are certain examples that make for the contrary. For it is not likely that Naaman the Syrian, when he required of the prophet the manner how to worſhip God aright, was inſtructed concerning the Mediator: yet his godlineſs is praiſed. (2 Kings v. 17.) Cornelius a Gentile and a Roman could ſcarcely underſtand that which was known, not to all the Jews, yea and that very darkly: yet his alms and prayers were acceptable to God, and the ſacrifice of Naaman, by the prophet's anſwer allowed. (2 Kings v. 17.) Which thing neither of them could obtain but by faith. Likewiſe it may be ſaid of the Eunuch to whom Philip was carried, who if he had not had ſome faith, would not have taken upon him the travel and expences of ſo long a journey, to worſhip. (Acts viii. 31.) Yet we ſee, when Philip examined him, how he betrayed his ignorance of the Mediator, And truly I grant that their faith was partly unexpreſſed, not only concerning Chriſt's perſon, but alſo concerning his power and the office committed unto him of the Father. Yet in the mean time it is certain, that they were inſtructed in ſuch principles, as gave them ſome taſte of Chriſt, although but very ſmall. Neither ought this to ſeem ſtrange: for neither would the Eunuch have come in haſte to Jeruſalem from a far country to worſhip an unknown God, neither did Cornelius when he had once embraced the Jewiſh religion ſpend ſo much time, without being acquainted with the firſt grounds of true doctrine. As for Naaman, it had been a very fooliſh abſurdity for Eliſha when he taught him of ſmall things, to have ſaid nothing of the principal point. Therefore although there were among them an obſcure knowlege of Chriſt, yet it is not likely that there was no knowlege becauſe they did uſe themſelves in the ſacrifices of the law, which muſt have been diſcerned by the very end of them, that is Chriſt, from the falſe ſacrifices of the Gentiles.

The outward declaration of the word without an inward enlightening by the ſpirit doth not ſuffice either to breed or increaſe faith in us.

33. But this bare and outward declaration of the word of God, ought to have largely ſufficed to make it to be believed, if our own blindneſs and ſtubbornneſs did not withſtand it. But our mind hath ſuch an inclination to vanity, that it can never cleave faſt unto the truth of God, and hath ſuch a dulneſs, that it is always blind and cannot ſee the light thereof. Therefore there is nothing availably, done by the word without the enlightening of the holy Ghoſt. Whereby alſo appeareth, that faith is far above man's underſtanding. Neither ſhall it be ſufficient that the mind be enlightened with the Spirit of God, unleſs the heart be alſo ſtrengthened and ſtabliſhed with his power. Wherein the ſchoolmen do altogether err, who in conſidering of faith do only take hold of a bare and ſimple aſſent by knowlege, leaving out the confidence and aſſuredneſs of the heart. Therefore faith is both ways a ſingular gift of God; both that the mind of man is cleanſed to taſte the truth of God, and that his heart is ſtabliſhed therein. For the holy Ghoſt not only is the beginner of faith, but alſo by degrees increaſeth it, until by it he bring us to the heavenly kingdom. That good

thing (ſaith Paul) 2 Tim. i. 14. which was committed to thy keeping, keep in the holy Ghoſt which dwelleth in us. But how Paul ſaith, (Gal. iii. 2.) that the holy Ghoſt is given by the hearing of faith, we may eaſily reſolve it. If there had been but one only gift of the holy Ghoſt, then it had been an abſurdity for him to call the holy Ghoſt the effect of faith, who is the author and cauſe of faith. But when he maketh mention of the gifts with which God beautifies his church, and by encreaſing of faith bringeth it to perfection, it is no wonder if he aſcribe thoſe things to faith which maketh us fit to receive them. This is reckoned a moſt ſtrange concluſion, when it is ſaid, that no man but he to whom it is given, can believe in Chriſt. But that is partly becauſe they do not conſider either how ſecret and high the heavenly wiſdom is, or how great man's dulneſs is in conceiving the myſteries of God: and partly becauſe they look not unto that aſſured and ſtedfaſt conſtantneſs of heart, that is to ſay, the chief part of faith.

Our blindneſs before the Spirit open our eyes and the clearneſs of our minds after.

34. But if (as Paul 1 Cor. ii. 11. preacheth) no man knoweth of the will of man, but the ſpirit of man that is within him, then how ſhould man be ſure of the will of God? And if the truth of God be uncertain among us, in thoſe things that we preſently behold with our eye, how ſhould it be aſſured and ſtedfaſt among us there where the Lord promiſeth ſuch things as neither eye ſeeth, nor wit comprehendeth? But herein man's ſharpneſs of underſtanding is ſo overthrown and faileth, that the firſt degree of profiting in God's ſchool, is to forſake his own wit. For by it as by a vail caſt before us, we are hindered that we cannot attain the myſteries of God, (Matth. xi. 15.) which are not diſcloſed but (Luke x. 21.) to little ones. For neither (Matth. xvi. 17.) doth fleſh and blood diſcloſe nor (1 Cor. ii. 14.) natural man perceive thoſe things that are of the Spirit but rather to him the learning of God is fooliſhneſs, becauſe it is ſpiritually to be judged. Therefore herein (Rom. xi. 34.) the help of the holy Ghoſt is neceſſary, or rather herein his power only reigneth. There (1 Cor. ii. 10.) is no man that knoweth the mind of God, or hath been his counſeller: but the holy Spirit ſearcheth out all things, even the deep ſecrets of God, by whom it is brought to paſs, that we know the mind of Chriſt. No man (ſaith he John vi. 43.) can come to me: unleſs my Father that ſent me, draw him. Every one therefore that hath heard and learned of my Father, cometh. Not that any man hath ſeen the Father, but he that is ſent of God. Even as therefore we cannot come unto Chriſt, but being drawn by the Spirit of God: ſo when we are drawn we are lifted up in wit and mind above our underſtanding. For the ſoul enlightened by him, acquireth as it were a new ſharpneſs of underſtanding, by which it may behold heavenly myſteries, with the brightneſs whereof it was before dazled in itſelf. And ſo man's underſtanding receiving brightneſs by the light of the holy Ghoſt, doth never till then truly begin to taſte of thoſe things that belong to the kingdom of God, being before altogether unſavoury and without judgment of taſte to take hold of them. Therefore when Chriſt did notably explain unto two of his diſciples the myſteries of his kingdom, yet he nothing prevailed, until he opened their ſenſes that they might underſtand the ſcriptures. When the apoſtles (Luke xxiv. 27. and 45.) were ſo taught by his divine lips, yet the Spirit of truth muſt be ſent unto them, to pour into their minds the ſame doctrine which they had heard with their ears. (John xvi. 15.) The word of God is like unto the ſun that ſhineth unto all them to whom it is preached, but to no profit among blind men. But we are all in this behalf blind by nature, therefore it cannot pierce into our mind but by the inward teacher the holy Ghoſt, making by his enlightening an entry for it.

The light of faith is the gift of God not beſtowed indifferently upon all men.

35. In another place, when we had to treat of the corruption of nature, we have more largely ſhewed how unfit men are to believe. Therefore I will not weary the readers with repeating the ſame again. Let this be ſufficient that the ſpirit of faith is called by Paul (2 Cor. iv. 13.) faith itſelf, which the Spirit giveth us, but not which we have naturally. Therefore he prayeth that God fulfil in the Theſſalonians (2 Theſſ. i. 11.) all his good pleaſure. and the work of faith in power. Wherein calling faith the work of God and giving it that title for a name of addition, and calling it by figure of appoſition God's good pleaſure, he denieth that it is of man's own motion: and not contented therewith he addeth further, that it is a declaration of God's power: writing to the Corinthians, where he ſaith, that faith dependeth not upon the wiſdom of men, but is grounded upon the power of the holy Ghoſt. He ſpeaketh indeed of outward miracles: but becauſe the

the reprobate are blind at the beholding of them, he comprehendeth alſo that inward ſeal, whereof he maketh mention in another place. And God, the more glorioufly to ſet forth his liberality in ſo noble a gift, vouchſafeth not to grant it to all univerſally without difference, but by ſingular privilege giveth it to whom he will. For proof of which, we have alleged teſtimonies before. Of which Auguſtine being a faithful expoſitor, crieth out, that it would pleaſe the Saviour to teach him, and that the very believing itſelf, is of gift and not of deſerving. No man (ſaith he) cometh to me, unleſs my Father draw him, and to whom it is given of my Father. It is marvellous that two do hear, the one deſpiſeth, the other aſcendeth up. Let him that deſpiſeth, impute it to himſelf: let not him that aſcendeth, arrogantly aſſign it to himſelf. In another place. Why is it given to one and not to another? It grieveth me not to ſay it, this is the depth of the croſs. Out of I know not what depth of the judgments of God which we may not ſearch proceedeth all that we can. What I can, I ſee: whereby I can, I ſee not, ſaving that I ſee thus far, that it is of God. But why him, and not him? That is much to me. It is a bottomleſs depth, it is the depth of the croſs. I may cry out with wondering, but not ſhew it in diſputing. Finally, the ſum cometh to this, that Chriſt when he enlighteneth us unto faith by the power of his Spirit, doth therewithal graff us into his body, that we may be made partakers of all good things.

We have not faith as ſoon as the truth is conceived in our minds, except the Spirit ſeal it alſo to our hearts.

36. Now it remaineth that that which the mind hath received, may be further conceived into the heart. For the word of God is not thoroughly received by faith, if it ſwim in the top of the brain, but when it hath taken root in the bottom of the heart, that it may be an invincible defence to bear and repuiſe all the engines of temptations. Now if it be true, that the true underſtanding of the mind is the enlightening thereof, then in ſuch confirmation of the heart, his power much more evidently appeareth, even by ſo much as the diſtruſtfulneſs of the heart is greater than the blindneſs of the judgment: And as it is harder to have the mind furniſhed with aſſuredneſs, than the judgment to be inſtructed with thinking; therefore the Spirit performeth the office of a ſeal, to ſeal up in our hearts thoſe ſame promiſes, the aſſurance of which it firſt imprinted in our judgments, and ſerveth as an earneſt to confirm and eſtabliſh them. Since ye believed (ſaith the apoſtle) Eph. i. ye are ſealed up with the holy Spirit of promiſe, which is the earneſt of our inheritance. See you not how he teacheth that by the Spirit the hearts of the faithful are graven as with a ſeal? And how for the ſame reaſon he calleth him the Spirit of promiſe, becauſe he ratifieth the goſpel unto us? Likewiſe to the Corinthians he ſaith, (1 Cor. i. 21. and v. 5.) God who anointed us, who hath alſo ſealed us, and given us the earneſt of his Spirit in our heart. And in another place when he ſpeaketh of confidence, and boldneſs of hoping well, he maketh the pledge of the Spirit the foundation thereof.

The aſſuredneſs of our faith is not extinguiſhed when it is diſquieted.

37. Neither have I forgotten that which I ſaid before, the remembrance whereof experience continually reneweth, that is, that faith is toſſed with divers doubtings, ſo that the minds of the godly are ſeldom quiet, or at leaſt do not always enjoy a peaceable ſtate: but with whatſoever engine they be ſhaken, either they riſe up out of the very gulf of temptations, or do abide faſt in their ſtanding. Truly this aſſuredneſs only nouriſheth and defendeth faith, when we hold faſt that which is ſaid in the Pſalms, (Pſalm. xlvi. 3.) The Lord is our protection, our help in trouble, therefore we will not fear, when the earth ſhall tremble, and the mountains ſhall leap into the heart of the ſea. Alſo this moſt ſweet quietneſs is ſpoken of in another place: Pſal. iii. 6. I lay down and ſlept, and roſe again, becauſe the Lord hath ſuſtained me: it is not meant thereby that David was always with one undiſturbed courſe framed to a merry chearfulneſs: but in reſpect that he taſted the grace of God according to his proportion of faith, therefore he glorieth that he without fear deſpiſeth all that ever might diſquiet the peace of his mind. Therefore the ſcripture meaning to exhort us to faith, biddeth us to be quiet. In Iſaiah it is ſaid, (Iſai. xxx. 15.) In hope and ſilence ſhall be your ſtrength. In the Pſalms, (Pſal. xxxvii. 7.) Hold thee ſtill in the Lord, and wait for him. Wherewith agreeth that ſaying of the apoſtle to the Hebrews, chap. x. 36. Patince is needful, &c.

The certainty of grace which we have by faith is more than moral or conjectural.

38. Hereby we may judge how pernicious is that doctrine of the ſchoolmen, that we can no otherwiſe determine of the grace of God towards us, than by moral conjecture as every man thinketh himſelf worthy of it. Truly if we ſhall weigh by our works how God is minded

towards us, I grant that we can attain it with any conjecture be it never ſo ſlender: but ſince faith ought to have relation to a ſimple and free promiſe there is left no cauſe of doubting. For with what confidence (I beſeech you) ſhall we be armed, if we ſay that God is favourable unto us upon this condition, ſo that the pureneſs of our life do deſerve it? But becauſe I have appointed one place properly for the diſcuſſing hereof, therefore I will ſpeak no more of them at this preſent, ſpecially foraſmuch as it is plain enough, that there is nothing more contrary to faith, than either conjecture, or any thing near unto doubting. And they do very ill wreſt to this purpoſe, that teſtimony of the preacher which they have oft in their mouths: Eccl. ix. 1. No man knoweth whether he be worthy of hatred or love. For (to ſpeak nothing how this place is in the common tranſlation corruptly turned) yet even children cannot be ignorant what Solomon meaneth by theſe words: that if any man will judge by the preſent ſtate of things, whom God hateth, or whom God loveth, he laboureth in vain, and troubleth himſelf to no profit for his pains: ſince all things happen alike both to the righteous and the wicked, to him that offereth ſacrifices and him that offereth none. Whereupon followeth, that God doth not always witneſs his love to them to whom he maketh all things happen proſperouſly, nor doth always diſcover hatred to them whom he puniſheth. And this he doth, to condemn the vanity of man's wit, ſince it is ſo ignorant in things needful to be known: as he had written a little before, that it cannot be diſcerned what the ſoul of man differeth from the ſoul of a beaſt, becauſe it ſeemeth to die in like manner. If any man will conclude therefrom that the opinion we hold of the immortality of ſouls ſtandeth upon conjecture; may he not deſervedly be counted a mad man? Are they then in their right wits, who infer that there is no certainty of God's grace, becauſe we can conceive none by the carnal beholding of preſent things?

It is no preſumption to know the love of God towards us, and his Spirit which is in us.

39. But they allege that it is a point of raſh preſumption, to take upon us an undoubted knowlege of God's will. I would indeed grant it unto them, if we did take ſo much upon us, that we would make the incomprehenſible ſecret purpoſe of God ſubject to the weakneſs of our underſtanding: but when we ſimply ſay with Paul, that we have received not the ſpirit of this world, but the ſpirit that is of God, by whoſe teaching we may know thoſe things that are given us of God, what can they bark againſt it, but they muſt ſlanderouſly ſpeak againſt the Spirit of God? But if it be a horrible robbery of God to accuſe the revelation that cometh from him, either to be lying, or unaſſured, or doubtful, what do we offend in affirming that it is aſſured? But they ſay, that this alſo is not without great preſumptuouſneſs that we dare ſo glory of the Spirit of Chriſt. Who would think that their dulneſs were ſo great that would be counted maſters of the world, that they ſo foully ſtumble in the firſt principles of religion? Surely I would not think it credible, unleſs their own writings that are abroad did teſtify it. Paul pronounceth (Rom. viii. 14.) that they only are the children of God, that are moved with his Spirit: and theſe men would have them that are the children of God, to be moved with their own Spirit, and to be without the Spirit of God. Paul teacheth (Rom. viii. 16.) that we call God our father, as the holy Ghoſt miniſtereth that word unto us, which only can bear witneſs to our ſpirit that we are the children of God: Theſe men, although they forbid us not to call upon God, yet do take away his Spirit, by whoſe guidance he ſhould have been rightly called upon. Paul denieth (Rom. viii. 11.) that they are the ſervants of Chriſt, who are not moved with the ſpirit of Chriſt: theſe men find a chriſtianity that needeth not the ſpirit of Chriſt. Paul maketh no hope of the bleſſed reſurrection, unleſs we feel the holy Ghoſt abiding in us: they forge a hope without any ſuch feeling. But perhaps they will anſwer, that they do not deny that we ought to be endued with it, but that it is a point of modeſty and humility not to acknowlege it. What meaneth he then, when he biddeth the Corinthians to try (2 Cor. xiii. 5.) whether they be in the faith, to prove themſelves whether they have Chriſt, whom unleſs a man do acknowlege to be dwelling in him, he is a reprobate? But by the ſpirit that God hath given us (ſaith John 1 John iii. 24. Iſai. xxxiv. 3.) we know that he abideth in us. And what do we elſe but call the promiſes of Chriſt in doubt, when we will be counted the ſervants of God without his ſpirit, which he hath openly declared, that he would pour out upon all his? Beſides that, we do wrong to the holy Ghoſt, if we do ſeparate from him Faith which is his peculiar work. Since theſe are the firſt leſſons of true religion it is a token of miſerable blindneſs, to accuſe chriſtians of arrogancy, who dare glory of the preſence of the holy Ghoſt, without which glorying Chriſtianity it ſelf doth not ſtand. But they declare by their example how truly

truly Chriſt ſaid, (John xiv. 17.) that his ſpirit is unknown to the world, and is only known of them with whom he abideth.

Not only our preſent but our future eſtate by faith certain.

40. And becauſe they will not go about to overthrow the ſtedfaſtneſs of faith by digging only at one mine, they attack it alſo otherwiſe. For they ſay, that although according to our preſent ſtate of righteouſneſs, we may gather a judgment of the grace of God, yet the knowlege of perſeverance to the end abideth in ſuſpence. A goodly confidence of ſalvation forſooth is left unto us, if we judge by moral conjecture, that for a preſent moment we are in favour, and what ſhall become of us to morrow we cannot tell. The Apoſtle teacheth far otherwiſe: I am ſurely perſuaded (ſaith he) that neither Angels, nor powers, nor principalities, neither death nor life, neither things preſent nor things to come, ſhall ſeparate us from the love wherewith the Lord embraceth us in Chriſt. They ſeek to eſcape with a trifling ſolution, ſaying that the Apoſtle had that by ſpecial revelation. But they are holden too faſt to ſlip away ſo. For there he treateth of thoſe good things that commonly come by faith to the faithful, not thoſe that he himſelf ſpecially feeleth. But the ſame Paul in another place putteth us in fear with mention of our weakneſs and unſtedfaſtneſs: Let him that ſtandeth (ſaith he 1 Cor. x. 12.) beware that he fall not. It is true, but not ſuch a fear whereby we ſhould be overthrown, but whereby we may learn to humble ourſelves under the mighty hand of God, as Peter expoundeth (1 Pet. v. 6.) it, Then how againſt order and truth is it to limit the aſſurance of faith to a moment of time, whoſe property is to paſs beyond the ſpaces of this life, and extend further to immortality to come? Since therefore the faithful do impute it to the grace of God, that being enlightened with his Spirit they do by faith enjoy the beholding of the heavenly life: ſo far is ſuch glorying from preſumptuouſneſs, that if any man be aſhamed to confeſs it, he doth therein more betray his extreme unthankfulneſs in unkindly hiding God's goodneſs, than he doth declare his modeſty or ſubmiſſion.

The Apoſtle's definition of faith who termeth it a ſubſtance of things hoped for and a certainty of things unſeen.

41. Becauſe it ſeemed that the nature of faith could not otherwiſe better or more plainly be declared than by the ſubſtance of the promiſe upon which it reſteth as upon its proper foundation, ſo that if the promiſe be taken away, faith by and by falleth down or rather vaniſheth away: therefore we took our definition from thence, which yet varieth not from that definition, or rather deſcription of the apoſtle, which he applyeth to his diſcourſe, where he ſaith that faith is a ſubſtance of things to be hoped for, and a certainty of things that are not ſeen. (Heb. xi. 1.) For by this word Hypoſtaſis ſubſtance (for that term he uſeth) he meaneth as it were, an upholding ſtay, whereupon the godly mind leaneth and reſteth. As if he ſhould ſay that faith is a certain and aſſured poſſeſſion of thoſe things that are promiſed us of God, unleſs a man had rather take Hypoſtaſis for truſt, which I diſlike not, altho' I follow that which is more commonly received. Again, to ſignify that even to the laſt day when the books ſhall be opened, (Dan. vii. 10.) they are higher than thoſe things that may be perceived with our ſenſes, or ſeen with our eyes, or handled with our hands, and that the ſame are no otherwiſe poſſeſſed by us, but if we go beyond the capacity of our own wit, and bend our underſtanding above all things that are in the world, yea and climb above ourſelves, he hath therefore added that this aſſuredneſs of poſſeſſion, is of things that lie in hope, and therefore are not ſeen. For plain appearance (as Paul writeth Rom. viii. 24.) is not hope, neither hope we for thoſe things that we ſee. And when he calleth it a certainty or proof (or as Auguſtin *Auguſt. Hom. in Johan.* 79, 95. *De peccat. merit. & remiſſ. li.* 2. *cap.* 31. hath oft tranſlated it) a conjunction of things not preſent: for in Greek it is *Elenchos*, he ſaith as much as if he did ſay, that it is an evident ſhewing of things not appearing, a ſeeing of things not ſeen, a plainneſs of dark things: a preſence of things abſent, an open ſhewing of hidden things. For the myſteries of God, ſuch as they be that pertain to our ſalvation, cannot be ſeen in themſelves and in their own nature as they call it: but we behold them only in his word, of whoſe truth we ought to be ſo fully perſuaded, that we ought to hold all that he ſpeaketh as it were already done and fulfilled. But how can the mind lift up itſelf to receive ſuch a proof of God's goodneſs, but that it muſt needs be therewith wholly kindled to love God again? For that flowing plenty of ſweetneſs which God hath laid up in ſtore for them that fear him, cannot be truly known, but that it muſt therewithal vehemently move affection; and whoſe affection it once moveth,

moveth, it utterly raviſheth and carrieth him beyond himſelf. Therefore it is no wonder, if into a perverſe and crooked heart never entreth this affection, by which being conveyed up into the very heaven, we are ſuffered to come to the moſt ſecretly hidden treaſures of God, and the moſt ſacred privy places of his kingdom, which may not be defiled with the entrance of an unclean heart. For that which the ſchoolmen teach, that charity is before faith and hope, is a mere madneſs. For it is faith only that firſt engendereth charity in us. How much more rightly doth Bernard teach: *Lib. 3. Sen. diſt. 25. & ſæpius. Ser. 1. in Annuntiatione.* I believe (ſaith he) that the teſtimony of conſcience, which Paul calleth the glory of the godly, conſiſteth in three things. For firſt of all it is neceſſary to believe that thou canſt not have forgiveneſs of ſins, but by the pardon of God: then that thou canſt have no good work at all, unleſs he alſo give it: laſt of all that thou canſt by no works deſerve eternal life, unleſs it alſo be given freely. A little after he addeth that theſe things ſuffice not, but that there is a certain beginning of faith, becauſe in believing that ſins cannot be forgiven but by God, we ought alſo to believe that they are not forgiven us, till alſo we be perſuaded by the teſtimony of the holy Ghoſt, that ſalvation is laid up in ſtore for us: becauſe God forgiveth ſins, he himſelf giveth merits, and he himſelf alſo giveth rewards, that we may not ſtay ſtill in this beginning. But theſe and other things ſhall be treated of in places fit for them. Now let it only ſuffice to know what faith is.

Hope an inſeparable companion of faith.

42. Now whereſoever this lively faith ſhall be, it cannot be poſſible but that it hath with it the hope of eternal ſalvation, as an inſeparable companion: or rather that it begetteth or bringeth it forth out of itſelf, which hope being taken away, how eloquently, gloriouſly ſoever we talk of faith, yet we are convicted to have no faith at all. For if faith (as is above ſaid) be an aſſured perſuaſion of God's truth, that it cannot lie unto us nor deceive us, nor become void, then they that have conceived this aſſuredneſs, truly do therewithal look for a time to come that God ſhall perform his promiſes, which in their perſuaſion cannot be but true: ſo that briefly, hope is nothing elſe, but a looking for thoſe things which faith hath believed to be truly promiſed of God. So faith believeth that God is true, hope looketh for the performance of his truth in convenient time. Faith believeth that he is our Father, hope looketh for him to ſhew himſelf ſuch a one towards us. Faith believeth that eternal life is given us, hope looketh that it ſhall be one day revealed. Faith is the foundation whereupon hope reſteth, hope nouriſheth and ſuſtaineth faith. For as no man can look for any thing at God's hand, but he that hath firſt believed his promiſes: ſo again the weakneſs of our faith muſt with patient hope and expectation be ſuſtained and cheriſhed, that it fall not as fainting for wearineſs. For which reaſon Paul doth well place our ſalvation in hope. (Rom. viii. 24.) For hope, while it in ſilence, looketh for the Lord, reſtraineth faith that it fall not headlong with too much haſte: hope ſtrengtheneth faith, that it waver not in God's promiſes, nor begin to doubt of the truth of them: hope refreſheth faith that it wax not weary: hope ſtretcheth faith to the uttermoſt bound, that it faint not in the mid courſe, nor in the very beginning. Finally, hope by continually renewing and reſtoring it, maketh it now and then to riſe up freſher than itſelf to continuance. But how many ways the helps of hope are neceſſary to the ſtrengthening of faith, ſhall better appear, if we conſider with how many ſorts of temptations they are aſſaulted and ſhaken, that have embraced the word of God. Firſt, the Lord in deferring his promiſes doth oftimes hold our minds longer in ſuſpenſe than we would wiſh: here it is the office of hope to perform, that which the Prophet commandeth, that though his promiſes do tarry, (Hab. ii. 3.) yet we ſhould wait ſtill for them. Sometimes he ſuffereth us not only to faint, but alſo ſeemeth to be highly diſpleaſed: here it is much more neceſſary to have hope to help us, that according to that ſaying of another Prophet, (Iſa. viii. 17.) we may ſtill look for the Lord that hath hidden his face from Jacob. (2 Pet. iii. 4.) There ſhall riſe up ſcorners (as Peter ſaith) who will aſk: where is the promiſe of his coming? for as much as ſince the fathers ſlept, all things continue as at the beginning of the creation. Yea the fleſh and the world do whiſper the ſame thing in our our ears. Here muſt faith upheld with ſufferance of hope be holden faſt fixed in beholding of eternity (Pſal. xc. 4.) that it may account a thouſand years like as one day.

The conjunction of faith and hope cauſeth many things to be ſpoken of the one which properly

43. For this conjoining and alliance the ſcripture ſometimes confoundeth the names of faith and hope. For when Peter teacheth (2 Pet. iii. 8.) that we are by the power of God preſerved through

agree unto the other.

through faith, unto the disclosing of salvation, he giveth that unto faith which did more fitly agree with hope, and not without cause, forasmuch as we have already taught, that hope is nothing else but the nourishment and strength of faith. Sometimes they are joined together: as in the same Epistle. (1 Pet. i. 21.) That your faith and hope should be in God. But Paul (Phil. i. 20.) to the Philippians out of faith deriveth expectation, because impatiently hoping, we hold our desires in suspense, till God's convenient opportunity be opened. All which matter we may better understand by the xi. chapter to the Hebrews, which I have already alleged. Paul in another place, (Gal. v. 5.) although he speak improperly, yet meaneth the same things in these words: We look in the spirit through faith for hope of righteousness, even because we embracing the testimony of the Gospel concerning his free love, do look for the time when God shall openly shew that which is now hidden under hope. And now it is plain how foolishly Peter Lombard layeth two foundations of hope, that is, the grace of God, and the deserving of works. Hope can have no other mark to be directed unto, but faith: and we have already declared that faith hath one only mark the mercy of God, to which it ought to look (as I may so speak) with both eyes. But it is good to hear what a lively reason he bringeth. If (saith he) thou darest hope for any thing without deservings, that shall not be worthy to be called hope, but presumption. Who (gentle reader) will not worthily abhor such beasts, that say, it is a rash and presumptuous deed, if a man have confidence that God is true of his word? For where the Lord willeth us to look for all things at his goodness, they say it is presumption to lean and rest upon it. A master meet for such schollars as he found in the mad school of filthy bablers. But as for us, when we see that we are commanded by the oracles of God to conceive a hope of savation, let us gladly presume so much upon his truth, as trusting upon his mercy only, casting away the confidence of works, to be bold to hope well. He will not deceive that said: Be it unto you according to your faith. Mat. ix. 29.

CHAP. III.

That we are regenerate by faith. *Wherein is treated of repentance.*

Out of faith repentance springeth.

ALTHO' we have already partly taught how faith possesseth Christ, and how by it we enjoy his benefits: nevertheless this were yet dark, unless we did also make declaration of the effects that we feel thereby. Not without cause it is said, that the sum of the gospel standeth in repentance and in forgiveness of sins. Therefore leaving out these two points, whatsoever we shall say of faith, shall be but a hungry and imperfect, yea and in manner an unprofitable disputation of faith. Now forasmuch as Christ doth give both unto us, and we obtain both by faith, that is to say, both newness of life and free reconciliation, reason and order of teaching requireth, that in this place I begin to speak of both. Our next passage from faith shall be to repentance, because when this article is well perceived, it shall the better appear how man is justified by faith only and mere pardon, and yet how real holiness of life (as I may so call it) is not separated from free imputation of righteousness. Now it ought to be out of question, that repentance doth not only immediately follow faith, but also spring out of it. For whereas pardon and forgiveness is therefore offered by the preaching of the gospel, that the sinner being delivered from the tyranny of Satan, from the yoke of sin, and from miserable bondage of vices, may pass into the kingdom of God; truly no man can embrace the grace of the gospel, but he must return from the errors of his former life into the right way, and apply all his study to the meditation of repentance. As for them that think that repentance doth rather go before faith than flow or spring forth of it, as a fruit out of a tree, they never knew the force thereof, and are moved with too weak an argument to think so.

Their grounds weak who think that repentance goeth before faith.

2. Christ (say they) and John in their preachings do first exhort the people to repentance, (Mat. iii. 2.) and then they afterwards say that the kingdom of heaven is at hand. (chap. iii. 7.) Such commandment to preach, the Apostles received, such order Paul followed, as Luke reporteth. (Acts xx. 21.) But while they superstitiously stick upon the joining together of syllables, they mark not in what meaning the words hang together. For when the Lord Christ and John do preach in this manner: Repent ye, for the king-

dom of heaven is come near at hand: do they not fetch the cauſe of repentance from mere grace and promiſe of ſalvation? Therefore their words are as much in effect as if they had ſaid: becauſe the kingdom of heaven is come near at hand; therefore repent ye. For Matthew when he hath ſhewed that John ſo preached faith that in him was fulfilled the prophecy of Iſaiah, (Iſaiah xl. 3.) concerning the voice crying in the wilderneſs. Prepare the way of the Lord, make ſtraight the paths of our God. But in the prophet that voice is commanded to begin at comfort and glad tidings. Yet when we refer the beginning of repentance to faith, we do not dream a certain mean ſpace of time, wherein it bringeth it out, but we mean to ſhew that a man cannot earneſtly apply himſelf to repentance, unleſs he know himſelf to be of God. But no man is truly perſwaded that he is of God, but he that hath firſt received his grace. But theſe things ſhall be more plainly, diſcuſſed in the proceſs following. Perhaps this deceived them, that many are firſt by terrors of conſcience tamed, or framed to obedience, before that they have throughly digeſted, yea before they have taſted the knowlege of grace. And this is the fear at the beginning, which ſome account among virtues, becauſe they ſee that it is near to true and juſt obedience. But our queſtion is not here how diverſly Chriſt draweth us unto him, or prepareth us to the endeavour of godlineſs: only this I ſay, that there can be no uprightneſs found where reigneth not the Spirit which Chriſt received to communicate the ſame to his members. Then according to the ſaying of the Pſalmiſt: (Pſal. cxxx. 4.) With thee is mercifulneſs, that thou mayeſt be feared; no man ſhall ever reverently fear God, but he that truſteth that God is merciful unto him: no man will willingly prepare himſelf to the keeping of the law, but he that is perſwaded that his ſervices pleaſe him: which tenderneſs in pardoning and bearing with faults, is a ſign of fatherly favour. Which is alſo ſhewed by that exhortation of Hoſea, Hoſ. vi. 2. Come let us return to the Lord, becauſe he hath plucked us, and he will heal us: he hath ſtricken us, and he will cure us; becauſe the hope of pardon is uſed as an incitement to make them not to lie dull in their ſins. But their doting error is without all colour of reaſon, who to begin at repentance do appoint certain days to their new converts, during which they muſt exerciſe themſelves in penance: and when thoſe days are once paſt, they admit them to the communion of the grace of the Goſpel. I ſpeak of many of the Anabaptiſts, eſpecially thoſe that marvellouſly rejoice to be counted ſpiritual, and their companions the Jeſuits, and ſuch other dregs. Such fruits forſooth that ſpirit of giddineſs bringeth forth, to determine repentance within compaſs of a few days, which a Chriſtian man ought to extend in continuance throughout his whole life.

Repentance rightly ſaid to conſiſt of two parts, Mortification & Vivification: ſo that Vivification be taken not for the chearfulneſs which the ſoul receiveth when it recovereth out of fear and trouble, but for the purpoſe and deſire which it hath to lead a new life.

3. But certain learned men, even long before theſe times, meaning to ſpeak ſimply and ſincerely of repentance, according to the truth of ſcripture, have ſaid that it conſiſteth of two parts, mortification, and vivification. Mortification they expound to be a ſorrow of the ſoul and fear conceived of the acknowleging of ſin; and of the feeling of the judgmeut of God. For when a man is once brought into knowlege of ſin, then he truly beginneth to hate and abhor ſin; then he heartily diſlikeeth himſelf, confeſſeth himſelf to be miſerable and loſt, and wiſheth himſelf to be another man. Further, when he is touched with ſome feeling of the judgment of God (for the one immediately followeth upon the other) then he lyeth ſtriken and overthrown, then he trembleth, humbled and caſt down, then he is diſcouraged and diſpaireth. This is the firſt part of repentance, which they have commonly called contrition. Vivification they expound to be the comfort that groweth of faith, when a man overthrown with conſcience of ſin, and ſtriken with fear of God, looking afterward unto the goodneſs of God, unto the mercy, favour and ſalvation, that is through Chriſt, raiſeth up himſelf, taketh breath again, recovereth courage, and returneth as it were from death to life. And theſe words, if they have a right expoſition, do aptly enough expreſs the nature of repentance. But where they take vivification for the chearfulneſs, which the mind receiveth being brought into quietneſs from trouble and fear, therein I agree not with them: foraſmuch as it rather ſignifieth a deſire to live holily and godly which groweth of regeneration, as if it were ſaid, that man dieth to himſelf, to begin to live to God.

Two kinds of repentance, the one of the law, the

4. Some others, becauſe they ſaw this word diverſly taken in ſcripture, have made two ſorts of repentance: and becauſe they ſhould

other of the goſpel.

ſhould make them differently known by ſome mark, they have called one repentance of the law, by which the ſinner wounded with the ſearing iron of ſin, and worn away with fear of the wrath of God, ſticketh faſt in that trouble and cannot wind himſelf out of it. The other repentance they call of the goſpel, by which the ſinner is indeed grievouſly vexed with himſelf, but he riſeth up higher and taketh hold of Chriſt, the ſalve of his ſore, the comfort of his fear, the haven of his miſery. Of the repentance of the law they put thoſe examples: (Gen. iv. 12.) Cain, Saul, and (Mat. xxvii. 4.) Judas. Whoſe repentance when the ſcripture rehearſeth unto us, it meaneth that they acknowleging the grievouſneſs of their ſin, were afraid of the wrath of God, but in thinking upon God only as a revenger and judge, they fainted in that feeling. Therefore their repentance was nothing elſe but a certain entry of hell, whereunto they being entred into this preſent life, began already to ſuffer puniſhment, from the face of the wrath of God's majeſty. The repentance of the goſpel, we ſee in all them, who, being galled with the ſpur of ſin in themſelves, but comforted again and refreſhed with confidence of the mercy of God, are turned unto the Lord. Hezekiah was ſtricken with fear, when he received the meſſage of death: but he (Kings xx.) prayed weeping, and looking unto the goodneſs of God, he took again good confidence unto him. The (Jonah iii. 5.) Ninevites were troubled with the horrible threatning of deſtruction. But they clothed themſelves in ſackcloth and aſhes and prayed, hoping that the Lord might be turned to them, and turned from the fierceneſs of his wrath. David confeſſed that he had too much ſinned in numbering the people: but he ſaid further, (2 Kings ii.) Lord take away the wickedneſs of thy ſervant. He acknowleged his offence of adultery, (2 Kings xii. 13.) when Nathan rebuked him, and did caſt himſelf down before the Lord, but therewithal he alſo looked for pardon. Such was the repentance of them, who at the preaching of Peter were pricked in their heart, but truſting upon the goodneſs of God, they ſaid furthermore: Ye men and brethren, what ſhall we do? (Acts ii. 37.) And ſuch was the repentance of Peter himſelf, who wept indeed bitterly, but he ceaſed not to hope well.

The definition of repentance.

5. Although all theſe things be true, yet the very name of repentance (ſo far as I can learn by the ſcriptures Acts xx. 21. is otherwiſe to be taken. For where they comprehend Faith under repentance, it diſagreeth with that which Paul ſaith in the Acts, that he teſtified to the Jews and Gentiles repentance unto God and faith in Jeſus Chriſt, where he reckoneth repentance and faith as two divers things. What then? Can true repentance ſtand without faith? No: But though they cannot be ſeparated, yet they muſt be diſtinguiſhed. As faith is not without hope, and yet faith and hope are divers things: ſo repentance and faith, although they hang together with one perpetual bond, yet they rather would be conjoined than confounded. And truly I am not ignorant, that under the name of repentance is comprehended the whole turning unto God, whereof faith is not the leaſt part, but in what meaning it is ſo comprehended, ſhall moſt eaſily appear when the force and nature thereof ſhall be declared. The name of repentance in Hebrew is derived of converting or returning, in Greek of changing of the mind or purpoſe, and the thing itſelf doth not ill agree with either derivations, whereof the ſum is, that we departing from ourſelves ſhould turn unto God, and putting off our old mind, ſhould put on a new. Wherefore, in my judgment, repentance may thus not amiſs be defined: that it is a true turning of our life unto God, proceeding from a pure and earneſt fear of God, which conſiſteth in the mortifying of the fleſh and of the old man, and in the quickening of the Spirit. In this ſenſe are to be taken all the preachings wherein either the prophets in old time, or the apoſtles afterwards exhorted the men of their time to repentance. For this only thing they laboured to perſuade, that, confounded with their own ſins, and pricked with fear of the Lord's judgment, they ſhould fall down and be humbled before him, againſt whom they had offended, and with true amendment return into his right way. Therefore theſe words, (Matth. iii. 2.) To be turned or return unto the Lord, (1 Sam. vii.) To repent, or do penance, are among them uſed without difference in all one ſignification. And therefore alſo the holy hiſtory ſaith, (Luke iii. 8.) that men repent after the Lord, when they that lived wantonly in their own luſts, not regarding him, do begin to follow his word, and are ready at their captain's commandment to go whither he calleth them, and John (Matth. xi. 8.) and Paul (Acts xxvi. 20.) uſed theſe words, to bring forth fruits worthy of repentance, for to lead ſuch a life as may repreſent and teſtify ſuch an amendment in all their doings.

The turning of our lives unto God doth denote an alteration not only of our outward actions, but also, and that especially, of our souls.

6. But before we go any further, it shall be profitable that we do more plainly set out at large the definition that we have made. Wherein there are chiefly three points to be considered. First, when we call it a turning of life unto God, we require a transforming, not only in outward works, but also in the soul itself, which when it hath put off her oldness, then beginneth to bring forth the fruits of works agreeable to her renewing. Which when the prophet goeth about to express, he commandeth them whom he calleth to repentance, to make them a new heart. (Ezek. xviii. 31.) Therefore Moses oftentimes meaning to shew how the Israelites might repent, and so be rightly turned unto the Lord, teacheth that it be done with all their heart, and with all their soul (which manner of speaking we see often repeated of the prophets) and naming it the circumcising of the heart, he shaketh away all inward affections. But there is no place whereby a man may better perceive the natural property of repentance than in the fourth of Jeremiah verse third, If thou return to me, O Israel, (saith the Lord) return to me, plow up your arable land and sow not upon thorns. Be circumcised to the Lord, and take away the uncircumcised skins of your hearts. See how he pronounceth that they shall nothing prevail in taking upon them the following of righteousness, unless wickedness be first plucked out of the bottom of their hearts. And to move them thoroughly, he warneth them that they have to do with God, with whom there is nothing gotten by dallying, because he hateth a double heart. Therefore Isaiah (Isa. lxv. 2, 6.) laugheth to scorn the foolish endeavours of hypocrites, who did indeed busily go about an outward repentance in ceremonies, but in the mean time they had no care to loose the bands of wickedness wherewith they held poor men fast tied. Where also he very well sheweth in what duties unfeigned repentance properly standeth.

The beginning of our conversion unto God is fear.

7. The second point was, that we taught that repentance proceedeth of an earnest fear of God. For, before that the mind of a sinner be enclined to repentance, it must be stirred up with thinking upon the judgment of God. But when this thought is once thoroughly fixed in the mind, that God will one day go up into his judgment seat, to require an account of all our words and actions; it will not suffer the poor man to rest, nor to take breath one minute of time, but continually stirreth him up to think upon a new way of life, whereby he may safely appear at that judgment. Therefore oftentimes the scripture, when it exhorteth to repentance maketh mention of the judgment: as in Jeremiah iv. 3. least peradventure my wrath go out as fire, and there be none to quench it, because of the naughtiness of your works. In Paul's (Acts xvii. 30.) sermon to the Athenians: And whereas hitherto God hath born with the times of this ignorance, now he giveth warning to men, that all men every where may repent, because he hath appointed a day wherein he will judge the world in righteousness. And in many other places. Sometimes it declareth by the punishments already extended, that God is a judge, that sinners should think with themselves, that worse things hang over them if they do not repent in time. You have an example thereof in the xxix. of Exodus. But because the turning beginneth at the abhorring and hatred of sin, therefore the apostle (2 Cor. vii. 10.) maketh sorrowfulness, such as is of a godly sort, the cause of repentance. And he calleth that sorrow godly, when we are not only afraid of punishment, but do hate and abhor sin in itself, forasmuch as we understand that it displeaseth God. And no wonder: For unless we be sharply pricked, the slothfulness of our flesh could not be corrected, yea compunctions would not suffice for the dulness and slothfulness thereof, unless God in stretching out his rods should pierce more deeply. This is also an obstinacy which must be beaten down as it were with beetles. Therefore the perverseness of our nature enforceth God to the severity that he useth in threatning, because he should in vain call us alluringly with fair speech while we lie asleep. I recite not the testimonies that commonly offer themselves to be found. The fear of God is in another manner also the beginning of repentance. For though man's life were absolutely furnished with all points of virtues, if it be not applied to the worshipping of God, it may indeed be praised of the world, but in heaven it shall be mere abomination, forasmuch as the chief part of our righteousness is to give God his due right and honour, whereof he is wickedly robbed, when we bend not ourselves to yield us subject to his government.

8. Third-

Repentance conſiſteth in the mortifying of the fleſh and the quickening of the ſpirit.

8. Thirdly, it remaineth that we declare what is meant by this that we ſay, that repentance conſiſteth in two parts, that is to ſay, mortifying of the fleſh, and quickening of the Spirit. The prophets do plainly expreſs it, although ſomewhat ſimply and groſly according to the capacity of the carnal people, when they ſay; (Pſal. xxxiv. 15.) Ceaſe from evil and do goodneſs. Again: (Iſa. i. 16.) Be waſhed, be clean, take away the evil of your works from mine eyes: ceaſe to do evil, learn to do well, ſeek judgment, help the oppreſſed, &c. For when they call men away from wickedneſs, they require the death of the whole fleſh, which is ſtuffed full of wickedneſs and perverſeneſs. It is indeed an uneaſy and hard thing to put off ourſelves, and to depart from our natural diſpoſition. Neither can it be thought that the fleſh is thoroughly dead, unleſs all that we have of ourſelves be aboliſhed. But foraſmuch as all the affection of the fleſh is enmity againſt God, the firſt entry to the obeying of his law, is the forſaking of our own nature. Afterwards they (Rom. viii. 4.) expreſs the renewing by the fruits that follow thereof, as righteouſneſs, judgment, and mercy. For it were not enough to do thoſe duties rightly, unleſs the mind it ſelf and the heart have firſt put on the affection of righteouſneſs, judgment, and mercy. That is done when the Spirit of God hath ſo infuſed new thoughts and affections, our ſouls firſt waſhed with his holineſs, that they may rightly be counted new. And truly as we are naturally turned away from God, ſo unleſs the forſaking of ourſelves do go before, we can never go toward that which is right. Therefore we are ſo oft commanded to put off the old man, to forſake the world and fleſh, to bid our luſts farewel, and to be renewed in the Spirit of our mind. Moreover the very name of mortification doth put us in mind how hard it is to forget our former nature: becauſe we thereby gather that we are not otherwiſe framed to the fear of God, nor do learn the principles of godlineſs, but when we are violently ſlain with the word of the Spirit, and ſo brought to naught; even as though God ſhould pronounce, that to have us to be accounted among his children there needeth a death of all our common nature.

True repentance is nothing elſe but regeneration

9. Both theſe things do happen unto us by the partaking of Chriſt. For if we do truly communicate of his death, by the power thereof our old man is crucified, and the body of ſin dieth, that the corruption of our former nature may live no more. If we be partakers of his reſurrection by it we are raiſed up into a newneſs of life, that may agree with the righteouſneſs of God. In one word I expound repentance to be regeneration, which hath no other mark to which it is directed, but that the image of God which was by (Rom. vi. 6.) Adam's offence foully defaced and in a manner utterly blotted out, may be renewed in us. So the apoſtle (2 Cor. iii. 18.) teacheth when he ſaith: but we beholding the glory of God with uncovered face are transformed into the ſame image, out of glory into glory, as by the Spirit of the Lord. Again: Be ye renewed in the Spirit of your mind and put on the new man, which is created according to God in righteouſneſs and holineſs of truth. Again in another place: (Col. iii. 10.) putting on the new man, which is renewed after the knowlege and image of him that created him. Therefore by this regeneration we are by the benefit of Chriſt (1 Cor. vii. 12.) reſtored into the righteouſneſs of God, from which we were fallen by Adam. After which manner it pleaſeth the Lord wholly to reſtore all thoſe whom he adopteth into the inheritance of life. And this reſtoring is fulfilled not in one moment, or one day, or one year, but by continual, yea and ſometimes ſlow proceedings God taketh away the corruptions of the fleſh in his elect, cleanſeth them from filthineſs, and conſecrateth them for temples to himſelf, renewing all their ſenſes to true pureneſs, that they may exerciſe themſelves all their life in repentance, and know that this war hath no end but in death. And ſo much the greater is the lewdneſs of that filthy railer and apoſtate Staphilus, who fooliſhly ſaith, that I confound the ſtate of this preſent life with the heavenly glory, when I expound by Paul the image of God to be holineſs and true righteouſneſs. (2 Cor. iv. 4.) As though when any thing is defined, we ſhould not ſeek the whole fulneſs and perfection of it. And yet we deny not place for increaſes: but I ſay that how near any man approacheth to the likeneſs of God, ſo much the image of God ſhineth in him. That the faithful may attain to this, God aſſigneth them the race of repentance wherein to run all their life long.

Whereby Chriſt reſtoreth us unto the righteouſneſs of God, from whence by ſin we were fallen.

10. The children of God therefore are ſo delivered by re- *In the regenerate there remaineth*

ſtill concupiſcence, which concupiſcence is ſin and not weakneſs only as St. Auguſtine termeth it.

generation from the bondage of ſin, not that having now obtained the full poſſeſſion of liberty, they ſhould feel no more trouble by their fleſh, but that they ſhould have remaining a continual matter of ſtrife, wherewith they may be exerciſed, and not only be exerciſed, but alſo may better learn their own weakneſs. And in this point all writers of ſound judgment agree together, that there remaineth in man regenerate a feeling of evil, from whence continually ſpring deſires that allure and ſtir him to ſin. They confeſs alſo that the ſaints are ſtill ſo holden intangled with that diſeaſe of luſting, that they cannot withſtand but that ſometimes they are tickled and ſtirred either to luſt or to covetouſneſs, or to ambition or to other vices. Neither is it needful to labour much in ſearching what the old writers have thought herein, foraſmuch as only Auguſtine may be ſufficient for it, who hath faithfully and with great diligence gathered all their judgments. *Lib. ad Bonif.* 4. *Li.* 1. *&* 2 *contra Julianum.* Therefore let the readers gather of him, ſuch certainty as they ſhall deſire to learn of the opinion of antiquity. But there may ſeem to be this difference between him and us, that he when he granteth that the faithful ſo long as they dwell in a mortal body are ſo holden bound with luſts, that they cannot but luſt, yet dareth not call that diſeaſe ſin, but being content to expreſs it by the name of weakneſs, he teacheth that then only it becometh ſin, when either work or conſent is added to conceit or receiving; that is, when will yielded to the firſt deſire: but we account the very ſame for ſin, that man is tickled with any deſire at all againſt the law of God, yea we affirm that the very corruption that breadeth ſuch deſires in us, is ſin. We teach therefore that there is always ſin in the ſaints until they be unclouhed of the mortal body, becauſe there yet remaineth in their fleſh the perverſeneſs of luſting that fighteth againſt uprightneſs. And yet he doth not always forbear to uſe the name of ſin, as when he ſaith: *Ser.* 6. *de verbis Apoſt.* This Paul calleth by the name of ſin, from whence ſpring all ſins unto a fleſhly concupiſcence, This as much as pertaineth to the ſaints, loſeth the kingdom in earth, and periſheth in heaven. By which words he confeſſeth, that the faithful are guilty of ſin, inaſmuch as they are ſubject to the luſts of the fleſh.

How Chriſt is ſaid to purge his church from ſin, and ſin to remain in every member of his church ſo purged.

11. But this that is ſaid, that God purgeth his church from all ſin, that he promiſeth that grace of deliverance by baptiſm, and fulfilleth it in his elect, we refer rather to the guiltineſs of ſin, than to the very matter of ſin. God truly performeth this by regenerating them that are his, that in them that kingdom of ſin is aboliſhed (for the holy Ghoſt miniſtereth them ſtrength, whereby they get the upper hand and are conquerors in the battle) but it ceaſeth only to reign, and not ſo to dwell in them. (Epheſ. v. 26.) Therefore we ſo ſay, that the old man is crucified, and the law of ſin aboliſhed in the children of God. (Rom. vi. 6.) that yet there remain ſome leavings, not to have dominion in them, but to humble them by knowlege in conſcience of their own weakneſs. And we confeſs that the ſame are not imputed, as if they were not: but we affirm that this cometh to paſs by the mercy of God, that the ſaints are delivered from this guiltineſs, who otherwiſe ſhould juſtly be reckoned ſinners and guilty before God. And this ſentence it ſhall not be hard for us to confirm, foraſmuch as there are evident teſtimonies of the ſcripture upon this matter. For what would we have more plain, than that which Paul crieth out to the Romans, chap. vii.? For both we have in another place ſhewed, and Auguſtine proveth by ſtrong reaſons, that Paul there ſpeaketh in the perſon of a man regenerate. I ſpeak not of this, that he uſeth theſe words evil and ſin, that they who will ſpeak againſt us may not cavil againſt thoſe words, but who can deny, that a ſtriving againſt the law of GOD is evil, who can deny a withſtanding of juſtice to be ſin? Finally, who will not grant that there is a fault where is a ſpiritual miſery? But all theſe things are reported of this diſeaſe by Paul. Again, we have an aſſured demonſtration by the law, by which this whole queſtion may eaſily be diſcuſſed. For we are commanded to love God with all our hearts, with all our ſoul, with all our powers. Since all the parts of our ſoul ought to be ſo occupied with the love of God, it is certain, that they ſatisfy not the commandment that conceive in their heart any deſire, be it never ſo little, or ſuffer any ſuch thought at all to enter into their mind, as may withdraw them from the love of God into vanity? For what? are not theſe the powers of the ſoul, to be affected with ſudden motions, to comprehend with wit, to conceive with mind? Therefore, when theſe do open a way for vain or corrupt thoughts to enter into them, do they not ſhew that they are even ſo much

much void of the love of God? Wherefore, whoſo confeſſeth not that all the luſts of the fleſh are ſins, and that the ſame diſeaſe of luſting, which they call a feeding, is the well-ſpring of ſin, he muſt needs deny that the tranſgreſſion of the law is ſin.

Our natural deſires are corrupt, not in that they are natural, but in that they are inordinate.

12. If any man think it an abſurdity, that all the deſires wherewith man is naturally moved in affection, are univerſally condemned, whereas they are put into man by God the Author of nature. We anſwer, that we do not condemn thoſe deſires that God hath ſo engraven into the mind of man at the firſt creation, that they cannot be rooted out without deſtroying the very nature of man, but only outragious and unbridled motions that fight againſt the ordinance of God. But now ſince by reaſon of the perverſeneſs of nature all its powers are infected and corrupted, that in all its doings appeareth a continual diſorder and intemperance, becauſe the deſires cannot be ſeparated from ſuch intemperance: therefore we ſay that they are corrupt. Or (if you like to have the whole ſum in fewer words) we teach that all the deſires of men are evil: and we accuſe them to be guilty of ſin, not in that they are natural, but for that they are inordinate: and we call them inordinate, becauſe no pure or clean thing can come out of a corrupt and unclean nature. And Auguſtine *(Ad Bonif.)* doth not ſo much vary from this doctrine as he appeareth in ſhew, while he ſomewhat too much feareth the envy that the Pelagians laboured to bring him into, he ſometimes forbeareth to uſe the name of ſin. Yet where he writeth that the law of ſin ſtill remaining in the ſaints, the only guiltineſs is taken away, he plainly ſheweth that he doth not ſo much diſagree from our meaning.

Concupiſcence acknowleged by St. Auguſtine and St. Ambroſe to be ſin: whereunto St. James is not repugnant when he ſaith that concupiſcence after it hath conceived doth bring forth ſin.

13. We will allege ſome other ſentences, whereby ſhall appear what he thought. In the ſecond book againſt Julian: This law of ſin is both releaſed by the ſpiritual regeneration, and abideth in the mortal fleſh, releaſed herein, becauſe the guiltineſs is taken away in the ſacrament whereby the faithful are regenerate: and it abideth, becauſe it worketh the deſires againſt which the faithful do fight. Again, Therefore the law of ſin (which was alſo in the members of ſo great an apoſtle) is releaſed in baptiſm, but not ended. Again, The law of ſin (of which yet remaining the guiltineſs, is in baptiſm diſcharged) Ambroſe called wickedneſs: becauſe it is wickedneſs for the fleſh to luſt againſt the ſpirit. Again, Sin is dead in reſpect of the guiltineſs wherein it held us, and even being dead, it ſtill rebelleth till it be healed with perfection of burial. And yet plainer in the fifth book. As the blindneſs of heart is both a ſin, whereby man believeth not in God: and alſo a puniſhment of ſin, whereby a proud heart is chaſtiſed with worthy correction: and the cauſe of ſin, when any thing is committed by the error of a blind heart: ſo the luſt of fleſh againſt which a good ſpirit luſteth, is both ſin, becauſe there is in it diſobedience againſt the government of the mind: and alſo the puniſhment of ſin, becauſe it is given for recompence to the deſervings of the diſobedient: and the cauſe of ſin in man, when he conſenteth by defection, or in man, when he is born by infection. Here without any doubtful ſpeech he calleth it ſin, becauſe when error was once overthrown, and the truth confirmed, he leſs feared ſlanderous reports. As in the 41 *Homily* upon John, where doubtleſs he ſpeaketh according to the true meaning of his mind, he ſaith: If in the fleſh thou ſerve the law of ſin, do that which the apoſtle himſelf ſaith: (Rom. vi. 12.) let not ſin reign in your mortal bodies to obey the deſires thereof. He ſaith not, let it not be, but let it not reign. So long as thou liveſt, ſin muſt needs be in thy members at leaſt, let reign be taken from it. Let not that be done which it commandeth. They that defend that luſt is no ſin, are wont to object that ſaying of James (James ii.) Luſt, after that it hath conceived, bringeth forth ſin. But this is eaſily confuted. For unleſs we think that he ſpeaketh of only ill works or actual ſins, evil will itſelf, ſhall not be accounted ſin. But where he calleth miſchievous deeds and wicked offences the offſprings of ſin, and giveth unto them the name of ſin, it doth not by and by follow thereof, but that to luſt, is an evil thing and damnable before God.

The wild imagination of Anabaptiſts teaching that men regenerate ſhould take no care to bridle any diſ-

14. Certain Anabaptiſts in this age, deviſe I know not what mad intemperance inſtead of ſpiritual regeneration: ſaying that the children of God reſtored into the ſtate of innocency, now ought no more to be careful for bridling of the luſt of the fleſh: the

ordered desire in themselves, but only follow the conduct of the Spirit which cannot lead them into any evil: so that whatsoever they do in this their state of imagined innocency it is spiritual and good.

that the Spirit is to be followed for their guide, under whose guiding they never go out of the way. It were incredible that man's mind could fall to so great madness, unless they did openly and proudly babble abroad this doctrine. Truly it is monstrous. But it is meet that such should suffer the punishment of such blasphemous boldness, that so have persuaded their mind to turn the truth of God unto a lie. Shall all the choice of honesty and dishonesty, right and wrong, good and evil, virtue and vice, be taken away? Such difference (say they) cometh of the cursedness of old Adam, from which we are exempted by Christ. So now there shall be no difference between fornication and chastity, plain dealing and subtilty, truth and lying, justice and extortion. Take away vain fear, say they, the Spirit will command thee no evil thing, so that thou boldly and without fear yield thee to the guiding thereof. Who can choose but be astonished at these monstrous things? Yet it is a common learning among them, which blinded with madness of lusts, have put off all common reason, but what Christ (I beseech you) do they frame unto us, and what spirit do they belch out? For we acknowlege one Christ, and his only Spirit whom the prophets have commended, whom the gospel given us doth preach, of whom we there hear no such thing. That Spirit is no patron of manslaughter, whoredom, drunkenness, pride, contention, covetousness, and guile: but the author of love, chastity, sobriety, modesty, peace, temperance and truth. It is not a giddy spirit, and runneth headlong without consideration through right and wrong, but is full of wisdom, and understanding, that discerneth rightly between just and unjust. It stirreth not unto dissolute and unbridled licentiousness, but maketh difference between lawful and unlawful, and teacheth to keep measure and temperance: but why do we labour any longer in confuting this beastly rage? To christians the Spirit of the Lord is not a troublesome fancy, which either themselves have brought forth in a dream, or have received being forged of others: but they reverently seek the knowlege of him at the Scriptures, where these two thinge are taught of him: First that he is given us unto sanctification, that he might bring us into the obedience of God's will, being purged from uncleanness and defilings, which obedience cannot stand, unless lusts be tamed and subdued, whereunto these men would give the bridle at liberty. Secondly, we are taught that we are so cleansed by his sanctification, that we are still besieged with many vices and much weakness, so long as we are inclosed in the burden of our body: whereby it cometh to pass, that being far distant from perfection, we have need always to increase somewhat, and being entangled in vices, we have need daily to wrestle with them. Whereupon also followeth, that shaking off sloth and carelessness, we must watch with heedful minds, that we be not compassed unawares, with the snares of our flesh. Unless perhaps we think that we have proceeded further than the apostle (2 Cor. xii. 15.) who yet was wearied of the messenger of Satan, that his strength might be made perfect with weakness; and who did unfeignedly represent in his flesh that division of the flesh, and of the Spirit.

Seven either effects, causes or properties of repentance reckoned up by th apostle.

15. But whereas the apostle (1 Cor. xi. 7.) in describing of repentance reckoneth seven either causes or effects or parts thereof, he doth that of a very good cause: and these they be: endeavour or carefulness, excusing, indignation, fear, desire, zeal, punishment. Neither ought it to seem any absurdity, that I dare not certainly determine whether they ought to be counted causes or effects. For both may be defended in disputation. They may be also called affections joined with repentance: but because, leaving out those questions, we may understand what Paul meaneth, we shall be content with a simple declaration of them. He saith therefore, that of the heaviness which is according to God, ariseth carefulness. For he that is touched with an earnest feeling of displeasure because he hath sinned against his God, is therewithal stirried up to diligence and heedfulness, to wind himself clearly out of the snares of the devil, to take better heed of his snares, to fall no more from the goverment of the holy Ghost, not to be oppressed with security. Next is excusing, which in this place signifieth not the defence, whereby a sinner to escape the judgment of God, either doth deny that he hath offended, or diminisheth the hainousness of his fault, but a purgation which standeth rather in craving of pardon, than in defence of his cause. Like as the children that are not reprobate when they acknowlege and confess their faults, do yet use intreating, and that it may take place, they pro-

proteſt by all means that they can, that they have not caſt away the reverence that they owe to their parents. Finally, they ſo excuſe them, as they go not about to prove themſelves righteous and innocent, but only that they may obtain pardon. Then followeth indignation whereby the ſinner fretteth inwardly with himſelf, quarrelleth with himſelf, is angry with himſelf, when he recordeth his own perverſeneſs and his own unthankfulneſs to God. By the name of fear, he meaneth that trembling that is ſtricken into our minds ſo oft as we think both what we have deſerved, and how horrible is the ſeverity of God's wrath againſt ſinners. For we muſt needs then be vexed with a marvellous unquietneſs, which both inſtructeth us to humility, and maketh us more wary againſt the time to come. Now if out of fear do ſpring that carefulneſs, whereof he had ſpoken before, then we ſee with what connexion they hang together. It ſeemeth to me that he hath uſed this word deſire for diligence in our duty and ready chearfulneſs to obey, to which the acknowleging of our own faults ought chiefly to provoke us. And thereunto alſo belongeth zeal, which he joineth immediately next unto it. For it ſignifieth a fearfulneſs, with which we are kindled when we are ſpurred forward with theſe pricking thoughts: what have I done? whither had I thrown my ſelf headlong, if the mercy of God did not help me? The laſt of all is puniſhment; for the more rigorous that we be to ourſelves, and the more ſtrictly that we examine our own ſins, ſo much the more we ought to truſt that God is favourable and merciful unto us. And truly it is not poſſible, but that the ſoul being ſtricken with horror of the judgment of God muſt needs do ſome execution in the puniſhing of itſelf. Truly the godly do feel what puniſhments are ſhame, confuſion, mourning, lothing of themſelves, and other affections that ſpring out of earneſt acknowleging of ſins. But let us remember that there is meaſure to be kept, that ſorrow do not ſwallow us up, becauſe nothing more readily happeneth to fearful conſciences than falling to deſpair. And alſo by that crafty means whomſoever Satan findeth overthrown with dread of God, he more and more drowneth them in the gulf of ſorrow, that they may never riſe up again. Truly the fear cannot be too great which endeth with humility, and departeth not from hope of pardon. But always (as the apoſtle teacheth) Heb. xi. 13. the ſinner muſt beware, that while he move himſelf to the lothing of himſelf, he deſpair not, oppreſſed with too great fear, for ſo do we flee away from God who calleth us to him by repentance. Upon which point this leſſon of Bernard (*Sermone* 11. *in Cant.*) is very profitable: Sorrow for ſins is neceſſary, if it be not continual. I counſel you ſometimes to return your fault from grievous and painful remembrance of your own ways, and to climb up to the plain ground of chearful remembrance of the benefits of God. Let us mingle honey with wormwood, that the wholſome bitterneſs may bring us health, when it ſhall be drunk tempered with ſweetneſs. And if ye think of yourſelves in humility, think alſo of the Lord in goodneſs.

The fruits of repentance, purging of the heart outward amendment of life and manners. Beſides which there are alſo certain external exerciſes ſerving to humble or to declare that we are humbled, wherein the old writers have two ways gone beyond meaſure.

16. Now it may be alſo perceived what are the fruits of repentance, even the duties of godlineſs towards God, and of charity towards men, and therewithal a holineſs and pureneſs in all our life. Finally, the more earneſtly that any man examineth his life by the rule of God's law, ſo much the ſurer tokens he ſheweth of his repentance. Therefore the holy Ghoſt oftentimes, when he exhorteth us to repentance, calleth us ſometimes to all the commandments of the law, ſometimes to the duties of the ſecond table. Altho' in other places after that he hath condemned uncleanneſs in the very fountain of the heart, he deſcendeth afterwards to outward teſtimonies that do ſet out true repentance, of which thing I will hereafter ſet before the reader's eyes a table in the deſcription of a chriſtian life. I will not gather teſtimonies out of the prophets, wherein they partly ſcorn at their follies that go about to appeaſe God with ceremonies, and do ſhew that they are mere mockeries, and partly do teach that outward uprightneſs of life is not the principal part of repentance, becauſe God looketh upon the heart: whoſoever is even meanly exerciſed in the ſcripture, ſhall perceive of himſelf without any other man's putting in mind, that when we have to do with God, we labour in vain, unleſs we begin at the inward affection of the heart. And the place of Joel (Joel ii. 13.) ſhall not a little help to the underſtanding of the reſt, where he ſaith: rend your heart and not your garments. Alſo both thoſe points are expreſſed in theſe words of James: (Jam. iv. 8.) cleanſe your hands ye ſinners, and purify your hearts, ye double minded.

Where indeed there is an addition joined to th firſt part, but after is ſhewed the very fountain and beginning, that they muſt wipe away their ſecret filthineſs, that there may be an altar ſet up to God in the very heart. Beſides this there are alſo certain outward exerciſes, which we uſe privately as remedies to humble ourſelves or to tame our fleſh, and publickly for the declaration of repentance. And they proceed from that puniſhment of which Paul ſpeaketh, for theſe are the properties of an afflicted mind, (2 Cor. vii. 11.) to be in loathſomneſs, mourning and weeping, to flee gorgeouſneſs and all trimming, and to forſake all delights. Then he that feeleth how great an evil is the rebellion of the fleſh, ſeeketh all remedies to bridle it. Moreover he that well bethinketh him how grievous a thing it is to have offended the juſtice of God, cannot reſt until he have in his own humility given glory unto God. Such exerciſes the old writers do oftentimes rehearſe, when they ſpeak of the fruits of repentance. But altho' they do not place the whole force of repentance in them, yet the readers ſhall pardon me, if I ſpeak what I think: it ſeemeth unto me that they ſtand too much upon them. And if any man will wiſely conſider it, I truſt he will agree with me, that they have two ways gone beyond meaſure. For when they ſo much enforced, and with immeaſurable commendation advanced that bodily diſcipline, this indeed they obtained, that the people did the more earneſtly embrace it, but they in a manner darkened that which ought to have been of much greater importance. Secondly, in giving puniſhments they were ſomewhat more rigorous than eccleſiaſtical mildneſs may bear, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew in another place.

The uſe of weeping, faſting, aſhes, ſackcloth and ſuch like outward things in the action of repentance.

17. But becauſe many when they hear weeping, faſting and aſhes ſpoken of, both often in other places and ſpecially in Joel, they meaſure the chief part of repentance by faſting and weeping, therefore their error is to be taken away. That which is there ſpoken of the turning of the whole heart to the Lord, of rending their hearts and not their garments, is properly belonging to repentance; but weeping and faſting are not joined as continual or neceſſary effects thereof, but are ſpoken of in reſpect of a ſpecial circumſtance. Becauſe he had propheſied, that there hanged over the Jews a moſt terrible deſtruction, therefore he counſelleth them to prevent the wrath of God, not only in repenting, but alſo in uttering tokens of their ſorrow. For as a man ſtanding to be arraigned, uſeth humbly to abaſe himſelf with an overgrown beard, uncombed hair and black apparel, to move the judge to pity: ſo it behoved them when they ſtood accuſed before the judgment ſeat of God in piteous array to beſeech him not to extend his rigour. But although aſhes and ſackcloth did peradventure more fitly agree with thoſe times: yet it is certain, that weeping and faſting ſhould be to a very convenient good uſe among us, ſo oft as the Lord ſeemeth to threaten us with any plague or calamity. For when he maketh any danger to appear, he doth after a certain manner give warning, that he is prepared or armed to revenge. Therefore the prophet did well, when he exhorted his countrymen to weeping and faſting, that is to the ſorrowful manner of accuſed men, whoſe offences he ſaid a little before, were had in examination. Even as the paſtors of the church ſhould not do ill at this day, if when they ſee any ruin hanging over the necks of their people, they would cry out upon them to make haſte to faſting and weeping: ſo that they would with greater and more inward care and diligence, always enforce that which is the principal point, that they muſt rend their hearts and not their garments. (Matth. ix. 15.) It is out of doubt, that faſting is not always joined with repentance, but is appointed peculiarly for times of miſerable plagues: and therefore Chriſt joineth it with wailing, when he acquitteth the apoſtles from need thereof, until the time that being deprived of his preſence, they ſhould be tormented with grief. I ſpeak of ſolemn faſting. For the private life of the godly ought to be tempered with honeſt ſparing and ſobriety, that in the whole courſe thereof there may appear a certain kind of faſting. But becauſe all this matter ſhall be declared again in the place where we ſhall treat of the diſcipline of the church, therefore I do now the more ſlenderly touch it.

The name of repentance improperly given to the outward teſtification of our penitence: which teſtification by mouth or otherwiſe although God do not always require, yet he doth exact

18. But this one thing I will add here by the way: when the name of repentance is applied to this outward profeſſion, then it is properly turned from the natural meaning which I have above ſet forth of it. For it is not ſo much a turning unto God as a confeſſion of fault, with a beſeeching of God not to charge them with the pain and guiltineſs. (Matth. xi. 21.) So to do pe-

always an unfeigned ſorrow for ſins committed, and for more grievous offences more than an ordinary doing of penance.

penance in aſhes and ſackcloth is nothing elſe, than to utter a diſpleaſedneſs when God is angry with us for grievous offences. And this is a public kind of confeſſion, (Luke x. 13.) whereby we condemning ourſelves before the angels and the world, do prevent the judgment of God. For Paul (1 Cor. xi. 13.) rebuking their ſlothfulneſs that tenderly bear with their own faults, ſaith: if we did judge ourſelves, we ſhould not be judged of God. But it is not always neceſſary to make men openly of counſel and witneſſes of our repentance: but to confeſs privately to God is part of a true repentance: which cannot be omitted. For there is nothing more unreaſonable than to look to have God to pardon us the ſins in which we flatter ourſelves and do hide them by hypocriſy, leaſt he ſhould bring them to light. And it behoveth us not only to confeſs thoſe ſins which we daily commit, but more grievous offences ought to draw us further, and to call again into our remembrance things that ſeem long ago buried. Which leſſon David (Pſal. li. 5.) giveth us by his example. For being touched with ſhame of his newly-committed fault, he examineth himſelf even to the time when he was in his mother's womb, and confeſſeth that even then he was corrupted and defiled with the filthineſs of the fleſh. And this he doth not to diminiſh the hainouſneſs of his fault, as many hide themſelves in the multitude, and ſeek to eſcape puniſhment by wrapping others with them. But David doth far otherwiſe who with ſimple plainneſs enforceth his fault in ſaying, that being corrupt from his firſt infancy, he hath not ceaſed to heap evils upon evils. Alſo in another place (Pſal. xxv. 9.) he likewiſe ſo examineth his by paſt life, that he craveth mercy of God for the ſins of his youth. And truly then only ſhall we prove our drowſineſs to be ſhaken away from us, if groaning under our burden and bewailing our evils, we aſk relief from God. It is moreover to be obſerved, that the repentance which we are commanded continually to apply, differeth from that repentance, that lifteth up as it were from death, thoſe who either have filthily fallen, or with unbridled licentiouſneſs have thrown forth themſelves to ſin, or after a certain manner of rebellious revolting, have ſhaken off the yoke of God. For the ſcripture oftentimes, when it exhorteth to repentance meaneth thereby as it were a paſſage or riſing again from death unto life: and when it rehearſeth that the people did penance, it meaneth that they were turned from their idolatry and other groſs offences. And in like manner Paul (2 Cor. xii. 21.) threateneth mourning unto ſinners who have not done penance for their wantonneſs, fornication and unchaſtity. This difference is to be diligently marked, leaſt while we hear that few are called to penance, a more than careleſs aſſuredneſs ſhould creep upon us, as though the mortifying of the fleſh did no more belong unto us, the care whereof, the corrupt deſires that always tickle us, and the vices that commonly ſpring forth in us, do not ſuffer us to releaſe. Therefore the ſpecial repentance which is required but of ſome, whom the devil hath violently carried away from the fear of God, and faſt bound with damnable ſnares, taketh not away the ordinary repentance which the corruption of nature compelleth us to apply throughout all the whole courſe of our life.

How repentance and forgiveneſs of ſins contain the ſubſtance of the goſpel.

19. Now if that be true, which is moſt evidently certain, that all the ſum of the goſpel is contained in theſe two principal points, repentance and forgiveneſs of ſins: do we not ſee, that the Lord doth therefore freely juſtify them that are his, that he may alſo by the ſanctification of his Spirit reſtore them into true righteouſneſs? John the Baptiſt (Matth. iii. 2.) ſent before the face of Chriſt to prepare his ways, preached: Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is come near at hand. In calling them to repentance, he did put them in mind to acknowlege themſelves ſinners, and all that was theirs, to be damnable before the Lord, that they might with all their hearts deſire the mortifying of their fleſh and a new regeneration in the Spirit. In telling them of the kingdom of God, he called them to faith. For (Matth. i. 4.) by the kingdom of God which he taught to be at hand, he meant forgiveneſs of ſins, ſalvation, and life, and all that ever we get in Chriſt. Wherefore in the other evangeliſts (Luke iii. 3.) it is written, John came preaching the baptiſm of repentance unto forgiveneſs of ſins. And what is that elſe, but that they being oppreſſed and wearied with the burden of ſins, ſhould turn to the Lord, and conceive good hopes of forgiveneſs and ſalvation? So Chriſt alſo began his preaching: The kingdom of God (Mark i. 15.) is come near at hand: repent ye and believe the goſpel. Firſt he declareth that the treaſures of God's mercy are opened in him, and then he requireth repentance, and laſt of all

fidence in the promiſes of God. Therefore when he meant briefly to comprehend the whole ſum of the Goſpel, he ſaid (Luke xxiv. 26.) that he muſt ſuffer and riſe again from the dead, and that repentance and forgiveneſs of ſins muſt be preached in his name. The Apoſtles alſo preached the ſame after his reſurrection, that he was raiſed up by God, to give to Iſrael repentance and forgiveneſs of ſins. Repentance is preached in the name of Chriſt, when men do hear by the doctrine of the goſpel that all their thoughts, their affections, and their endeavours are corrupt and faulty, and that therefore it is neceſſary that they be born again if they will enter into the kingdom of God. Forgiveneſs of ſins is preached when men are taught that Chriſt is made to them redemption, righteouſneſs, ſalvation and life: (1 Cor. i. 30.) in whoſe name they are freely accounted righteous and innocent in the ſight of God, whereas both theſe graces are received by faith, as I have in another place declared: yet becauſe the goodneſs of God whereby ſins are forgiven is the proper object of faith, therefore it is proper that it be diligently diſtinguiſhed from repentance.

As Repentance openeth us the door unto Chriſt, ſo Chriſtianity muſt lead us on in the way of continual repenting or amending our lives.

20. Now as the hatred of ſin, which is the beginning of repentance, openeth us the firſt entry unto Chriſt, who ſheweth himſelf to none but to miſerable and afflicted ſinners, who groan, labour, are laden, are hungry and thriſty, (Iſai. lxi. 1.) and pine away with ſorrow and miſery: ſo muſt we endeavour toward repentance, throughout all our life apply it, and follow it to the end, if we will abide in in Chriſt. (Matth. xi. 5.) For he came to call ſinners, but to repentance: he was ſent to bleſs the unworthy, (Luke iv. 18.) but ſo that every one ſhould turn himſelf from his wickedneſs. The ſcripture is full of ſuch ſayings. Wherefore when God offereth forgiveneſs of ſins, (Matth. ix. 14) he likewiſe uſeth to require on our part repentance, ſecretly declaring thereby, that his mercy ought to be to men a cauſe to repent of them, Do (ſaith he) judgment and righteouſneſs, becauſe ſalvation is come near at hand. Again, (Act. iii. 26. and v. 31.) there ſhall come to Sion a Redeemer, and to them that in Jacob repent from their ſins. Again, (Iſai. lvi. 1. and lix. 20. and lv. 6.) Seek the Lord while he may be found: call upon him while he is near. Let the wicked forſake his way and the wickedneſs of his thoughts, and be turned to the Lord, and he ſhall have mercy on him. Again, (Act. ii. 38.) Repent, and be converted, that your ſins may be blotted out. Where yet it is to be remarked, that this condition is not ſo annexed as though our repentance were a foundation to deſerve pardon, but rather (becauſe the Lord hath determined to have mercy upon men to this end that they ſhould repent) he teacheth men whither they ſhall travel if they will obtain grace. Therefore ſo long as we ſhall dwell in the priſon of our body, we muſt continually wreſtle with the vices of our corrupt fleſh, yea with our own natural ſoul. Plato (*Id cum alib. tum in Phædone multis diſputat.*) ſaith in certain places, that the life of a Philoſopher is a meditation of death, but we may more truly ſay, that the life of a Chriſtian man is a perpetual ſtudy and exerciſe of mortifying the fleſh, till it being utterly ſlain, the Spirit of God get the dominion in us. Therefore I think that he hath much profited, who hath learned much to diſlike himſelf: not that he ſhould ſtick faſt in that mire and go no further, but rather that he ſhould haſte and long towards God, that being grafted into the death and life of Chriſt, he ſhould meditate upon a continual repentance: as truly they cannot do otherwiſe, who have a natural hatred of ſin: for no man ever hated ſin, unleſs he were firſt in love with righteouſneſs. This doctrine, as it was moſt ſimple of all others, ſo I thought it beſt to agree with the truth of the ſcripture.

Repentance the gift of God: which gift being denied unto ſome kind of ſinners, the Novatians took thereby occaſion to exclude all from it who ſin after grace once received.

21. Now that repentance is a ſingular gift of God, I think it is ſo well known by the doctrine above taught, that I need not to repeat a long diſcourſe to prove it again. Therefore the church praiſeth and hath in admiration the benefit of God, that he hath given the Gentiles repentance unto ſalvation. (Act. iii. 16.) And Paul commanding Timothy to be patient and mild toward the unbelievers, ſaith: (2. Tim. ii. 25.) If at any time GOD give them repentance that they may repent from the ſnares of the devil. God indeed affirmeth that he willeth the converſion of all men, and directeth his exhortations generally to all men: but the effectual working thereof dependeth upon the Spirit of regeneratoin. Becauſe it were more eaſy to create us men; than of our own power to put on a better nature. Therefore in the whole courſe of regeneration we are not without cauſe called, the work

of

of God created to good works, which he hath prepared that we ſhould walk in them. Whomſoever the Lord's will is to deliver from death, thoſe he quickeneth with the ſpirit of regeneration: not that repentance is properly the cauſe of ſalvation, but becauſe it is already ſeen that it is unſeparable from faith and from the mercy of God: Since (as Iſaiah teſtifieth) (Iſai. lix. 20.) that there is a redeemer come to him, and to thoſe that in Jacob are returned from their wickedneſs. This truly ſtandeth ſtedfaſtly determined, that whereſoever liveth the fear of God, there the Spirit hath wrought unto the ſalvation of man. Therefore in Iſaiah, (Iſa. lxiii. 17.) when the faithful complain and lament that they are forſaken of God, they reckon this as a token of being reprobates, that their hearts were hardened by God. The Apoſtle (Heb. vi. 6.) alſo meaning to exclude Apoſtates from hope of ſalvation, aſſigneth this reaſon, that it is impoſſible for them to be renewed unto repentance: becauſe God in renewing them whom he will not have periſh, ſheweth a token of his fatherly favour, and in a manner draweth them unto him with the beams of his cheerful and merciful countenance: on the other ſide with hardening them, he thundereth againſt the reprobate, whoſe wickedneſs is unpardonable. Which kind of vengeance the Apoſtle (Heb. x. 29.) threateneth to wilful Apoſtates, who when they depart from the faith of the goſpel, do make a ſcorn of God, reproachfully deſpiſe his grace, and defile and tread under feet the blood of Chriſt, yea as much in them is they crucify him again. For he doth not (as ſome fooliſhly rigorous men would have it) cut off hope of pardon from all wilful ſins: but teacheth that Apoſtacy is unworthy of all excuſe: ſo that it is no wonder that God doth puniſh a contempt of himſelf ſo full of ſacrilege, with unappeaſable rigor. For he ſaith (Heb. vi. 4.) that it is impoſſible, that they who have once been enlightened, have taſted of the heavenly gift, have been made partakers of the holy Ghoſt, have taſted of the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they fall, ſhould be renewed to repentance, crucifying again afreſh, and making a ſcorn of the Son of God. Again in another place: (Heb. x. 25.) If (ſaith he) we willingly ſin after knowlege of the truth received, there remaineth no more ſacrifice for ſins, but a certain fearful expectation of judgment, &c. Theſe alſo are the places, out of the wrong underſtanding whereof the Novatians in old time have gathered matter to play the mad men: with whoſe rigorouſneſs certain good men being offended, believed this to be a counterfeit Epiſtle in the Apoſtle's name, which yet in all parts do truly ſavour of an apoſtolick Spirit. But becauſe we contend with none but with thoſe who allow it, it is eaſy to ſhew, how theſe ſentences do not in the leaſt ſupport their error. Firſt it is neceſſary that the Apoſtle agree with his maſter, who affirmeth that all ſin and blaſphemy ſhall be forgiven, except the ſin againſt the holy Ghoſt, which is not forgiven neither in this world nor in the world to come. It is certain (I ſay) that the Apoſtle was contented with this exception, unleſs we will make him an adverſary to the grace of Chriſt. Whereupon followeth, that pardon is denied to no ſpecial offences, but only to one, which proceeding of a deſperate rage, cannot be aſcribed to weakneſs, and openly ſheweth that a man is poſſeſſed of a devil.

The definition of ſin againſt the holy Ghoſt: which ſin proceedeth not of ignorance but of malice.

22. But to diſcuſs this, it behoveth to enquire what is that ſame ſo horrible offence, that ſhall have no forgiveneſs. Whereas Auguſtine in one place deſigneth it an obſtinate ſtiffneſs even unto death, with deſpair of pardon, that doth not well agree with the very words of Chriſt, that it ſhall not be forgiven in this world. For either that is ſpoken in vain, or it may be committed in this life. But if Auguſtine's definition be true, then it is not committed; unleſs it continue even unto death. Whereas ſome others ſay that he ſinneth againſt the holy Ghoſt, who envieth the grace beſtowed upon his brother: I ſee not from whence that is fetched. But let us bring a true definition, which being once proved with ſure teſtimonies, ſhall eaſily by itſelf overthrow all the reſt. I ſay therefore, that they ſin againſt the holy Ghoſt, who deliberately reſiſt the truth of God, with the brightneſs whereof they are ſo dazled, that they cannot pretend ignorance: which they do only to this end to reſiſt. For Chriſt meaning to expound that which he had ſaid, immediately addeth: He that ſpeaketh a word againſt the ſon of man, it ſhall be forgiven him: but he that blaſphemeth againſt the holy Ghoſt, ſhall not be forgiven. (Matth. xii. 32. Mark iii. 29. Luke xii. 10.) And Matthew for the blaſphemy againſt the holy Spirit, putteh the ſpirit of blaſphemy. But how can a man ſpeak a reproach againſt the Son, but it is alſo ſpoken againſt the holy Ghoſt? They that ſtumble unawares againſt the truth of God, not knowing it, who do ignorantly ſpeak evil of Chriſt, having

having yet this mind, that they would not extinguish the truth of God disclosed unto them, or once with one word offend him, whom they had known to be the Lor'ds anointed: these men sin against the father and the son. So there are many at this day, who do most hatefully detest the doctrine of the gospel, which if they did know it to be the doctrine of the gospel, they would be ready to worship with all their heart. But they whose conscience is convinced, that it is the word of God which they forsake and fight against, and yet cease not to fight against it, they are said to blaspheme the holyGhost: forasmuch as they wrestle against the enlightning that is the work of the holy Ghost. Such were many of the Jews, (Act. vi. 10.) who when they could not resist the Spirit that spake by Stephen, yet endeavoured to resist. It is no doubt but that many of them were carried unto it with zeal of the law, but it appeareth that there were some others that of malicious wickedness did rage against God himself, that is to say against the doctrine, which they were not ignorant to be of God. And such were those Pharisees, (Matth. ix. 43. and xii. 24.) against whom the Lord inveigheth, who to overthrow the power of the holy Ghost, defamed him with the name of Belzebub. This therefore is the spirit of blasphemy, when man's boldness of set purpose, dareth to reproach the name of God. Which (1 Tim. i. 13.) Paul signifieth when he saith, that he obtained mercy, because he had ignorantly committed those things through unbelief, for which otherwise he had been unworthy of God's succour. If ignorance joined with unbelief was the cause that he obtained pardon, thereupon followeth, that there is no place for pardon, where knowlege is joined to unbelief.

23. But if thou mark it well, thou shalt perceive that the apostle speaketh not of one or other particular fall, but of the universal departing whereby the reprobate do forsake salvation. And it is no marvel, that they whom John (2 John i. 19.) in his canonical Epistle affirmeth not to have been of the elect, from whom they went out, do feel God unappeaseable, for he directeth his speech against them, who imagined, they might return to the christian religion, although they had once departed from it: and calling them from this false and dangerous opinion, he saith that which is most true, that there is no way of returning open for them to the communion of Christ, who knowingly and willingly have cast it away: but they cast it not away, that only in dissolute licentiousness of life transgress the word of the Lord, but they that of set purpose cast away his whole doctrine. Therefore the deceit is in these words of falling and sinning. Because the Novatians expound falling to be, if a man being taught by the law of the Lord, that he ought not to steal or to commit fornication, abstaineth not from stealing or fornication. But contrariwise I affirm, that there is a secret comparison of contraries, wherein ought to be repeated all things contrary to that which was first spoken, so that here is expressed not any particular fault but the whole turning away from God, and (as I may so call it) the Apostacy of the whole man. Therefore when he saith, (Heb, vi. 4.) they who have fallen after that they have once been enlightened, and have tasted the heavenly gift, and been made partakers of the holy Ghost, and also tasted the good word of God and the powers of the world to come: it is to be understood of those who with advised ungodliness have choaked the light of the holy Spirit, have spit out again the taste of the heavenly gift, have estranged themselves from the sanctification of the holy Ghost, have troden under foot the word of God and the powers of the world to come. And the more to express that advised purpose of wickedness, in another place afterward he addeth this word by name wilfully. (Heb. x. 16.) For when he saith, that there is left no sacrifice for them that sin willingly after knowlege of the truth received, he doth not deny, that Christ is a continual sacrifice to purge the iniquities of the holy ones (which he expressly crieth out almost in the whole Epistle, where he declareth the priesthood of Christ) but he saith, that there remaineth no other when that is once forsaken: and it is forsaken, when the truth of the gospel is of set purpose renounced.

To them that sin against the holy Ghost pardon is not denied if they repent, but repentance because they are unworthy of pardon.

24. But whereas some do think it too hard and too far from the tender mercifulness of God, that any are put away that flee to beseeching theLord's mercy: that is easily answered. For he doth not say, that pardon is denied them if they turn to the Lord: but he utterly denieth, that they can rise unto repentance, because they are by the just judgment of God stricken with eternal blindness for their unthankfulness. And it maketh nothing to the contrary that afterward he applieth to this purpose the example of Esau, who in vain attempted with howling and weeping to recover his right of the first

firſt begotten. And no more doth that threatning of the prophet, when they cry, I will not hear. For in ſuch phraſes of ſpeech is meant neither the true converſion, nor calling upon God, but that carefulneſs of the wicked wherewith being bound, they are compelled in extremity to look unto that which before they careleſly neglected, that there is no good thing for them but in the Lord's help. But this they do not ſo much call upon, as they mourn that it is taken from them. Therefore the prophet meaneth nothing elſe by crying, and the apoſtle nothing elſe by weeping, but that horrible torment which by deſperation fretteth and vexeth the wicked. This it is good to mark diligently, for elſe God ſhould diſagree with himſelf, who crieth by the prophet that he will be merciful ſo ſoon as the ſinner turneth. And as I have already ſaid, it is certain that the mind of man is not turned to better, but by God's grace preventing it. Alſo his promiſe concerning calling upon him, will never deceive. But that blind torment wherewith the reprobate are diverſly drawn, when they ſee that they muſt needs ſeek God, that they may find remedy for their evils, and yet do flee from his preſence, is unproperly called converſion and prayer.

Although God for common examples ſake do ſometimes remit temporal puniſhments upon a counterfeit repentance as in Ahab, yet his wrath without hearty converſion is not turned away.

25. But a queſtion is moved, whereas the apoſtle denieth that God is appeaſed with feigned repentance, how Ahab obtained pardon and turned away the puniſhment pronounced upon him, whom yet it appeareth by the reſt of the courſe of his life to have been only ſtricken amazed with ſudden fear. He did indeed put on ſackcloth, ſcattered aſhes upon him, lay upon the ground, and (as it is teſtified of him) he was humbled before God: but it was not enough to cut his garments when his heart remained thick and ſwoln with malice. Yet we ſee how God is turned to mercy. I anſwer that ſo ſometimes hypocrites are ſpared for a time, but yet ſo that ever the wrath of God lieth upon them, and that is done not ſo much for their ſakes, as for common example. For whereas Ahab had his puniſhment mitigated unto him, what profit got he thereby, but that he ſhould not feel it alive in earth? Therefore the curſe of GOD although it was hidden, yet had a faſt abiding place in his houſe, and he himſelf went into eternal deſtruction. This ſame is to be ſeen in Eſau. For though he had a repulſe, yet a temporal bleſſing was granted him at his weeping. But becauſe the ſpiritual inheritance, by the oracle of God could not reſt but with one of the brethren, when Jacob was choſen and Eſau refuſed, that putting away did exclude the mercy of God: this comfort was left him as a beaſtly man, that he ſhould be fat with the fat of the earth and the dew of heaven. And this is it that I ſaid even now, it ought to be referred to the example of the other, that we ſhould learn the more chearfully to apply our minds and endeavours to repentance, becauſe it is not to be doubted that when we are truly and heartly turned, God will be ready to forgive us, whoſe mercifulneſs extendeth itſelf even to the unworthy, ſo long as they ſhew any grief at all. And therewithal we are alſo taught, how terrible judgment is prepared for all the obſtinate, who now make it a ſport with no leſs ſhameleſs face than iron heart to deſpiſe and ſet at nought the threatnings of God. After this manner he oftentimes reached out his hand to the children of Iſrael, to relieve their miſeries, although their repentance was counterfeit, and their hearts double and falſe, as himſelf in the Pſalm complaineth, (Pſal. lxxviii. 36.) that they by and by returned to their nature, and ſo minded with ſo friendly gentle dealing to bring them to earneſt converſion, or to make them inexcuſable. Yet in releaſing puniſhments for a time, he doth not bind himſelf to a perpetual law thereby, but rather riſeth ſometimes more rigorouſly againſt hypocrites, and doubleth their pains, that thereby may appear how much hypocriſy deſpleaſeth him. But (as I have ſaid) he ſheweth ſome examples of his readineſs to give pardon, by which the godly may be encouraged to amendment of life, and their pride may be the more generouſly condemned, that ſtubbornly kick againſt the pricks.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

That all that the ſophiſters babble in their ſchools of penance, is far from the pureneſs of the goſpel. Where is treated of confeſſion and ſatisfaction.

The ſchoolmens error both in diſining and dividing repentance.

NOW I come to diſcuſs thoſe things, which the ſchool ſophiſters have taught of repentance. Which I will run over in as few words as may be, becauſe I mind not to go through all, leaſt this book, which I labour to draw into a ſhort abridgment, ſhould grow to a huge greatneſs. And the ſophiſters have entangled it in ſo many volumes, being a matter otherwiſe not very hard, that a man ſhall hardly find how to get out, if he once fall into their degrees. Firſt, in deſining it, they ſhew that they never underſtood what repentance was. For they take hold of certain ſayings of the old writers, which do nothing at all expreſs the nature of repentance, as that to repent is to weep for ſins paſſed, and not to commit ſins to be wept for. (*Gregory lib.* 4. *Sent. diſt.* 14. *cap.* 1.) Again, that it is to lament evils paſſed, and not to commit again other evils to be lamented. Again: that it is a certain ſorrowful revenge, puniſhing in himſelf that which he is ſorry to have committed. (*Amb. & refer. illic. & in Decr. Diſt.* 3. *de pœnitent. c. Pœnit. prior.*) Again: that it is a ſorrow of heart, and bitterneſs of ſoul, for the evils that a man hath committed or to which he hath conſented. (*Auguſt. refert. ca. diſt. ca. Pœn. poſt.*) But, to grant theſe things well ſaid of the fathers (which a contentious man might eaſily enough deny) yet they were not ſpoken to this intent to deſcribe repentance, but only to exhort them to whom they wrote, that they ſhould not fall again into the ſame offences, out of which they had been drawn. But if we chooſe to turn all ſuch titles of commendation into definitions, then others may alſo be adjoined as rightfully as they. As this of Chryſoſtom, repentance is a medicine that deſtroyeth ſin, a gift given from heaven, a marvellous virtue, a grace ſurmounting the force of the law. (*Amb. refert. Diſt.* 1. *Pœn. c. Vera. Pœnit.*) Yea and the doctrine which they afterward teach, is ſomewhat worſe than theſe definitions. For they ſtick ſo earneſtly in outward exerciſes, that a man can gather nothing elſe out of infinite volumes, but that repentance is a diſcipline and rigorouſneſs that ſerveth partly to tame the fleſh, and partly to chaſtiſe and puniſh vices: but they keep marvellous ſilence of the inward renewing of the mind that draweth with it correction of life. There is indeed much talk among them of contrition and attrition: they torment ſouls with many doubts, and do thruſt into them much trouble and carefulneſs: but when they ſeem to have throughly wounded the hearts, they heal the bitterneſs with a light ſprinkling of ceremonies. And when they have thus curiouſly defined repentance, they divide it into contrition of heart, confeſſion of mouth, and ſatisfaction of work, (*Lib.* 4. *Sen.* 6. *cap.* 1. *de Pœnit diſt.* 1. c. *perfecta pœnitentia.*) no more logically than they defined it, although they would ſeem to have waſted all their age in framing of ſyllogiſms. But if a man will go about to prove by the definition (which kind of argument is of force among logicians) that a man may weep for his ſins paſſed, and commit no more to be wept for, that he may bewail his evils paſſed, and commit no more to be bewailed, and that he may puniſh himſelf for that which he was ſorry to have committed, &c. although he do not confeſs with his mouth: how will they maintain their diviſion? For if that true penitent man do not confeſs, then repentance may be without confeſſion. But if they anſwer, that this diviſion is referred to repentance, in reſpect that it is a ſacrament, or is meant of the whole perfection of repentance, which they comprehend not in their definitions, then is their no cauſe to blame me, but let them lay the fault on themſelves that make not a purer and plainer definition, I truly (according to my groſſneſs) when any thing is diſputed of, do refer all things to the very definition, which is the ſtay and ground of the whole diſputation. But admit that to be their maſter-like licence. Now let us particularly conſider all the parts in order. Whereas I do negligently leap over as trifles thoſe things that they with great gravity of countenance do publiſh for myſteries, I do it not unwittingly, (neither were it very painful for me to confute all that they think themſelves to have deeply and ſubtilly diſputed) but I would think it againſt conſcience to weary the readers with ſuch trifles without any profit. Truly it is eaſy to know by the queſtions which they move and toſs, and wherewith they miſerably incumber themſelves, that they prate of things that they know not. As for example: whether the repentance of our ſin

pleaſeth

pleaſeth God, when obſtinacy endureth in others. Again: whether the puniſhments laid upon man by God, do avail to ſatisfaction. Again: whether repentance may be oftentimes reiterate for deadly ſins: where they foully and wickedly define, that penance is daily done but for venial ſins. Likewiſe they very much torment themſelves with a groſs error, upon the ſaying of Jerom, that repentance is a ſecond board after ſhipwreck. Wherein they ſhew that they never waked from their brutiſh dulneſs, to feel ſo much as a far off the thouſandth part of their faults.

We ſhould never attain to any quietneſs of mind if that which the ſchoolmen have taught concerning contrition were true.

2. But I would the readers ſhould note, that here is not a quarrel about the ſhadow of an aſs, but the moſt earneſt matter of all others is treated of, that is to ſay, forgiveneſs of ſins. For whereas they require three things to repentance, contrition of heart, confeſſion of mouth, and ſatisfaction of work: they do therewithal teach that thoſe three things are neceſſary to the obtaining forgiveneſs of ſins. But if it behove us to know any thing at all in our religion, this truly behoveth us moſt of all, I mean to underſtand and know well by what means, with what law, upon what condition, with what eaſineſs or hardneſs the forgiveneſs of ſins is obtained, If this knowlege is not very plain and certain, the conſcience will have no reſt at all, no peace with God, no confidence or aſſurance, but continually trembleth, wavereth, is troubled, is tormented, is vexed, horribly dreadeth, hateth and flieth the ſight of God. But if the forgiveneſs of ſins depend upon thoſe conditions to which they do bind it, then nothing is more miſerable, nothing in a more lamentable caſe than we. They make contrition the firſt part of obtaining pardon, and they require that to be a true contrition, that is to ſay perfect and full: but in the mean time they do not determine when a man may be aſſured, that he hath to the full meaſure perfectly performed this contrition. Truly I grant that every man ought diligently and earneſtly to enforce himſelf, with bitterly weeping for his ſins, to whet himſelf more and more to a lothing and hatred of them. For this is a ſorrow not to be repented of, that breedeth repentance unto ſalvation. But when there is ſuch a bitterneſs of ſorrow required as may proportionally anſwer the greatneſs of the fault, and ſuch as may in ballance counterpoiſe with the truſt of pardon, here the poor conſciences are marvellouſly tormented and troubled, when they ſee themſelves charged with a due contrition of ſins, and do not ſo attain the meaſure of that due, that they can determine with themſelves, that they have duly performed ſo much as they duly ought. If they ſay that we muſt do as much as lieth in us, then come we ſtill to the ſame point that we were at before: for how dare any man aſſure himſelf that he hath employed all his force to bewail his ſins? So when the conſciences having long wreſtled with themſelves, and long been exerciſed with battles, do at length find no haven to reſt in, yet ſomewhat to eaſe themſelves, they enforce themſelves to a ſorrow, and wring out tears to make perfect their contrition.

The pardon of our ſins doth not depend upon the meaſure of our contrition.

3. But if they ſay that I ſlander them: let them come forth and ſhew any one man, that by ſuch doctrine of contrition hath not been either driven to deſpair, or hath not ſet for his defence a counterfeiting of ſorrow inſtead of true ſorrow, againſt the judgment of God. We have alſo ourſelves ſaid in one place, that forgiveneſs of ſins never cometh without repentance, becauſe none but the afflicted and wounded with a ſenſe of ſins, can ſincerely call upon the mercy of God: but we have therewithal further ſaid, that repentance is not the cauſe of the forgiveneſs of ſins. As for thoſe torments of ſouls, which they ſay muſt be performed of duty, we have taken them away: we have taught the ſinner not to look upon his own contrition nor his own tears, but to faſten both his eyes upon the only mercy of God. (Iſa. lxi.) We have only put him in mind that Chriſt called the labouring and loaden, when he was ſent to publiſh glad tidings to the poor, to heal the contrite in heart, to preach remiſſion to captives, to deliver priſoners, and to comfort them that mourn. (Luke iv. 18.) From which ſhould be excluded both the Phariſees, who filled with their own righteouſneſs, do not acknowlege their own poverty, and alſo the deſpiſers who careleſs of God's wrath do ſeek no remedy for their evils. For ſuch do not labour, nor are loaden, nor contrite in heart, nor bond, nor captive. But there is great difference between teaching a man to deſerve forgiveneſs of ſins with due and full contrition, which the ſinner can never perform: and inſtructing him to hunger and thirſt for the mercy of God, that by the acknowleging of his own miſery, by his own unquietneſs, wearineſs and captivity, it may be ſhewed him, where he ought to

ſeek for relief, reſt and liberty: and finally, he may be taught in the humbling of himſelf, to give glory to God.

The grounds of Popiſh confeſſion.

4. Concerning confeſſion, there hath been always great ſtrife between the Canoniſts and the ſchool divines: while the one ſort affirm, that confeſſion is commanded by the ſpecial commandment of God, and the other ſort deny it and ſay, that it is commanded only by the eccleſiaſtical conſtitutions. But in this contention hath appeared the notable ſhameleſneſs of theſe divines, who have corrupted and violently wreſted as many places of ſcripture, as they alleged for their purpoſe. And when they ſaw that they could not ſo obtain that which they required, they who would be thought more ſubtile than the reſt eſcaped away with this ſhift, that confeſſion came from the law of God, in reſpect of the ſubſtance of it, but afterward received form of the law poſitive. Even as the fooliſheſt ſort among the lawyers do ſay, that citations came from the law of God, becauſe it is ſaid: Adam where art thou? (Gen. iii. 9.) And likewiſe exceptions, becauſe Adam anſwered as it were by way of exception ſaying: The wife that thou gaveſt me, &c. But that both citations and exceptions received the form given them by the civil law. But let us ſee by what arguments they prove this confeſſion, either formed or unformed to be the commandments of God. The Lord (ſay they) ſent the leprous men to the prieſts. But what? ſent he them to confeſſion? who ever heard it ſpoken, that the Levitical prieſts were appointed to hear confeſſions? (Deut. xvii. 8.) Therefore they fly to allegories, And ſay, It was commanded by the law of Moſes, that the prieſts ſhould diſcern between leproſy and leproſy: ſin is a ſpiritual leproſy therefore it is the prieſts office to pronounce upon it. Before that I anſwer them, I aſk this by the way, If this place makes them judges of the ſpiritual leproſy? why do they draw to them the knowlege of natural and fleſhly leproſy? This forſooth is not to mock with the ſcriptures. The law giveth to the Levitical prieſts the knowlege of the leproſy, therefore let us take it upon us. Sin is a ſpiritual leproſy, therefore let us alſo be examiners of ſin. Now I anſwer: ſince the prieſthood is removed, it is neceſſary that the law be removed alſo. All prieſthoods are removed to Chriſt, and fulfilled and ended in him, therefore to him only all the right and honour of prieſthood is alſo removed. If they love ſo well to follow allegories, let them ſet Chriſt before them for the only prieſt, and heap upon his judgment-ſeat the free juriſdiction of all things: this we can eaſily be contented to ſuffer. Moreover their allegory is very unfit, that placeth among the ceremonies that law which is merely politic. Why then did Chriſt ſend the leprous men to the prieſts? That the prieſts ſhould not cavil that he did break the law that commanded the man healed of the leproſy, to be ſhewed before the prieſts and purged with offering of ſacrifice: therefore he commanded the leprous men being cleanſed, to do that which belonged to the law. Go (ſaith he) and ſhew yourſelves to the prieſt, and offer the gift that Moſes hath commanded in the law that it ſhould be for a witneſs unto them. And truly this miracle ſhould have been a witneſs unto them, for they had pronounced them leprous, and now they pronounce them healed. (Matth. xxiv. 14.) Are they not whether they will or no compelled to become witneſſes of Chriſt's miracles? (Matth. x. 18.) Chriſt leaveth to them his miracle to be examined, they cannot deny it. But becauſe they ſtill dally with it, therefore this work is for a witneſs unto them. So in another place: this goſpel ſhall be preached in all the world, for a witneſs to all nations. Again: ye ſhall be led before kings and governors, for a witneſs to them, that is, that in the judgment of God they may be more ſtrongly convinced. But if they had rather follow Chryſoſtome: he alſo teacheth that Chriſt did this for the Jews ſake that he ſhould not be accounted a breaker of the law. (*Hom.* 12. *de muliere Chananæa.*) Altho in ſo clear a matter I am aſhamed to allege the witneſs of any man: whereas Chriſt pronounceth that he leaveth the right of the law whole to the prieſts as to the profeſſed enemies of the goſpel, who were always bent to carp againſt it, if their mouth had not been ſtopped. Wherefore that the Popiſh ſacrificing prieſts may ſtill keep this profeſſion, let them openly take part with them who muſt of neceſſity be reſtrained by force, that they ſpeak not ill againſt Chriſt. For this doth not belong to his true miniſters.

Chriſt's commanding to looſe the bonds from Lazarus whom he raiſed out of the grave frivolouſly alleg-

5. They bring their ſecond argument out of the ſame fountain, that is from an allegory, as though allegories were of great force to confirm any doctrine. But let them be of force, if I do not prove that I can make a fairer ſhew of them for my ſide, than they

ed to prove auricular confession.

they can for theirs. They say, the Lord commanded his disciples, that when Lazarus was raised up, they should unbind and loose him from his bonds. Here first they lie: for it is no where read that the Lord said this to the disciples: and it is much more likely that he said it to the Jews who stood by him, that the miracle might be made the more evident without suspicion of fraud, and his power appear the greater, that without any touching, with his word only he raised up dead men. For thus I expound it: that the Lord, to take away all wrongful opinion from the Jews, desired them to roll away the stone, to feel the stink, to behold assured tokens of death, to see him rising by the only power of his word, and then first to feel him living. And this is the judgment of Chrysostom. (*Ser. contra. Judæos, Gentiles & hæretic.*) But let us grant that this was spoken to the disciples: what will they get thereby? that the Lord gave his apostles power to loose. But how much more fitly and more handsomely might these things be applied by way of allegory, to say that by this sign the Lord meant to instruct his faithful, to loose them that he had raised up: that is, that they should not call into remembrance those sins that he had forgotten: that they should not condemn them for sinners whom he had acquitted: that they should not reproach men with those things that he had forgiven: that they should not be rigorous to punish, nor lightly offended, where he is merciful and easily entreated to spare? Truly nothing ought to move us more to readiness to forgive, than the example of the judge who threateneth that he will be unappeasable to them that are too rigorous, and ungentle. Now let them go and boast of their allegories.

Auricular confession weakly proved either by their acknowleging of their sins whom John did baptize, or by St. James his willing men to make their mutual confessions.

6. But now they join more near hand with us, when they fight (as they think) with open sentences. They that came to John's baptism, did confess their sins, and James willeth that we confess our sins one to another. No marvel if they that would be baptised did confess their sins, for it was said before that John preached the baptism of repentance, and baptised in water unto repentance. Whom should he then have baptized, but them that had confessed themselves sinners? Baptism is a token of the forgiveness of sins; and who should be admitted to this token but sinners, and they that acknowlege themselves to be such? Therefore they confessed their sins, that they might be baptized. And not without a cause doth James bid us confess one to another. But if they did mark what followeth next after, they would understand, that also maketh little for them. Confess (saith he) one to another your sins, and pray one for another. He joineth together mutual confession and mutual prayer. If we must confess to priests only, then must we also pray for priests only. Yea, what and if it might follow of the words of James, that only priests might confess? for when he willeth that we should confess one to another, he speaketh only to them that may hear the confessions of others: his word is in Greek *Allelous*, mutually, interchangeably, by turns, or (if they so like best to term it) by way of reciprocation one to another. But so interchangeably none can confess, but they that are meet to hear confessions. Which prerogative since they vouchsafe to grant only to priests, we do also put over the office of confessing to them only. Therefore away with such triflings, and let us take the very meaning of the apostle which is simple and plain: that is, that we should lay our weakness one in another's bosom to receive mutual counsel, mutual compassion, and mutual comfort one of another: then that we being naturally privy to the weakness of our brethren, should pray for them to the Lord. Why do they then allege James against us: who do so earnestly require the confession of the mercy of God? but no man can confess God's mercy, unless he have first confessed his own misery. Yea we rather pronounce him accursed that doth not before God, before his angels, before the church, yea and before all men confess himself a sinner. For the Lord hath concluded all under sin, that all mouths might be stopped, and all flesh humbled before God, and he only justified and exalted.

Auricular confession a mere human constitution not grounded upon any divine law.

7. But I marvel with what face they dare affirm, that the confession whereof they speak is of the law of God: the use whereof we grant indeed to be very ancient, but such as we are able to prove in old time to have been at liberty. Truly even their own chronicles declare, that there was no certain law or constitution of it before the times of Innocent the third. Surely, if they had had a more ancient law they would rather

This was the 183. *Pope.*

have taken hold thereof, than have been contented with the decree of the council of Lateran, and ſo made themſelves to be laughed at, even of children. In other things they ſtick not to make forged decrees, which they father upon the moſt ancient councils, that they may with the reverence of antiquity dazle the eyes of the ſimple. In this point, it came not in their mind to thruſt in ſuch a falſe pack. Therefore by their own witneſs, there are not yet paſſed three hundred years ſince Innocent the third laid that ſnare upon men, and charged them with neceſſity of confeſſion. But, to ſpeak nothing of the time: the very barbarouſneſs of the words diminiſheth the credit of that law. For where theſe good fathers command every one of both kinds, male and female, once every year to confeſs all his ſins to his own prieſt, pleaſant men do merrily take exception, that in this commandment are contained only Hermaphrodites, and ſay that it belongeth not to ſuch a one as is either male or female only. Since that time, a more groſs beaſtlineſs hath bewrayed it ſelf in their ſcholars, who cannot expound what is meant by his own prieſt. Whatſoever all the popes hired bablers do prate, we hold both that Chriſt was never the author of this law that compelleth men to reckon up their ſins, and alſo that their paſſed a thouſand and two hundred years from the reſurrection of Chriſt before that any ſuch law was made. And ſo, that this tyranny was then firſt brought in, when all godlineſs and learning being deſtroyed, the viſiors of paſtors had without choice taken all licentiouſneſs upon them. Moreover there are evident teſtimonies both in hiſtory and other ancient writers, which teacheth that this confeſſion was a politic diſcipline required by the Biſhiops, not a law made by Chriſt or his apoſtles. I will allege but one out of many, which ſhall be a plain proof thereof. Sozomenus reporteth (*Tripart. hiſt. lib.* 9.) that this conſtitution of Biſhops was diligently kept in all the weſt churches, but eſpecially at Rome. Whereby he ſheweth that it was no univerſal ordinance of all churches. But he ſaith that there was one of the prieſts peculiarly appointed to ſerve for this office. Whereby he doth ſufficiently confute that which theſe men do falſly ſay of the keys given for this uſe univerſally to the whole order of prieſthood. For it was not the common office of all prieſts, but the ſpecial duty of ſome one that was choſen thereunto by the Biſhop. The ſame is he, whom at this day in all cathedral churches they call Penitentiary, the examiner of hainous offences, and ſuch whereof the puniſhment pertaineth to good example. Then he ſaith immediately after, that this was alſo the manner at Conſtantinople, till a certain woman feigning that ſhe came to confeſſion, was found ſo to have coloured under that pretence the diſhoneſt company that ſhe uſed with a certain deacon. For this act, Nectarius a man notable in holineſs and learning, biſhop of that church, took away that cuſtom of confeſſing. Here, here let theſe aſſes lift up their ears. If auricular confeſſion were the law of God, how durſt Nectarius repel and deſtroy it? Will they accuſe for an heretic and ſchiſmatic Nectarius a holy man of God, allowed by the conſenting voices of all the old fathers? But by the ſame ſentence they muſt condemn the church of Conſtantinople, in which Sozomenus affirmeth that the manner of confeſſing was not only let ſlip for a time, but alſo diſcontinued even till within the time of his remembrance. Yea let them condemn of apoſtacy not only the church of Conſtantinople, but alſo all the eaſtern churches which have neglected that law, which (if they ſay true) is inviolable and commanded to all chriſtians.

In the church of Conſtantinople auricular confeſſion taken by St. Chryſoſtom for no ſuch thing, as whereunto all men ſhould ſtand bound.

8. This abrogation Chryſoſtom, who was alſo biſhop of Conſtantinople doth in ſo many places evidently teſtify, that it is a wonder that they dare mutter to the contrary. Tell (ſaith he thy ſins that thou mayſt do them away, if thou be aſhamed to tell any man the ſins that thou haſt done, tell them daily in thy ſoul. I do not ſay, confeſs them to thy fellow ſervant, that may reproach thee: tell them to God that taketh care of them. Confeſs thy ſins upon thy bed, that there thy conſcience may daily recognize her evils. Again: (*Ser. de Pœnit. & confeſſ.*) but now it is not neceſſary to confeſs when witneſſes are preſent: let the examination of thy ſins be done with thy thought: let this judgment be without witneſs: let only God ſee thee confeſſing. Again: (*Hom.* 5. *de incomprehen. Dei natura. contra. Anomæos.*) I do not lead thee into a ſtage of thy fellow ſervants, I do not compel thee to diſcloſe thy ſins to men, rehearſe and utter thy conſcience before God. Shew thy wounds to the Lord the beſt ſurgeon, and aſk ſalve of him. Shew them to him who will reproach thee with nothing, but will moſt gently heal thee. Again: (*Hom.* 4. *de Lazaro.*) Tell no man, leaſt he reproach thee, for neither is it to be confeſſed to thy fellow ſervant, that may utter it abroad, but to the Lord. To the Lord ſhew thy wounds who hath care of thee,

who

who is both gentle and a phyſician. Afterward he bringeth in God ſpeaking thus: I compel thee not to come into the midſt of a ſtage and call many witneſſes, tell thy ſin to me alone privately that I may heal thy ſore. Shall we ſay that Chryſoſtom did ſo raſhly, when he wrote this and other like things, that he would deliver men's conſciences from theſe bonds wherewith they are bound by the law of God? not ſo. But he dare not require that as of neceſſity, which he doth not underſtand to be commanded by the word of God.

The ſcripture requireth confeſſion of ſins, but unto God.

9. But that the matter may be made the plainer and eaſier, firſt we will faithfully rehearſe, what kind of confeſſion is taught by the word of God: and then we will alſo declare their inventions, but not all (for who could draw dry ſuch an infinite ſea?) but only thoſe wherein they comprehend the ſum of their ſecret confeſſion. Here I am loath to rehearſe how oft the old tranſlator hath given in tranſlation this word confeſs inſtead of praiſe: which the groſſeſt unlearned men commonly know: ſaving that it is good to have their preſumptuouſneſs bewrayed, who give away that which was written of the praiſes of God, to their own tyrannical commandment. To prove that confeſſion availeth to cheer the minds they thruſt in that place of the Pſalm: (Pſal. xiii. 5.) In the voice of rejoicing and confeſſion. But if ſuch change may ſerve, then we ſhall have what we liſt, proved by what we liſt. But ſeeing they are ſo far paſt ſhame, let the godly readers remember that by the juſt vengeance of God they have been caſt into a reprobate mind, that their preſumption ſhould be the more deteſtable. But if we will reſt in the ſimple doctrine of the ſcripture, we ſhall not be in danger of any ſuch deceits to beguile us. For there is appointed one order of confeſſing, that foraſmuch as it is the Lord that forgiveth, forgetteth, and putteth away ſins, therefore we ſhould confeſs our ſins to him for to obtain pardon, he is the phyſician, therefore let us ſhew our diſeaſes unto him. It is he that is grieved and offended, therefore let us ſeek peace at his hand. He is the knower of hearts, and privy to all thoughts therefore let us make haſte to pour out our hearts before him. Finally, it is he that calleth ſinners, therefore let not us delay to come to him. I have (ſaith David) Pſal. li. 5. made my ſin known unto thee, and have not hidden my unrighteouſneſs. I have ſaid, I will confeſs againſt me my unrighteouſneſs to the Lord, and thou haſt forgiven the wickedneſs of my heart. Such is the other confeſſion of David. Have mercy upon me O God, according to thy great mercy. And ſuch is the confeſſion of Daniel: (Dan. ix. 5.) We have ſinned, Lord we have done perverſly, we have committed iniquities and have been rebellious in ſwerving from thy commandment. And ſuch are the other confeſſions that are commonly found in ſcripture, the rehearſal whereof would almoſt fill a great volume. If we confeſs our ſins (ſaith John) 1 Joh. i. 9. the Lord is faithful to forgive us our ſins. To whom ſhall we confeſs? even to him: that is, if we fall down with a troubled and humbled heart before him, if heartily accuſing and condemning ourſelves before him we pray to be acquitted by his goodneſs and mercy.

A confeſſion of our ſins openly as occaſion ſhall require even unto men alſo allowable.

10. He that heartily and before God ſhall embrace this confeſſion, ſhall undoubtedly have both a tongue ready to confeſs, ſo oft as it ſhall be needful for him to publiſh the mercy of God before men, and not only to whiſper the ſecret of his heart to one man, and once and in his ear: but oft and openly, and in the hearing of all the world ſimply to rehearſe both his own ſhame and the magnificence and glory of God. After this manner when David was rebuked of Nathan, he was pricked with the ſting of conſcience, and confeſſed his ſin before both God and man. I have (ſaith he) 2 Sam. xii. 13. ſinned againſt the Lord, that is to ſay, now I allege nothing for my excuſe, I uſe no ſhifts, but that all men may judge me a ſinner, and that the ſame thing which I would not have had ſecret from the Lord, may be alſo open to men. Therefore a willing confeſſion before men always followeth the ſecret confeſſion that is made to God, ſo oft as it is profitable for the glory of God or for the humbling of ourſelves. For this reaſon the Lord in old time ordained among the people of Iſrael, (Levit. xvi. 19.) that the prieſt ſhould firſt ſpeak the words, and the people ſaying after him ſhould openly confeſs their iniquity in the church. For he foreſaw that this help was neceſſary for them, that every man might be the better brought to a juſt acknowleging of himſelf. And it is meet that with the confeſſion of our own miſery we ſhould among ourſelves, and before all the world glorify the goodneſs and mercy of our God.

Public confeſſion of ſins not only

11. And it is convenient that this kind of confeſſion be both ordinary in the church, and al-

in particular perſons but in general aſſemblys alſo both ordinary and ſometimes extraordinary allowable and very needful.

ſo extraordinarily uſed in ſpecial manner, if it happen at any time the people to be guilty of any general fault. Of this ſecond kind we have an example in that ſolemn confeſſion which all the people uſed by the means and guiding of Ezra and of Nehemiah. (Nehe. i. 7.) For whereas that long baniſhment, the deſtruction of the city and temple, the diſſolving of religion, was the puniſhment of the common revolting of them all: they could not acknowlege the benefit of deliverance in ſuch ſort as was meet, unleſs they did firſt condemn themſelves. Neither maketh it matter, if in a whole congregation ſome few ſometimes be innocent. For ſince they are the members of a feeble and diſeaſed body, they ought not to boaſt of healthfulneſs. Yea it is not poſſible but they muſt alſo themſelves gather ſome infection and bear part of the blame. Therefore ſo oft as we are afflicted, either with peſtilence or war, or barrenneſs or any other plague: if it be our duty to fly to mourning, to faſting, and to other ſigns of guiltineſs: then confeſſion it ſelf, whereupon all theſe things do hang, is not to be neglected. As for the ordinary confeſſion, beſides that it is commended by the Lord's own mouth, there is no wiſe man that conſidering the profit thereof, dare diſallow it. For whereas in all holy aſſemblies we make our appearance in the ſight of God and the angels: what other beginning may there be of our pleading, but our acknowleging our unworthineſs? But that (ſome man will ſay) is done by every prayer. For ſo oft as we pray for pardon, we thereby confeſs our ſins. I grant. But if you conſider how great is our careleſneſs, or drowſineſs, or ſluggiſhneſs, you will grant me that it ſhould be a profitable ordinance, if by ſome ſolemn uſe of confeſſion, the chriſtian common people ſhould be exercifed to humbling themſelves. For though the ceremony that the Lord commanded the Iſraelites, was part of the nurture of the law, yet in ſome manner it alſo belongeth to us. And truly we ſee that this uſe is in well ordered churches profitably obſerved, that every ſunday the miniſter ſhould rehearſe a form of confeſſion in the name of himſelf and of all the people, wherein he accuſeth all of wickedneſs and craveth pardon of the Lord. Finally, with this key the gate to prayer is opened as well privately to every man as univerſally to all men.

Private confeſſion of ſins for ſome men in ſome caſes requiſite to be made unto their paſtors.

12. Moreover the ſcripture alloweth two forms of private confeſſion, one that is made for our own ſake, whereof that ſaying of James is ſpoken, that we ſhould confeſs our ſins one to another, (Jam. v. 16.) for his meaning is, that diſcloſing our wickedneſſes one to another, we ſhould help one another with mutual counſel and comfort. The other form is to be uſed for our neighbours ſake, to appeaſe him and reconcile him unto us, if he have in any thing been offended by us. Now in the firſt kind of confeſſion, although James in this hath aſſigned no man by name, into whoſe boſom we ſhould unload ourſelves, leaveth us a free choice to confeſs to him that ſhall ſeem meeteſt unto us of all the flock of the church: yet we ought principally to chooſe the paſtors, becauſe they are for the moſt part in compariſon of the others to be judged meeteſt. I ſay that they are meeteſt in compariſon of the reſt, becauſe the Lord appointeth them by the very calling of their miniſtry, at whoſe mouth we ſhould be inſtructed to ſubdue and correct our ſins, and alſo may receive comfort: by truſt of pardon. For as the office of mutual admoniſhing and reproving is committed to all men, yet it is ſpecially enjoined to the miniſters. So when as we all ought to comfort and confirm one another in confidence of God's mercy: yet we ſee that the miniſters to aſſure our conſciences of the forgiveneſs of ſins, are ordained as it were witneſſes and pledges therefore, in ſo much that they are ſaid to forgive ſins and looſe ſouls. When thou heareſt this to be aſcribed unto them, think that it is for thy profit. Therefore let every one of the faithful remember this to be his duty, if he be privately ſo vexed and troubled with the feeling of ſins that he cannot wind out himſelf, without help of another, not to neglect the remedy that the Lord hath offered him: that is, for his relief to uſe the private confeſſion to his own paſtor: and for his comfort to crave the private help of him, whoſe duty it is both publicly and privately to comfort the people of God with the doctrine of the goſpel. But always this moderation is to be uſed, where God appointeth no certainty, not to bind conſciences with a certain yoke. Hereupon followeth that ſuch confeſſion ought to be free: not to be required of all men, but to be commended to thoſe only that ſhall underſtand themſelves to have need of it. Then even they that uſe it for their need, ſhould not be compelled by any commandment, or trained by any deceit, to reckon up all their ſins, but ſo far, as they ſhall think it

neceſſary

neceſſary for them, that they may receive ſound fruit of comfort. Faithful paſtors ought not only to leave this liberty to the churches, but alſo to maintain it, and ſtoutly ſtand in defence of it, if they will have tyranny abſent from their miniſtry and ſuperſtition from the people.

Particular men bound to confeſs their faults unto men againſt whom they have offended.

13. Of the other ſort of confeſſion Chriſt ſpeaketh in Matthew. If thou offer thy gift at the altar, and there remembreſt that thy brother hath any thing againſt thee, leave thy gift there, and go, and firſt be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift. For ſo charity that hath been impaired by our fault, is to be repaired by acknowleging and craving pardon of the offence that we have committed. Under this kind is contained their confeſſion that have ſinned even to the offending of the whole church. (Mat. v. 23.) For if Chriſt maketh ſo great a matter of the private offence of one man, to forbid from holy myſteries all them that have ſinned againſt their brother, till they be with juſt amends reconciled: how much greater reaſon is it, that he who hath offended the church with any evil example, ſhould recover the favour of the church with acknowleging his fault? So was the Corinthian (2 Cor. ii. 6.) received again to the communion, when he had yielded himſelf obedient to correction. Alſo this form of confeſſion was uſed in the old church, as Cyprian maketh mention. They do penance (ſaith he) in due time, and then they come to confeſſion, and by laying on of the hands of the biſhop and the clergy, they receive leave to come to the communion. Any other order or form of confeſſing, the ſcripture utterly knoweth not, and it is not our duty to bind conſciences with new bonds, whom Chriſt moſt ſharply forbiddeth us to bring in bondage. In the mean time I do not ſo much ſpeak againſt it, that the ſheep ſhould not preſent themſelves to their ſhepherd when they mean to be partakers of the holy ſupper, this I would moſt gladly have every where obſerved. For both they that have a troubled conſcience, may from thence receive ſingular profit, and they that are to be admoniſhed do by that means prepare place for admoniſhment, but ſo always that tyranny and ſuperſtition be away.

A commendable kind of abſolution correſpondent to the former kinds of confeſſion.

14. In theſe three kinds of confeſſion, the power of the keys hath place: that is, either when the whole church with ſolemn acknowleging of their faults crave pardon: or when a private man, that by any notable fault hath bred common offence, doth declare his repentance: or when he that for the unquietneſs of his conſcience, doth need help of the miniſter, diſcloſeth his weakneſs unto him. But there are diverſe ways of taking away offence, becauſe although thereby alſo peace of conſcience is provided for, yet the principal end is, that hatred ſhould be taken away, and mens minds knit together with a bond of peace. But this uſe that I have ſpoken of is not to be deſpiſed, that we may the more willingly confeſs our ſins. For when the whole church ſtandeth as it were before the judgment ſeat of God, confeſſing it ſelf guilty, and hath only refuge unto the mercy of God: it is no ſlender or light comfort to have there preſent Chriſt's ambaſſador, having commandment of reconciliation, of whom they may hear abſolution pronounced unto them. Here the profitableneſs of the keys is worthily commended, when this embaſſage is performed rightly, and with ſuch order and religiouſneſs as beſeemeth it. Likewiſe when he that had in a manner eſtranged himſelf from the church, receiveth pardon and is reſtored into brotherly unity: how great a benefit is it that he underſtandeth himſelf to be forgiven by them, to whom Chriſt hath ſaid: (Mat. xviii. 19.) To whomſoever ye forgive ſins in earth, they ſhall be forgiven in heaven. And of no leſs effectualneſs and profit is private abſolution, when it is aſked by them that have need of ſome ſpecial remedy to relieve their weakneſs. For it happeneth oftentimes, that he who heareth the general promiſes that are directed to the whole congregation of the faithful, remaineth nevertheleſs in ſome doubt, and hath ſtill an unquiet mind, as though he had not yet obtained pardon: and the ſame man, if he hath diſcloſed to his miniſter the ſecret ſore of his mind, and heareth peculiarly directed to himſelf that ſaying of the goſpel, (Mar. ix. 2.) Thy ſins are forgiven thee, be of good hope, ſtabliſheth his mind unto aſſuredneſs and is delivered from that trembling, wherewith he was before tormented. But when we ſpeak of the keys, we muſt take heed that we dream not of a certain power ſeparated from the preaching of the goſpel. In another place we ſhall have occaſion more fully to declare this matter again, where we ſhall treat of the government of the church: and there ſhall we ſee that all the power to bind and to looſe, which Chriſt hath given to his church, is bound to the word. But this is moſt true in the myſtery of of the keys, the whole force whereof ſtandeth in this,

this, that the grace of the gospel be publicly and privately sealed up in the hearts of the faithful, by them whom the Lord hath ordained: which cannot be done but only by preaching.

The keys wherewith the Church of Rome supposeth her priests authorized to bind and loose after confession made.

15. But what say the Romish divines? They decree that every one of either kind, so soon as they come to the years of discretion, must yearly once at the least confess all their sins to their own priest: and that their sin is not forgiven, unless they have firmly conceived an intent to confess it: which intent if they perform not when occasion is offered that they may do it, there is now no more entry open for them into Paradise. And that the priest hath the power of the keys, wherewith he may loose and bind a sinner: because the word of Christ is not in vain. (Mat. xviii. 19.) Whatsoever ye bind, &c. About this power they stoutly fight among themselves. Some say that there is but one key in substance, that is the power to bind and loose, and as for knowlege, that it is indeed requisite for a good use, but that it is only as an accessary and is not essentially joined with the other. Some others, because they saw this to be too much an unbridled licence, have reckoned up two keys, discretion and power. Others again, when they saw the lewd boldness of priests to be restrained by this moderation, have forged other keys, that is to say, authority, of discerning which they should use in giving determinate sentence: and power, which they should practise in executing of their sentence: and that knowlege standeth by as a counseller. But they dare not simply expound this binding and loosing to be to forgive and put away sins: because they hear the Lord crying out in the prophet: (Isa. xliii. 11. and 25.) It is I, and none other but I, It is I, it is I that put away thy sins, O Israel. But they say it is the priest's office to pronounce who are bound or loosed, and to declare whose sins are forgiven or retained, and that he doth declare it, either by confession when he absolveth and retaineth sins, or by sentence when he excommunicateth and receiveth again to partaking of the sacraments. Finally, when they understand that they are not yet out of this doubt, but that it still may be objected against them, that oftentimes their priests do bind and loose men unworthy, who are not therefore bound or loosed in heaven; then (which is their last refuge) they answer that the giving of the keys must be construed with a limitation, that is to say, that Christ hath promised, that before his judgment seat such sentence as the priest shall be allowed, as hath been justly pronounced, according as the deservings of him that is bound or loosed, did require. Moreover, they say, that these keys are given by Christ to all priests, and are delivered to them by their bishops, at the time of their promoting to priesthood: but the free use of them remaineth only with such as do exercise ecclesiastical offices: and that the excommunicate and suspended priests have indeed the keys, but rusty and bound up. And they that say these things may well seem modest and sober in comparison of the rest, who upon a new anvil have forged new keys with which they say the treasure of the church is locked up. These keys we shall hereafter try in place fit for it.

It is a decree of Pope Innocentius, in the council of Lateran, and is recited. *Lib.* 4. *Senten.* 14. *ca.* 2. *li.* 4. *Sent. dist.* 19. *ca.* 2.

A tyranny to impose upon men a law binding them to reckon up all their sins.

16. Now I will in few words answer to every one of these particularly. But at this present I speak not by what right or what wrong they bind the souls of the faithful with their laws, forasmuch as we will consider that when place serveth. But where they charge men with a law of reckoning up all their sins: where they say that sin is not forgiven but upon condition, if there be an intent conceived to confess it: where they bable that there remaineth no entry into Paradise, if an occasion of confessing be neglected: this is in no wise to be suffered. Must all sins be reckoned up? But David, (who as I think) had well studied upon the confession of his sins, yet cried out: who can understand his errors? Lord cleanse me from my secret sins. (Psal. xix. 13.) And in another place. (Psal. xxxviii. 5.) My iniquities have passed above my head, and like a weighty burden have waxed heavy above my strength. Truly he understood how great was the bottomless depth of our sins: how many were the sorts of our mischievous doings, how many heads this monster Hydra did bear, and how long a tail she drew after her. Therefore he went not about to reckon up a register of them, but out of the depth of evils, he cried unto the Lord: I am overwhelmed, I am buried and choaked, the gates of hell have compassed me, let thy hand draw me out, who am drowned in the great pit, and am fainting and ready to die. Who now may think upon the numbring of his sins, when he seeth that David can make no number of his?

17. With

The misery wherewith their ſouls were vexed which had a care and did make a conſcience of confeſſing in ſuch ſort as the church of Rome required.

17. With this butchery, the ſouls that have been touched with any feeling of God, have been moſt cruelly vexed. Firſt, they called themſelves to account: then they divided ſins into arms, into boughs, into branches, and into twigs, according to theſe men's rules: then they weighed the qualities, quantities, and circumſtances. And ſo the matter went a little forward. But when they had proceeded a little further, then was on each ſide ſky, and on each ſea, no haven, no ſafe road: the more that they had paſſed over, the greater heap alway did thruſt itſelf into their ſight, yea they roſe up as high mountains, and there appeared no hope, not ſo much as after long compaſſings, any way to eſcape. And ſo they did ſtick faſt between the ſacrifice and the ſtone, and at laſt found no other iſſue but deſperation. Then theſe cruel butchers, to eaſe the wounds that themſelves had made, laid certain gentle plaiſters, that every man ſhould do as much as he could. But new cares again roſe up, yea new torments did ſlay the ſilly ſouls, as to think: I have not employed time enough, I have not endeavoured myſelf with ſuch diligence as I ought, I have paſſed over many things by negligence, and the forgetfulneſs that cometh by negligence is not excuſable. Then were there miniſtered other plaiſters to aſſwage ſuch pains, as, Repent thee of thy negligence: if it be not altogether careleſs, it ſhall be pardoned. But all theſe things cannot cloſe up the wound, and are not ſo much eaſement of the evil, as poiſon covered with honey, that they ſhouldnot with their bitterneſsoffend at the firſt taſte but enter into the bowels before that they be perceived. Therefore this terrible ſaying alway calleth upon them and ſoundeth in their ears: confeſs thy ſins. And this horror cannot be appeaſed but by aſſured comfort. Here let the readers conſider, how impoſſible it is to bring into account all the doings of a whole year, and to gather together what ſins they have done every day: foraſmuch as experience proveth to every man, that when at evening he ſhall reckon up the faults but of one day, his memory is confounded therewith, ſo great a multitude and diverſity preſenteth itſelf. For I ſpeak not of groſs and blockiſh hypocrites that think they have done ſufficiently, if they have noted three or four of the greateſt ſins: but I ſpeak of the true worſhippers of God, who when they ſee themſelves oppreſſed with the examination that they have made, do add alſo this ſaying of John: (1 John iii. 20) If our own heart accuſe, God is greater than our heart: and ſo they quake for fear at the ſight of the judge, whoſe knowlege far ſurmounteth our underſtanding.

The confeſſing of all our ſins a thing impoſſible, neither is the confeſſing of them if it were poſſible ſo neceſſary that without it all men are excluded from heaven.

18. But whereas a great part of the world reſted themſelves upon ſuch flatteries, wherewith ſo deadly a poiſon was tempered, this came not ſo to paſs, becauſe they believed that God was ſatisfied, or becauſe they themſelves were fully ſatisfied: but the anchor caſt as it were in the mid-ſea, ſhould reſt a little from failing, or as a way-faring man weary and fainting, ſhould lie down in the way. I labour not much in proving this. For every man may be witneſs to himſelf, I will in a ſhort ſum ſhew, what manner of law this was. Firſt, ſimply it is impoſſible, and therefore it can do nothing but deſtroy, damn, confound, and caſt into ruin and deſperation. And then when it hath led ſinners from the true feeling of their ſin, it maketh them hypocrites and ignorant of God and themſelves. For while they are wholly buſied in reckoning up of their ſins, in the mean time thy forget the ſecret ſink of vices, their hidden iniquities, and inward filthineſs, bythe knowlege whereof they ſhould chiefly have weighed their miſery. But this is a moſt certain rule of confeſſion, to acknowlege and confeſs the bottomleſs depth of our evil to be ſo great as paſſeth our underſtanding. After this rule we ſee that the Publican's confeſſion was made, (Luke xviii. 13.) Lord be merciful to me a ſinner: as if he ſhould ſay: All that ever I am, I am altogether a ſinner, and I cannot attain with knowlege or expreſs with tongue the greatneſs of my ſins: let the bottomleſs depth of thy mercy ſwallow up the bottomleſs depth of my ſin. But when thou wilt ſay, what, are not all our ſins to be confeſſed? is no confeſſion acceptable to God, but that which is knit up in theſe two words, I am a ſinner? No, but rather we muſt endeavour ourſelves as much as in us lieth, to pour out our heart before the Lord, and not only in one word confeſs ourſelves ſinners, but alſo truly and heartily acknowlege ourſelves to be ſuch: and with all our thought record, how great and diverſe is our filth of ſins, not only that we are unclean, but what, how great, and in how many parts is our

uncleanneſs: not only that we are debtors, but with how great debts we are loaden, and how many ways charged: not only that we are wounded, but alſo with how many and deadly ſtrokes we are wounded. With this acknowleging when the ſinner hath wholly poured out himſelf before God, let him earneſtly and ſincerely think, that yet there remain more ſins, and that the ſecret corners of their evils are ſo deep that they cannot be throughly diſcloſed. And he crieth out with David: (Pſal xix. 13.) Who underſtandeth his errors? Lord cleanſe me from my hidden ſins. Now where they affirm that ſins are not forgiven but with an intent of confeſſing firmly conceived, and that the gate of paradiſe is ſhut againſt him that neglecteth occaſion offered when he may be confeſſed, God forbid that we ſhould grant them that. For there is no other forgiveneſs of ſin, than always hath been. It is not read that all they who have confeſſed their ſins in the ear of ſome prieſt, have obtained forgiveneſs of ſins at Chriſt's hand. And truly they could not confeſs, where there were neither any prieſts confeſſors, nor any confeſſing at all. And in many ages after, this confeſſion was unheard of, at which time ſins were forgiven without this condition. But that we may not need to diſpute longer about this, as about a doubtful matter, the word of God is plain, which abideth for ever: Whenſoever the ſinner repenteth, I will no more remember all his iniquities. (Ezek. xviii. 20.) He that dare add any thing to this word, bindeth not ſins, but the mercy of God. For whereas they ſay, that judgment cannot be given but when the cauſe is heard, we have a ſolution in readineſs, that they do preſumptuouſly taken that upon themſelves, who have made themſelves judges. And it is a marvel that they do ſo boldly frame to themſelves ſuch principles, as no man in his right judgment will grant. They boaſt that the office of binding and looſing is committed to them, as though it were a certain juriſdiction joined with inquiſition. Moreover their whole doctrine crieth out, that this authority was unknown to the apoſtles. Neither doth it belong to the prieſt, but to him who deſireth abſolution, to know certainly whether the ſinner be looſed or no: foraſmuch as he that heareth can never know whether the reckoning be juſt and perfect. So ſhould there be no abſolution but ſuch as is reſtrained to his words that is to be judged. Moreover the whole order of looſing ſtandeth of faith and repentance, which two things are hidden from the knowlege of man, when ſentence muſt be given upon another man. It followeth therefore that the aſſurance of binding and looſing is not ſubject to the judgment of an earthly judge: becauſe the miniſter of the word, when he doth his office, cannot give abſolution but conditionally: but that this is ſpoken for the ſins ſake, whoſe ſins ye forgive, &c. that they ſhould not doubt that the pardon which is promiſed by the commandment and word of God, ſhall be ratified in heaven.

Auricular confeſſion a mean to make men not aſhamed of ſining but bold to ſin.

19. Therefore it is no marvel we condemn, and deſire to have utterly taken away this auricular confeſſion, a thing ſo peſtilent and ſo many ways hurtful to the church: but if it were a thing of itſelf indifferent, yet for as much as it is to no uſe nor profit, and hath given cauſe to ſo many wickedneſſes, ſacrileges and errors, who will not think that it ought to be preſently aboliſhed? They do indeed reckon up ſome good uſes, which they boaſt upon as very profitable, but theſe are either falſe or of no value at all. One only they commend with a ſingular prerogative, that ſhame is a great puniſhment to him that confeſſeth, whereby the ſinner both is for a time to come made more circumſpect, and preventeth the puniſhment of God in puniſhing himſelf. As though we did not humble a man with ſhamefaſtneſs enough when we call him to that high judgment ſeat of heaven. I mean to the hearing of God. It is forſooth very well profited, if for ſhame of one man's knowlege we ceaſe to ſin, and are not aſhamed to have God witneſs of our evil conſcience. Although the very ſame is alſo moſt falſe, for it is to be ſeen that by nothing groweth greater confidence or licentiouſneſs to ſin, than when men having made confeſſion to a prieſt, think that they may wipe their mouth and ſay, I did it not. And not only they are made all the year long the bolder to ſin? but all the reſt of the year bearing themſelves bold upon confeſſion, they never ſigh unto God, they never return to themſelves, but heap ſins upon ſins, till they vomit up all at once as they think, And when they have once vomited them up, they think themſelves diſcharged of their burden, and that they have taken away from God the judgment that they have given to the prieſt, and that they have brought God in forgetfulneſs when they have made the prieſt privy. Moreover who doth merrily ſee the day of confeſſion at hand? Who goeth to confeſſion with a chearful heart, and cometh not to it rather againſt his will, and as it were drawing backward, like as

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if he were taken by the neck and drawn to priſon? unleſs peradventure it be the very prieſts, that uſe joyfully to delight themſelves with mutual rehearſals of their doings, as it were with merry tales: I will not defile much paper with monſtrous abominations whereof auricular confeſſion ſwarmeth full. Only this I ſay, if that holy man did not unwiſely, that for one rumour of fornication took away confeſſion out of the church, yea out of the remembrance of his flock, then we are thereby put in mind what is needful to be done at this day upon infinite whoredoms, adulteries, inceſts, and bawderies.

Authority granted to bind and looſe is no authorizing of Popiſh prieſts, to abſolve in ſuch ſort as they do.

20. Where the confeſſioners allege for this purpoſe the power of the keys and do thereupon ſet the poupe and prore of their kingdom, as the proverb is: it is to be ſeen how much they ought to avail. Then (ſay they) are the keys given without cauſe? Is it ſaid without cauſe: Whatſoever you looſe upon earth, ſhall be alſo looſed in heaven? (Matth. xviii. 18.) Do we then make the word of Chriſt void? I anſwer there was a weighty cauſe why the keys ſhould be given, as both I have even now already declared, and ſhall more plainly ſhew again when I come to treat of excommunication. But what if I do with one ſword cut off the hold of all that they require, that is, with ſaying, that ſacrificing prieſts are not the vicars nor ſucceſſors of the apoſtles? But this ſhall alſo be treated of in another place: but now they raiſe up an engine whereby they wouldmoſt of all defend themſelves, and thereby may all their building be overthrown. For Chriſt did not give his apoſtles the power to bind and looſe, before that he gave them the holy Ghoſt. Therefore I ſay, that none have the power of the keys that have not firſt received the holy Ghoſt. I deny that any man can uſe the keys but having the holy Ghoſt going before, and teaching him and informing him what is to be done. They trifling ſay, that they have the holy Ghoſt. But indeed they deny it, unleſs peradventure they feign (as they do feign indeed) the holy Ghoſt to be a vain thing and a thing of nothing, but therein they ſhall not be believed. And by this engine they are utterly overthrown, that of whatſoever door they boaſt that they have the key, a man may alway aſk them whether they have the holy Ghoſt who is the judge and governor of the keys. If they anſwer that they have, then they may be aſked again, whether the holy Ghoſt may err. This they will not be glad to ſpeak expreſly, although they crookedly utter the ſame by their doctrine. It is therefore to be gathered, that no prieſts have power of the keys which do commonly without conſideration looſe thoſe things that the Lord would have to be bound, and bind thoſe things that the Lord commanded to be looſed.

The abuſe of binding and looſing without knowlege.

21. Whereas they ſee themſelves convinced by moſt clear experiments, that they do without choice looſe and bind the worthy and unworthy, they uſurp a power without knowlege. And though they dare not deny that knowlege is requiſite for a good uſe, yet they write that the very power is given to evil diſpoſers of it. But this is the power, whatſoever thou bindeſt or looſeſt in earth, ſhall be bound or looſed in heaven. Either the promiſe of Chriſt muſt lie, or they that have this power do well bind and looſe. Neither may they dally and ſay, that the ſaying of Chriſt is limited according to the deſervings of him that is bound or looſed. And we alſo confeſs, that none can be bound or looſed, but they that are worthy to be bound or looſed. But the meſſengers of the goſpel and the church have the word, by which they meaſure this worthineſs, in this word the meſſengers of the goſpel, may promiſe to all men forgiveneſs of ſins in Chriſt by faith, they may proclaim damnation unto all and upon all that embrace not Chriſt. (1 Cor. vi. 9.) In this word the church pronounceth that fornicators, adulterers, thieves, manſlayers, covetous men, unjuſt men, have no part in the kingdom of God, and bindeth ſuch with moſt ſure bonds. With the ſame word the church looſeth them whom it comforteth being repentant. But what power ſhall this be, not to know what is to be bound or looſed, and not to be able to bind or looſe without knowlege? Why then do they ſay that they looſe by authority given unto them, when the looſing is uncertain? What have we to do with this imaginative power, if their be no uſe for it? But I have already proved that either there is no uſe of it, or ſo uncertain an uſe as may be accounted for none at all. For whereas they confeſs that their are many prieſts who do not rightly uſe the keys, and that the power without lawful uſe is of no effect. Who ſhall aſſure me that he of whom I am looſed is a good uſer of the keys? If he be anevil uſer of them what hath he elſe but ſuch an empty diſpoſing of them, as to ſay, what is to be bound or looſed in thee I know

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not, for as much as I want the right uſe of the keys, but if thou deſerve, I looſe thee. But ſo much might do, I will not ſay a lay-man (for they could not bear that with patient ears) but a Turk or a devil, for it is as much as to ſay, I have not the word of God the ſure rule of looſing, but there is power given me to looſe thee, if thy deſervings be ſo. We ſee therefore what they meant, when they defined the keys to be the authority of diſcerning, and power of executing? and that knowlege is adjoined for a counſellor, and like a counſellor ſerveth for a good uſe: undoubtedly even they deſired to reign at their own will, licentiouſly without God and his word.

The uncertainties and abſurdities of popiſh abſolution.

22. If any man take exception and ſay, that the lawful miniſters of Chriſt ſhall be no leſs doubtful in their office, becauſe the abſolution that hangeth upon faith ſhall alway remain doubtful: and then that ſinners ſhall either have none or a cold comfort, becauſe the miniſter himſelf who is no competent judge of their faith, cannot be aſſured of their abſolution: we have an anſwer thereunto in readineſs. For they ſay that no ſins are forgiven by the prieſt, but ſuch whereof himſelf hath been the hearer: ſo by their opinion, the forgiveneſs hangeth upon the judgment of the prieſt, and if he do not wiſely diſcern who are worthy of pardon, the whole doing is void and of none effect. Finally the power whereof they ſpeak, is a juriſdiction adjoined to examination, whereunto pardon and abſolution is reſtrained. In this point is found no ſure ground, but rather it is a bottomleſs depth. For where the confeſſion is not ſound, the hope of pardon is alſo lame, and then the prieſt himſelf muſt needs ſtick in ſuſpence while he cannot tell, whether the ſinner doth faithfully reckon up all his evil deeds. Finally (ſuch is the ignorance and rudeneſs of prieſts) the moſt part are no fitter to do this office, than a ſhoemaker to plow the ground, and the reſt in a manner all ought worthily to ſuſpect themſelves. Hereupon therefore riſeth the perplexity and doubtfulneſs of the pope's abſolution, becauſe they will have it grounded upon the perſon of the prieſt, and not only that, but alſo upon his knowlege, that he may judge only of things informed, examined and proved. Now if a man ſhould aſk of theſe good doctors, whether a ſinner be reconciled to God, when ſome ſins are forgiven: I ſee not what they have to anſwer, but that they ſhall be compelled to confeſs that all is unprofitable, that the prieſt pronounceth of the forgiveneſs of thoſe ſins that he hath heard rehearſed, ſo long as the other ſins are not delivered from condemnation. On the behalf of him that confeſſeth how hurtful carefulneſs holdeth his conſcience bound, appeareth hereby that when he reſteth upon the prieſts diſcretion, as they call it, he can determine nothing certainly by the word of God. The doctrine that we teach is free and clear from all theſe abſurdities. For the abſolution is conditional, that the ſinner ſhould truſt that God is merciful unto him, ſo that he ſincerely ſeek the cleanſing of his ſins in the ſacrifice of Chriſt, and obey the grace offered him. So he cannot err, who according to the office of a preacher, proclaimeth that which is given him in inſtructions by the word of God. And the ſinner may embrace a ſure and clear abſolution, when that ſimple condition is annexed of the embracing the grace of Chriſt, according to that general doctrine of our maſter himſelf. (Matth. ix. 29.) Be it done to thee according to thy faith. Which hath been wickedly deſpiſed in the papacy.

Things ſpoken of the goſpel and of excommunication wreſted to the maintenance of auricular confeſſion, vain devices concerning the abſolution of them that confeſs, corrupt injunctions of penalties and ſatisfactions laid upon them that are abſolved.

23. How fooliſhly they confound thoſe things that the ſcripture teacheth of the power of the keys, I have promiſed that I will ſpeak in another place, and there ſhall be a more convenient place for it, when I come to treat of the government of the church. But let the readers remember that thoſe following things are wreſted to auricular and ſecret confeſſion, which are ſpoken by Chriſt partly of the preaching of the goſpel, and partly of excommunication. Wherefore when they object that the power of looſing is given to the apoſtles, which prieſts may uſe in forgiving ſins acknowleged unto them, it is plain that they take a falſe and fooliſh principle, becauſe the abſolution that ſerveth faith, is nothing elſe but a witneſs of pardon taken out of the free promiſe of the goſpel. As for the other confeſſion, that hangeth upon the diſcipline of the church, it pertaineth nothing to ſecret ſins but rather to example, that common offence of the church may be taken away. But whereas they ſcrape together here and there teſtimonies, to prove that it ſufficeth not to confeſs ſins either to God only or to lay-men, unleſs a prieſt be the hearer of them, their travel therein is but fooliſh and ſuch as they may be aſhamed of. For when the ancient fathers

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counsel sinners to unburden themselves to their own pastor, it cannot be expounded of a particular rehearsal which was not then in use. Then Lombard and such like (such was their siniſter dealing) seem of set purpose to have given themselves to feigned books, by pretence whereof they might deceive the simple. They do indeed truly confess, that because absolution always accompanieth repentance, therefore there properly remaineth no bond when a man is touched with repentance, although he have not yet confessed, and therefore that then the priest doth not so much forgive sins as pronounce and declare them forgiven. Altho' in the word of declaring they slily bring in a gross error, thrusting in a ceremony instead of a doctrine. But whereas they patch unto it, that he is absolved in the face of the church who hath already obtained pardon before God: they do inconveniently draw to the peculiar use of every particular man, that which we have already said to be appointed for the common discipline, where the offence of a hainous and notorious fault is to be taken away. But by and by after, they deprave and corrupt moderation, adding another manner of forgiving with an enjoining of penalty and satisfaction, wherein they presumptuously claim to their own sacrifices a power to part that in halves which God hath in all places promised us whole together. For when he simply requireth repentance and faith, this partition or exception is a very robbery of God. For it is in effect as much as if the priest taking upon him the person of a tribune, should become intercessor to God, and would not suffer God of his mere liberality to receive him into favour, that hath lyen prostrate before the tribunes seats and there hath been punished.

Auricular confession an human constitution, established in most corrupt times of the church, bringing some to despair and some to be careless, impossible to be defended or coloured by any shift in the world.

24. The whole sum cometh to this point, that if they will make God the author of this counterfeit confession, therein is their falshood condemned, as I have proved them false forgers in the few places that they allege. But since it is evident that it is a law made by men, I say that it is both tyrannical and made injuriously against God, who binding men's consciences to his word, will have them free from the bondage of men. Now when for the obtaining of pardon, there is a necessity prescribed of that thing which the Lord appointed to be free, I say that this is a sacrilege not to be suffered, because there is nothing more properly belonging to God, than to forgive sins, wherein our salvation consisteth. Moreover I have shewed that this tyranny was first brought in, when the world was oppressed with filthy barbarousness. I have also taught that it is a pestilent law, that either throweth down headlong into desperation the poor souls in whomsoever abideth a fear of God: or where there reigneth carelessness, it delighteth them with vain flatteries, and so maketh them negligent. Last of all I have declared, that whatsoever mitigations they bring, tend to no other end, but to entangle, darken and deprave pure doctrine, and hide ungodliness with deceitful colours.

Satisfaction grossly added as a part necessary in Repentance.

25. The third place in repentance they assign to satisfaction, whereof all that ever they babble may be overthrown with one word. They say that it is not enough for him that repenteth, to abstain from his former evils, and change his behaviour into better, unless he make satisfaction to God for those things that he hath done: and that there are many helps by which we may redeem sins, as weepings, fastings, obligations and the works of charity. With these we must win the Lord to be favourable, with these we must pay our debts to the righteousness of God, with these we must make amends for our faults, with these we must deserve pardon. For although by the greatness of his mercy he hath forgiven our fault, yet by the discipline of his justice he retaineth the pain, and that this is the pain that must be redeemed with satisfactions. But in effect all that they say cometh to this point, that we do indeed obtain pardon of our sins by the mercifulness of God, only by means of the merits of our works, by which the offence of our sins are recompensed, and due satisfaction is thereby fully made to God's righteousness. Against such lies, I set the free forgiveness of sins, than which there is nothing more evidently spoken of in the scripture. (Tit. iii. 5.) First, what is forgiveness, but a gift of mere liberality? For the creditor is not said to forgive, that acknowlegeth by acquittance that the money is paid, but he that without any payment willingly of his own liberality cancelleth the debtor's bond. Secondly, why is this word, Freely, added, but to take away all opinion of satisfaction? with what confidence therefore do they set up their satisfaction, that are stricken down with so mighty a thunderbolt? But what? when the Lord crieth

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out by Isaiah, (Isa. xliii. 15.) It is I, it is I, that do put away iniquities for mine own sake, and will not be mindful of thy sins: doth he not openly declare, that he fetcheth the cause and foundation of forgiveness only from his goodness? Moreover whereas the whole scripture beareth this witness of Christ, that forgiveness of sins is to be received by his name, (Acts x. 43.) doth it not thereby exclude all other names? How then do they teach that it is received by the name of satisfactions? Neither can they deny that they give this to satisfactions, although they say that the same are used as helps by way of means. For whereas the scripture saith: By the name of Christ, it meaneth that we bring nothing, we allege nothing of our own, but rest upon the only commendation of Christ. As Paul, where he affirmeth (2 Cor. v. 19.) that God is reconciling the world to himself in Christ, for his sake not imputing to men their sins, he immediately sheweth the mean and manner how, because he that was without sin, was made sin for us.

The faith which holdeth Christ to be the propitiation for our sins cannot stand with that doctrine which teacheth satisfaction to be made by us for sins committed after baptism.

26. But such is their perverseness) who say that both forgiveness of sins and reconciliation are performed both at one time, when we are in baptism received into the favour of God by Christ: that after baptism we must rise again by satisfactions, and that the blood of Christ profiteth nothing, but so far as it is distributed by the keys of the church. Neither do I speak of a doubtful matter, forasmuch as they have in their writings betrayed their own filthiness, and not one or two of them, but all the schoolmen universally. For their master after he had confessed that Christ had paid the penalty of sins upon the tree, according to the doctrine of Peter, (1 Pet. ii. 24.) they immediately correct his saying with adding this exception, that in baptism all temporal penalties of sins are released, but after baptism they are diminished by the help of penance, that so the cross of Christ and our penance may work together. (*Lib.* 3. *Sentent. dist.* 9.) But John (1 John. ii. 2. and 12.) saith far otherwise, if any man sin, we have an advocate with the father, even Jesus Christ, who is the propitiation for our sins, I write unto you children, because your sins are forgiven you for his name's sake. Truly, he speaketh to the faithful, to whom when he setteth forth Christ to be the propitiation of sins, he sheweth that there is no other satisfaction, by which God (being displeased) may be made favourable and appeased. He doth not say: God was once reconciled unto you by Christ, now seek you other means, but he maketh him a perpetual advocate, alway to restore us by his intercession into the favour of his Father: a perpetual propitiation, by which our sins may be cleansed away. For this is ever true that the other John said: (John i. 36.) Behold, the Lamb of God, behold him that taketh away the sins of the world. He taketh them away (saith he) himself and none other, that is to say, forasmuch as he alone is the Lamb of God, he alone is the oblation for sins, he alone the propitiatory sacrifice, he alone the satisfaction. For whereas the right and power to forgive belongeth properly to the Father, in the respect that he is distinguished from the son, as we have already seen: Christ is here set in another degree, who taking upon himself the pain due unto us, hath taken away our guiltiness before the judgment of God. Whereupon followeth, that we shall no otherwise be partakers of the satisfaction made by Christ, unless the same honour remain whole with him, which they do wrongfully take to themselves that go about to appease God with their own recompensings.

They cannot yield unto Christ that honour which they should nor find that peace in their own consciences which they might who rest any thing upon the force of their own satisfactions

27. And here it is good to consider two things: that Christ may have his due honour kept unto him whole and undiminished: and that the conscience being assured of the forgiveness of sin, may have peace with God. Isaiah saith, (Isa. liii. 4.) that the father hath laid the iniquities of us all upon his Son that we should be healed by his stripes. Which thing Peter rehearsing in other words saith: (1 Pet. ii. 24.) that Christ did in his body bear our sins upon the tree. Paul writeth that sin was condemned in his flesh, when he was made sin for us. (Rom. viii. 3.) That is to say, that the force and curse of sin was slain in Christ's body, when he was given to be a sacrifice, upon whom the whole heap of our sins with all their malediction and curse, with the dreadful judgment of God, and condemnation of death should be cast. Here those triflings are in no case to be heard. that after the first purging, every one of us doth none otherwise feel the effectualness of the sufferings of Christ, than after the measure of satisfactory repentance: but so oft as we fall, we

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are called back to the only ſatisfaction of Chriſt. Now ſet before thee their peſtilent follies, as for example: That the grace of God worketh alone in the firſt forgiveneſs of ſins: that if we fall afterwards, to obtain that, a ſecond forgiveneſs our works do work with grace. If theſe things may have place, do theſe things that are here before aſſigned to Chriſt remain ſafe unto him? It is a marvellous great difference, between this that our iniquities are laid upon Chriſt, that they are cleanſed in him, and this that they are cleanſed by our own works: between this that Chriſt is the procuring cauſe of mercy, and this that God muſt be made merciful by works. But if we ſpeak of pacifying the conſcience: what pacification ſhall this be for a mans conſcience, to hear that his ſins are redeemed by ſatisfactions? When ſhall he certainly know the meaſure of his ſatisfaction? Therefore he will always doubt whether God be merciful or not, he will alway be vexed, and alway quake for fear. For they that reſt upon light petty ſatisfactions, do too contemptuouſly eſteem the judgment of God, and do little conſider how great is the grievouſneſs of ſin as we ſhall declare in another place. But although we grant they may redeem ſome ſins with juſt ſatisfaction: yet what will they do when they are oppreſſed with ſo many ſins, for ſatisfaction whereof an hundred lives although they were wholly applied thereunto cannot ſuffice? Beſide that, all the places where the forgiveneſs of ſins is affirmed, do not belong to younglings, but to the already regenerate children of God, and them that have been long nouriſhed in the boſom of the church. That embaſſage which Paul ſo honourably extolleth, (2 Cor. v. 20.) I beſeech you in the name of God, be ye reconciled unto God, is not directed to ſtrangers, but to them that had been already regenerate. But he, bidding ſatisfactions farewel, ſendeth them to the croſs of Chriſt. So when he writteth to the Coloſſians, (Coloſ. i. 20.) that Chriſt by the blood of the croſs hath pacified all things in heaven or in earth, he reſtraineth not this to the only moment wherein we are received into the church, but extendeth it to our whole courſe. Which eaſily appeareth by the proceſs of the text, where he ſaith, that the faithful have a redemption by the blood of Chriſt, that is forgiveneſs of ſins. Albeit it is ſuperfluous to heap together more places, that readily offer themſelves to be found.

The idle diſtinction of ſins venial and deadly ſins.

28. Here they flee to the ſanctuary of the fooliſh diſtinction, that ſome ſins are venial, and ſome deadly: that for deadly ſins is great ſatisfaction due, that venial ſins are purged with more eaſy remedies, as with ſaying of the Lords prayer, with ſprinkling of holy water, with abſolution at the maſs. Thus they mock and trifle with God. But whereas they have always in their mouth venial and deadly ſin, yet they could never diſcern the one from the other, ſaving that they make ungodlineſs and uncleanneſs of heart a venial ſin. But we (as the ſcripture, the rule of right and wrong teacheth us) do pronounce, that the reward of ſin is death, and that the ſoul that ſinneth is worthy of death. (Rom. vi. 2. Ezek. xviii. 2. Rom. viii. 1.) But the ſins of the faithful are venial, not becauſe they do not deſerve death, but becauſe by the mercy of God there is no condemnation to them that are in Chriſt Jeſus, becauſe they are not imputed: becauſe they are taken away by pardon. I know how unjuſtly they ſlander this our doctrine. For they ſay, that it is the Stoicks ſtrange concluſion, concerning the equality of ſins. But they will eaſily be convinced by their own mouth. For I demand of them, whether among the very ſame ſins that they confeſs to be deadly, they do not acknowlege one to be greater than another. It doth not therefore immediately follow, that ſins are equal, becauſe they are altogether deadly. When the ſcripture definitively ſaith, that the reward of ſin is death, that the obedience of the law is the way of life, and that the tranſgreſſion of the law is death, they cannot eſcape this ſentence. What end of ſatisfying then will they find in ſo great a heap of ſins? If the ſatisfaction of one day be the ſatisfaction of one ſin, while they are about that one ſatisfaction, they commit many ſins, ſince the juſteſt man paſſeth no one day wherein he falleth not many times. (Prov. xxiv. 16.) Now when they ſhall prepare themſelves to make ſatisfaction for the ſins, they ſhall heap up great numbers, yea rather innumerable. Then the hope of ſatisfying being cut off, what do they reſt upon? how dare they ſtill think of ſatisfying?

God doth not remit our ſins and leave the penalties ſtill without our own ſatisfaction take them away to be endured.

29. They go about to extricate themſelves: but (as the Proverb is) the water ſtill cleaveth upon them. They forge a diſtinction of fault and penalty. They confeſs that the fault is forgiven by the mercy of God, but that when the fault is forgiven, the penalty remaineth

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which the righteouſneſs of God requireth to be paid: and that ſatisfactions do properly belong to the releaſe of the penalty. Good God what a ſkipping lightneſs is this? now they confeſs that the forgiveneſs of the fault lieth freely open for men, which at other times they teach men to deſerve by prayers and weepings, and all other kinds of preparations. But yet ſtill all that is taught us in the ſcripture concerning the forgiveneſs of ſins, doth directly plead againſt this diſtinction. Which although I think that I have already more than ſufficiently confirmed, yet I will add ſome other teſtimonies wherewith theſe winding ſnakes may be holden ſo faſt, that they ſhall not be able once to fold in the top of their tail. This is the new teſtament which the Lord hath covenanted with us in Chriſt, that he will not remember our iniquities. (Jer. xxxi. 31.) What he meant by theſe words, we learn by another prophet, where the Lord ſaith: (Ezek. xviii. 24.) If the righteous turn away from his righteouſneſs, I will not remember all his righteouſneſſes. If the wicked depart from his wickedneſs, I will not remember all his iniquities. Where he ſaith that he will not remember their righteouſneſs, (Iſai. xxxviii. 17.) that is as much as to ſay, that he will have no regard of them in reſpect to reward them. Therefore not to remember ſins, is as much as not to call them to puniſhment. The ſame thing is called in another place to caſt it behind his back, (Iſai. xliv. 22.) to wipe it away like a cloud, to drown it in the bottom of the ſea, (Mich. vii. 19.) not to impute it (Pſal. xxxii. 12.) and to hid it. (Pſal. lii. 2.) By ſuch manners of ſpeech the holy Ghoſt doth plainly expreſs his meaning unto us, if we would apply unto him willing ears to learn. Truly, if God do puniſh ſins, he imputeth them: if he taketh vengeance, he remembreth them: if he call them to judgment, he doth not hid them: if he examine them, he doth not caſt them behind his back: if he look upon them, he hath not wiped them away like a cloud: if he ſift them, he hath not caſt them into the bottom of the ſea. And in this manner doth Auguſtine expound it in plain words. If God hath covered ſins, then he will not look upon them: if he will not mark them, then he will not puniſh them: if he will not know them, he had rather pardon them. Why therefore did he ſay that ſins were covered, but that they ſhould not be ſeen? What was meant by this that God did ſee ſins, but that he did puniſh them? But let us hear alſo out of another place of the prophet, upon what conditions the Lord forgiveth ſins. If (ſaith he) your ſins be as ſcarlet, they ſhall be made white as ſnow: (Iſai. i. 18.) if they be red like crimſon, they ſhall be as wool. And in Jeremiah we read thus: (Jer. l. 20.) In that day the iniquity of Jacob ſhall be ſought for, and ſhall not be found: the ſin of Judah, and it ſhall not be. Becauſe I will be favourable to the remnants that I ſhall preſerve. Wilt thou briefly underſtand what is the meaning of theſe words? Weigh on the other ſide what is meant by theſe ſpeeches: that the Lord doth bind up iniquities in a ſack, doth gather them into a bundle and lay them up, and doth grave them with an iron pen in an adamant ſtone. (Job xiv. 17. Hoſ. xiii. 12. (Jer. xvii. 1.) If they ſignify (as it is out of doubt) that vengeance ſhall be given for recompence, then is it alſo not to be doubted, but that by contrary ſentences the Lord affirmeth, that he remitteth all recompenſing of vengeance. Here I muſt beſeech the readers not to hearken to my gloſſes, but only that they will ſuffer the word of God to take ſome place.

Chriſt in bearing our ſins ſuffered, and God in pardoning them doth remit the puniſhment we had thereby deſerved.

30. What, I pray you, hath Chriſt done for us, if we are ſtill liable to ſuffer puniſhment for our ſins? For when we ſay that he bare all our ſins in his body upon the tree, (1 Pet. ii. 24.) we mean nothing elſe thereby, but that he ſuffered all the pain and puniſhment that was due unto our ſins. And the ſame hath Iſaiah more lively declared, where he ſaith: the chaſtiſement (or correction) of our peace was upon him. (Iſa. liii. 5.) What is the correction of our peace but the puniſhment due to ſin: and which we would have ſuffered before we could have been reconciled to God, unleſs he had ſtood in our room? Here you ſee plainly, that Chriſt ſuffered the pains due to ſin, to deliver them that are his from them. And ſo oft as Paul maketh mention of the redemption performed by Chriſt, he uſeth to (Rom. iii. 24.) call it in Greek Apolutroſin, whereby he meaneth not redemption, as it is commonly taken, but the very price and ſatisfaction paid for our redemption. After which manner (1 Cor. i. 30.) he ſaith, that Chriſt gave himſelf Antilutron, a price of ranſom for us. What propitiation is there with the Lord (ſaith Auguſtine) but ſacrifice? And what ſacrifice is there, but that which is offered for us in the death of Chriſt? But that which is appointed in the law of Moſes for cleanſing the offence of ſin, ſtrengtheneth

ſtrengtheneth our argument. For the Lord doth not there appoint this or that manner of ſatisfying, but requireth the whole recompence in ſacrifices. Whereas yet in other things, he doth moſt diligently and in moſt exact order ſent out all the ceremonies of expiation. How cometh it to paſs, that he commandeth us to make amends for our faults committed, with no works at all, but requireth only ſacrifice for ſatisfaction? Becauſe his will is to declare, that there is only one kind of ſatisfaction, whereby his wrath is appeaſed? For the ſacrifices that the Iſraelites did then offer, were not judged of as they were the works of men, but were eſteemed by their truth, that is to ſay, by the only ſacrifice of Chriſt. But what manner of recompence the Lord receiveth of us, (Hoſea xiv. 3.) hath very well expreſſed it in few words. Thou ſhalt (ſaith he) take away iniquity, O God. Lo, here is forgiveneſs of ſins. And we ſhall pay thee the calves of our lips: Lo, here is ſatifaction. I know that they would ſubtilly ſlip away, when they make a diſtinction between everlaſting, and temporal pains. But when they teach that temporal pain is any kind of puniſhment that God inflicteth as well on the body as the ſoul, except everlaſting death, this reſtraining of it doth little help them. For the places that we have above recited, do expreſly mean this, that God receiveth us into favour with this condition, that in pardoning the fault, he pardoneth all the pain we had thereby deſerved. And ſo oft as David or the other prophets do aſk pardon of ſin, they alſo pray to be releaſed from the pain. Yea, the very feeling of God's judgment doth drive them thereto. Again, when they promiſe mercy at the Lord's hand, they in a manner always ſet forth the puniſhment due to ſin, and the forgiveneſs thereof, truly, when the Lord in (Ezekiel xxxvi. 22. and 21.) pronounceth that he will make an end of the captivity in Babylon, and that for his own ſake, not for the Jews ſake, he doth ſufficiently ſhew that both are of his free gift. Finally, if we are delivered by Chriſt from the guilt of ſin, the pains that ariſe therefrom muſt needs ceaſe.

Places of Scripture ſuppoſed to prove that except we ourſelves do ſatisfy God, our ſins are puniſhed after they are remitted.

31. But foraſmuch as they alſo arm themſelves with teſtimonies of Scripture, let us ſee what manner of arguments thoſe are that they allege. David (ſay they) being rebuked by Nathan the prophet of adultery and manſlaughter, received pardon of his ſin, (2 Sam. xii. 13.) yet he was afterward puniſhed by the death of his ſon that he had gotten by that adultery. We are taught to redeem with ſatisfactions ſuch pains as were to be extended after the ſin was forgiven. For Daniel (Dan. iv. 27.) adviſeth Nebuchadnezzar to break off his ſins by righteouſneſs, and his iniquities by ſhewing mercy to the poor. And Solomon writeth (Prov. xvi. 6. and x. 12.) that by mercy and truth iniquity is purged. And in another place, that charity covereth a multitude of ſins. Which ſentence Peter alſo confirmeth. (1 Pet. iv. 8.) Again in (Luke vii. 47.) the Lord ſaith of the woman that was a ſinner, that many ſins are forgiven her, becauſe ſhe hath loued much. How perverſly and wrongfully do theſe men ever weigh the doings of God. But if they had obſerved (as they ſhould not have overlooked it) that there are two kinds of God's judgment, they would have ſeen in this rebuking of David, another manner of puniſhment, than ſuch as might be thought to tend to revenge. But becauſe, it is very neceſſary for us all to know whereunto thoſe chaſtiſements have reſpect, wherewith God correcteth us for our ſins, and how much they differ from thoſe examples wherewith he purſueth the wicked and reprobate with indignation, therefore I think it will not be beſide our purpoſe to explain it a little. And to make it plain, let us call the one kind of judgment, the judgment of revenge, the other of chaſtiſement. It is to be underſtood, that God puniſheth his enemies with the judgment of revenge, that he uſeth his wrath againſt them, confoundeth, deſtroyeth, and bringeth them to nought. Therefore let us take that to be properly the vengeance of God, when his puniſhing is joined with his indignation: with the judgment of chaſtiſement he dealeth not ſo cruelly, as to be angry: he doth not puniſh to deſtroy, neither ſendeth he down his lightening to kill. Therefore it is not properly puniſhment or vengeance, but correction and admoniſhment. The one he doth as a judge, the other as a father. For the judge when he puniſheth an evil doer, he hath a regard to the offence, and puniſheth the very fault: when the father ſomewhat rigorouſly correcteth his child, he doth it not to be revenged on him, or to puniſh him, but rather to teach him, and make him more cautious for the time to come. Chryſoſtom in a certain place uſeth a ſimilitude ſomewhat different from this, but yet it cometh to the ſame point. The ſon (ſaith he) is beaten, and the ſervant alſo: but the one is puniſhed as a bond ſervant, becauſe he hath offended, and the other is chaſtiſed as a freeman and as a ſon, needing correction.

rection. To the one his correction ſerveth for reproof and amendment, to the other for a ſcourge and puniſhment.

God puniſheth his enemies in wrath, his children in love.

32. But that we may have the whole matter ſhortly and in a ready ſum, let this be the firſt of two diſtinctions. Whereſoever puniſhment is to revenge, there the curſe and wrath of God ſheweth itſelf, which he always preſerveth the faithful from. Contrariwiſe, chaſtiſement is both a bleſſing of God, and a teſtimony of his love, as the ſcripture teacheth. This difference is commonly every where ſufficiently expreſſed in the word of God. For whatſoever afflictions the wicked ſuffer in this preſent life, therein is painted out unto us as it were a certain entry to hell, from whence they already ſee a far off their eternal damnation: and they are ſo far from being amended or profiting thereby, that rather by ſuch a beginning they are prepared to the moſt cruel torments that at laſt abideth for them. But the Lord in chaſtiſing, correcteth his ſervants, but he doth not put them to death. Therefore they confeſs that to be ſmitten with his rod, was profitable unto them for inſtruction. But as we read every where that the ſaints ſuffered the laſt kind of puniſhments with patience, ſo they have alway prayed to eſcape the firſt kind of ſcourges. Chaſtiſe me Lord (ſaith Jeremiah x. 24. 25.) but in thy judgment, not in thy wrath, leſt thou deſtroy me. Pour out thy wrath upon the nations that have not known thee, and upon the kingdoms that have not called upon thy name. And David ſaith, (Pſal. vi. 1. and xxxviii. 1.) Lord rebuke me not in thy wrath, nor correct me in thy anger. And it maketh nothing to the contrary, that oftentimes it is ſaid, that the Lord is angry with his people, when he puniſheth their ſins. As in (Iſa. xii. 1.) I will confeſs to thee O Lord, becauſe thou haſt been angry with me: thy wrath is turned, and thou haſt comforted me. Again Habakkuk ſaith (Hab. iii. 2.) in the midſt of wrath remember mercy. And (Micah vii. 9.) I will bear the wrath of the Lord, becauſe I have ſinned againſt him. Where he putteth us in mind not only that they who are juſtly puniſhed, do not prevail by murmuring againſt him, but alſo that the faithful receive comfort in their ſorrow, by conſidering the intention of God. For after the ſame manner it is ſaid that he doth defile his own inheritance which yet (we know) he will never defile. But that is ſpoken not in reſpect of the purpoſe or meaning of God that puniſheth, but of the vehement ſorrow which they feel who ſuffer any of his ſeverity whatſoever it be. Yet he not only puniſheth his faithful with ſuch rigor, but ſometimes ſo woundeth them, that they think themſelves not far from the damnation of hell. Whereby he teſtifieth that they have deſerved his wrath, and ſo it behoveth that they ſhould loath themſelves for their ſins, and be ſtirred up to a greater care to appeaſe God, and haſten them to crave pardon. But even in the very doing thereof he ſheweth a more evident teſtimony of his fatherly kindneſs than of his wrath. For the covenant continueth that was made with us in our true Solomon: the truth whereof he that could diſcern, hath affirmed, that it ſhall never be made void. If (ſaith he Pſal. lxxxix. 31.) his children forſake my law, and walk not in my judgments: if they defile my ſtatutes, and keep not my commandments; I will viſit their ſins with a rod and with ſtripes: but I will not take away my mercy from him. Of which mercy to make us aſſured, he ſaith, (2 Sam. vii. 14.) that the rod wherewith he will correct the poſterity of Solomon, ſhall be of men, and ſtripes of the children of men: by which clauſes when he meaneth moderation and lenity, he therewith ſecretly declareth, that they cannot but be confounded with extreme and deadly horror, who feel the hand of God to be againſt them. How great regard he had to this lenity in chaſtiſing Iſrael, he ſheweth in the prophet (Iſa. xlviii. 10.) I have purged thee (ſaith he) in the fire: but not as ſilver, for then thou ſhouldſt have been all conſumed. Albeit he teacheth that chaſtiſements ſerve to cleanſe them, but he further ſaith, that he uſeth the ſame ſo temperately, that they be not altogether conſumed by them. And this is needful. For the more that every man reverently feareth God, and followeth after godlineſs, ſo much the more he is afraid to bear his wrath. For the reprobate, although they groan under his ſcourges, yet becauſe they weigh not the cauſe, but rather turn their back both to their own ſins and the judgment of God, by that inſenſibility they acquire a hardneſs: or becauſe they murmur and kick againſt him, and make an uproar againſt their judge, that furious ſudden rage aſtoniſheth them with madneſs and fury. But the faithful being admoniſhed by his correction, immediately ſit down to conſider their ſins, and being ſtricken with dread and horror, they flee humbly to pray to him for pardon, and unleſs the Lord did aſſwage theſe ſorrows wherewith they torment themſelves, they

they would faint a hundred times even under the ſmalleſt tokens of his wrath.

God puniſheth the wicked to be revenged on them for having ſinned, but correcteth his children to make them careful not to ſin.

33. Then let this be the ſecond diſtinction, that when the reprobate are ſtriken with the ſcourges of God, they do already after a certain manner begin to ſuffer pains by his judgment, and though they ſhall not eſcape unpuniſhed, for that they have not taken heed to ſuch tokens of the wrath of God, yet they are not puniſhed to make them come to a better mind: but to their great hurt, that they ſhould prove God to be a judge and revenger. But his children are beaten with rods, not that they ſhould thereby be puniſhed of God for their ſins, but that they ſhould thereby profit to amendment. Therefore we think they rather have reſpect to the time to come, than to the time paſt. This I had rather expreſs in Chryſoſtom's words (*In ſerm. de pœnit. & confeſſ.*) than mine own. For this end (ſaith he) God doth lay pain upon us, not puniſhing our ſins paſt, but correcting us againſt the time to come. And ſo ſaith Auguſtine: that which thou ſuffereſt, that for which thou lamenteſt, is a medicine to thee and not pain, a chaſtiſement not damnation. Put not away the ſcourge, if thou wouldſt not be put away from the inheritance, &c. Know ye brethren that all this miſery of mankind, which the world groaneth under is medicinal ſorrow, and not a penal ſentence, &c. Theſe quotations I thought proper to adduce leaſt the manner of ſpeaking I have uſed above, ſhould ſeem new and unuſual. And hereunto ſerve all the complaints full of indignation wherewith the Lord oftentimes doth expoſtulate concerning the unkindneſs of his people, for that they ſtiffly deſpiſed all puniſhments. In Iſaiah (Iſa. i. 5.) he ſaith: to what purpoſe ſhould I ſtrike you any more: from the ſole of the foot to the crown of the head, there is no place whole. But becauſe the prophets are full of ſuch ſayings, it is ſufficient to have briefly ſhewed that God doth puniſh his church with no other intention, but that it ſhould be tamed and amend. Therefore when he caſt Saul out of the kingdom, he puniſhed him to revenge (1 Sam. xv. 23.) When he took from David his young ſon, he corrected him to amendment. (2 Sam. xii. 18.) In this ſenſe is that ſaying of Paul to be underſtood, (1 Cor. xi. 32.) we are judged of the Lord, we are corrected that we ſhould not be damned with this world: that is, when we who are the children of God are afflicted with the hand of our heavenly Father, this is not a pain wherewith we ſhould be confounded, but only a chaſtiſement whereby we ſhould be inſtructed. In which point Auguſtine is plainly on our ſide. For he teacheth (*Lib. de peccat. merito, ac remiſ.* 2 *cap.* 33. & 34.) that the like pains wherewith men are chaſtiſed by God, are diverſly to be conſidered: becauſe to the holy ſaints they are battles and exerciſes after the forgiveneſs of their ſins, to the reprobate they are without forgiveneſs, the pains of their wickedneſs. In which place he rehearſeth what pains were laid upon David and other godly men, and ſaith, that they tend to this end, that their godlineſs ſhould by ſuch humbling of them, be exerciſed and proved. And where Iſaiah ſaith, (Iſa. xl. 2.) that the Jews had their iniquity forgiven them, becauſe they had received full chaſtiſement at the Lord's hand: this doth not prove that the pardon of ſins dependeth upon the full ſuffering of the pain: but it is in effect as much as if he had ſaid: Becauſe ye have already ſuffered pains enough, and by the grievouſneſs and multitude thereof are pined away with long mourning and ſorrow, therefore it is now time that receiving the tidings of mercy, your hearts ſhould rejoice, and know me to be your father. For there God took upon himſelf the perſon of a Father, who repenteth him even of his juſt ſeverity, when he is compelled ſharply to correct his ſon.

The miſeries whereunto we are ſubject would ſwallow us up if we did not know that he who afflicteth us doth it as a father not as a judge.

34. It is neceſſary that believers be furniſhed with ſuch thoughts as thoſe in their afflictions. It is time that judgment began at the houſe of the Lord, in which his name is called upon. (1 Pet. iv. 17. and Jer. xxv. 29.) What ſhould the children of God do, if they believed that ſeverity of God which they feel to be his vengeance? For he who being ſtriken by the hand of God, imagineth God a puniſhing judge, cannot think of him but as angry and an enemy unto him, and deteſt the fatherly rod of God as a curſe and damnation. Finally, he can never be perſuaded that God loveth him, who thinks him ſo inclined toward him, that he ſtill intends to puniſh him. But he only profiteth under the rod of God, who thinks him angry at his ſins, but merciful and loving to himſelf. For otherwiſe that muſt needs happen, which the prophet (Pſal. lxxxviii. 15.) complaineth that he felt, where he ſaith. Thy

wrath, O God hath paſſed over me: thy terrors have oppreſſed me. Alſo that which Moſes writeth, (Pſal. xc. 7, 8, 9.) For we are conſumed by thine anger, and by thy wrath are we troubled, Thou haſt ſet our iniquities before thee, our ſecret ſins in the light of thy countenance. For all our days are paſſed away in thy wrath: we ſpend our years as a tale that is told. On the other ſide David (Pſal. xciv. 12.) ſaith thus of his fatherly chaſtiſements, to teach us, that the faithful are rather helped than oppreſſed thereby: bleſſed is the man whom thou haſt corrected O Lord, and haſt inſtructed in thy law, to give him quiet from evil days, while a pit is digged for the ſinner. Truly it is a hard temptation, when God ſparing the unbelievers and winking at their faults, ſeemeth more rigorous againſt them that are his own. Therefore he gave them a cauſe of comfort, the inſtruction of the law, whereby they might learn, that it is done to provide for their ſalvation when they are called again into the way, and the wicked are carried headlong into their errors, whoſe end is the pit. And it is no difference whether the pain be everlaſting or continues for a time. For war, famine, peſtilence, and ſickneſs, as the judgment of eternal death are the curſes of God: when they are laid upon men, to be the inſtruments of the Lord's wrath and vengeance againſt the reprobate.

Neither that which David ſuffered after his ſin was forgiven, nor that which Adam and his poſterity even they whoſe iniquities are done away do endure, is ſuſtained to the end that God may be recompenced with pain for ſin.

35. Now (as I think) all men, may perceive whereunto tendeth that chaſtiſement of the Lord upon David: even to be an inſtruction that God is grievouſly diſpleaſed with manſlaughter and adultery, againſt which he ſhewed ſo great indignation in his beloved and faithful ſervant: that David ſhould be taught to be no more ſo bold to do the like deeds: and not to be a pain whereby he ſhould make a certain recompence to God. And ſo are we to judge of the other kind of correction whereby the Lord puniſheth his people with a ſore peſtilence, for David's diſobedience whereinto he was fallen in numbering the people. For he did indeed freely forgive to David the guiltineſs of his ſin: but becauſe it was to be a public example to all ages, and alſo to humble David, that ſuch a hainous offence ſhould not remain unpuniſhed; he therefore moſt ſharply chaſtiſed him with his rod. Which mark alſo we ought to have before our eyes in the univerſal courſe of mankind. For whereas after we have obtained pardon, we yet ſuffer the miſeries that were laid upon our firſt parent for pain of ſin: we find ourſelves by ſuch exerciſes admoniſhed, how grievouſly God is diſpleaſed with the tranſgreſſion of his law: that being thrown down and humbled with the knowlege of our own miſerable eſtate, we may the more fervently aſpire after true bleſſedneſs. But he is very fooliſh who thinks that the calamities of this preſent life are laid upon us for the guiltineſs of ſin. And that I think was the meaning of Chryſoſtome when he wrote thus. (*Hom. 3. de provid. ad Stargirium.*) If God do therefore lay pains upon us, that he may call us perſevering in ſin to repentance, then when repentance is once ſhewed, the pain will be ſuperfluous. Therefore as he knoweth it to be expedient for every man's nature, ſo he handleth one man more roughly, and another with more loving tenderneſs. Therefore where he intendeth to inform us that he will not always puniſh (Jer. v. 3.) he reproacheth the hard hearted and obſtinate people of Iſrael, who being ſtricken yet made not an end of ſinning. In this ſenſe he complaineth, (Hoſ. vii. 7.) that Ephraim was a cake ſcorched on the one ſide, and raw on the other, becauſe his corrections did not pierce into their minds, that the people having their vices boiled out, might be made meet to receive pardon. Truly he that ſo ſpeaketh, ſheweth, that ſo ſoon as a man hath repented, God will ſoon be appeaſed: and that by our ſtiffneſs only, he is forced to that rigour in chaſtiſing our faults, which would have been prevented by a willing amendmcnt. Yet foraſmuch as we all are ſo hard hearted and ſtiff necked, as univerſally to need chaſtiſement: it ſeemed good to him being a moſt wiſe Father, to exerciſe all without exception with a common ſconrge, all their life long. But it is very ſtrange why they fix their eyes only upon the example of David, and are not moved with ſo many examples, in which they may behold free forgiveneſs of ſins. It is read (Luke xviii. 14.) that the Publican went out of the temple juſtified. There followed no pain. Peter obtained pardon of his offence, (Luke xxii. 61.) we read of his tears (ſaith Ambroſe) not of his ſatisfaction. And the man ſick of the palſy heard it ſpoken to him: riſe, thy ſins are forgiven thee. There was no pain laid upon him. All the abſolutions that are rehearſed in the ſcripture, are ſet out as given freely. Out of this great number of examples a rule ſhould rather have been made, than

than of that ſingle example which containeth in it a certain ſpecial matter.

Daniel counſelling Nebuchadnezar to redeem his ſins with righteouſneſs, and Solomon teaching that charity hideth a number of ſins, did not mean that either the one or the other is any ſatisfaction to God for ſin.

36. Daniel in his exhortation (Dan. iv. 27.) where he counſelleth Nebuchadnezzar to redeem his ſins with righteouſneſs, and his iniquities with pitying of the poor: his meaning was not to ſay that righteouſneſs and mercy are ſatisfactory to God, and a redemption from pains (for God forbid that there were any redemption except by the blood of Chriſt) but refers this word redeeming rather to men than to God: as if he had ſaid, O king, thou haſt uſed an unrighteous and violent government, thou haſt oppreſſed the humble, thou haſt ſpoiled the poor, thou haſt hardly and unjuſtly handled thy people: for thy unjuſt exactions, for thy violence and oppreſſion, now render to them mercy and righteouſneſs. Likewiſe Solomon ſaith, (Prov. x. 12.) that with charity the multitude of ſins is covered: not before God, but among men. For thus runs the whole verſe: hatred raiſeth up contentions, but charity covereth all iniquity. In which verſe, as his manner is, he doth by a compariſon of contraries, compare the evils that ariſe from hatred, with the fruits of charity: in this ſenſe, they that mutually hate, do bite, bark at, reproach and rail at each other, and turn all things to the worſt, but they that mutually love, conceal many things among themſelves, wink at, and pardon many things one to another: not that the one alloweth the others faults, but beareth with them, and aſſiſteth them with admonition rather than gall them with reproaches. And it is not to be doubted that Peter quoteth this place in the ſame ſenſe, (1 Pet. iv. 8.) unleſs we will accuſe him of depraving and falſely wreſting the ſcripture. But where he teacheth that ſin is purged by mercifulneſs and liberality, he doth not mean that a recompence is thereby made for ſin before the face of the Lord, ſo that God being appeaſed by ſuch ſatisfaction doth releaſe them from the pain that otherwiſe he would have laid upon them, but after the accuſtomed manner of the ſcripture he declareth that they ſhall find him merciful unto them who forſaking their former vices and iniquities, turn to him by godlineſs and truth: as if he ſhould ſay, that the wrath of God doth ceaſe and his judgment reſt, when we ceaſe from our ſins. Neither doth he there deſcribe the cauſe of pardon, but rather the manner of true converſion. As many times the prophets declare that hypocrites do in vain peſter God with forged ceremonious uſages inſtead of repentance, whereas it is uprightneſs of life with the duties of charity that delighteth him. As alſo the author of the epiſtle to the Hebrews commending liberality and gentleneſs, (Heb. xiii. 16.) teacheth that ſuch ſacrifices pleaſe God. And when Chriſt taunting the Phariſees (Matth. xxiii. 25. and Luke xi. 39.) who minding only the cleanſing of diſhes, neglected purity of heart, commanded them to give alms that all might be clean: he did not thereby exhort them to make ſatisfaction: but only taught what manner of cleanneſs pleaſeth God. Of which kind of ſpeech we have treated in another place.

The love which the woman to whom many ſins were forgiven ſhewed towards him who did forgive her, was not a cauſe, but a proof of her pardon.

37. As touching that place of Luke, (Luke vii. 35.) no man who hath with ſound judgment read the parable which our Lord doth there recite, will make any controverſy thereupon. The Phariſee thought with himſelf, that the Lord did not know the woman, which he had ſo eaſily received into his preſence. For he thought that Chriſt would not have received her, if he had known her to be ſuch a ſinner as ſhe was. And thereby he concluded that Chriſt was not a prophet who could be deceived in ſuch a manner. The Lord to ſhew that ſhe was no ſinner to whom her ſins were already forgiven, ſpoke this parable. There were two debtors to one creditor upon uſury: the one owed fifty, the other owed five hundred, both had their debts forgiven them. Which of them owed moſt thanks? the Phariſee anſwered: he to whom moſt is forgiven. The Lord replied: learn hereby that this womans ſins are forgiven her, becauſe ſhe hath loved much. In which words (as you ſee) he maketh not her love the cauſe, but the proof of the forgiveneſs of her ſins. For they are derived by a ſimilitude from that debtor, to whom five hundred was forgiven, to whom he did not ſay that therefore it was forgiven, becauſe he had loved much: but therefore loved much, becauſe it was forgiven. And hereunto muſt that ſimilitude be applied in this manner: thou thinkeſt this woman to be a ſinner: but thou oughteſt to know that ſhe is none ſuch, for as much as her ſins are forgiven her. And that her ſins are forgiven her, her love ought

to

to prove unto thee, whereby ſhe rendered thanks for this benefit. It is an argument gathered from the following effect, whereby any thing is proved by ſigns enſuing. By what means ſhe obtained forgiveneſs of her ſins, the Lord openly teſtifieth: thy faith, ſaith he, hath ſaved thee. Therefore we obtain forgiveneſs by faith: by charity we give thanks, and teſtify the kindneſs of the Lord.

The fathers though ſpeaking ſomewhat hardly concerning ſatisfaction, do notwithſtanding mean far otherwiſe than theſe new ſatisfactioners.

38. As for thoſe things that are commonly found in the writings of the Fathers concerning ſatisfaction, they little move me. I ſee indeed that many of them, (I will ſpeak plainly) in a manner all whoſe books remain, have either erred in this point, or ſpoken too crabbedly and hardly: but I will not grant that they were ſo rude and unſkilful as to write thoſe things in that ſenſe in which the new ſatisfactioners read them. Chryſoſtome in one place writeth thus: where mercy is required examination ceaſeth: where mercy is aſked, judgment is not rigorous: where mercy is craved, there is no place for pain: where there is mercy, there is no inquiſition. Where there is mercy, the anſwer is pardon. Which words howſoever they are wreſted, yet they can never be made to agree with the tenets of the ſchoolmen. In the book of eccleſiaſtical doctrines, which is fathered upon Auguſtine, is read thus: Satisfaction of repentance is, to cut off the cauſe of ſins, and not to grant an entry to their ſuggeſtions. Whereby it appeareth that the doctrine of ſatisfaction that was ſaid to be given in recompence of ſins committed, was even in thoſe times laughed to ſcorn: for as much as they refer all ſatisfaction to a carefulneſs in abſtaining from ſin in time to come. I will not allege that which the ſame Chryſoſtome ſaith, (*Hom.* 10 *in Gen. Enchi. ad Laurentium.*) that he requireth no more of us, but that we ſhould confeſs our ſins unto him with tears; ſince ſuch ſentences are many times found in his writings and others. Auguſtine indeed in ſome places calleth works of mercy, remedies to obtain forgiveneſs of ſins: but that no man might ſtumble at that little word, he himſelf preventeth it in another place. The fleſh of Chriſt (ſaith he) is the true and only ſacrifice for ſins, not only theſe ſins that are wholly put away in baptiſm, but alſo theſe that afterwards creep in by weakneſs: for which the whole church crieth out at this day, forgive us our treſpaſſes. (Matth. vi. 12.) And they are forgiven by that ſacrifice alone.

Defenders of Popiſh ſatisfactions not much helped by the writings of the ancient fathers.

39. They have for the moſt part called ſatisfaction, not a recompence to be rendered to God, but an open declaration whereby they that had been excommunicate (when they would be received again to the communion) did aſcertain the church of their repentance. For there was joined unto theſe ſatisfactions, when they repented, certain faſtings and other things, whereby they might perſuade men that they were truly and heartily weary of their former life, or rather to blot out the remembrance of their former doings: and ſo they were ſaid to make ſatisfaction not to God, but to the church. Which is alſo expreſſed by Auguſtine in theſe words in his *Enchiridion* to Laurence. (*Cap.* 65. and is rehearſed in the Decrets. *cap. in actionibus de pœnit. diſtin.* 1.) Out of that ancient cuſtom the confeſſions and ſatisfactions that are at this day uſed, took their beginning. Truly very viperous births, by which it is come to paſs, that there remaineth not ſo much as a ſhadow of that better form. I know that the fathers do ſometimes ſpeak ſomewhat hardly, and as I ſaid even now, I do not deny that perhaps they erred herein. But thoſe things that were beſprinkled with a few ſpots, when they are once handled with theſe men's unwaſhed hands, are altogether defiled. And if we muſt contend with the authority of the fathers: good God what old writers do they thruſt upon us? A good part of thoſe wherewith Peter Lombard their champion hath botched up his patched ſentences, is gathered out of the filthy dreams of certain Monks that are carried about under the name of Ambroſe, Jerom, Auguſtine, and Chryſoſtom. As about this preſent queſtion he taketh in a manner all out of Auguſtine's book of repentance, which is fooliſhly botched of good and bad by ſome ſcraper together. It beareth indeed the name of Auguſttne, but ſuch a book that no man being but meanly learned, would vouchſafe to acknowlege for his. But I do not very narrowly examine their follies, let the readers pardon me whom I would eaſe of that tedioufneſs. For to me it would not be very hard, and yet very plauſible to bewray to their great ſhame thoſe things that they have heretofore boaſted upon as myſteries: but becauſe my purpoſe is to teach things uſeful, therefore I paſs them over.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the ſupplements which they add to ſatisfactions, as pardons and purgatory.

The world even wittingly abuſed by pardons.

OUT of this doctrine of ſatisfactions do flow indulgences or pardons. For they ſay that which our power wanteth to make ſatisfaction, is ſupplied by theſe pardons. And they run ſo far, mad that they define them to be the diſtribution of the merits of Chriſt and of the martyrs, which the Pope dealeth abroad by his bulls. But although they have more need of Hellebore to purge their frantic brains, than arguments to anſwer them, ſo it is not worth the labour to ſtand upon confuting ſuch trifling errors, which are already ſhaken with many powerful arguments, and of themſelves decay, and bend toward falling: yet becauſe a ſhort confutation of them will be profitable to ſome who are ignorant, I will not altogether omit it. That pardons have ſo long ſtood ſafe and have ſo long been unpuniſhed, having been uſed with ſo outragious and furious licentiouſneſs: this may ſerve to teach us in how dark a night of errors, men in certain ages paſt have been drowned. They ſaw themſelves openly and barefacedly ſcorned by the Pope and his bull-bearers, gainful markets to be made of the ſalvation of their ſouls, the price of ſalvation to be valued at a few pence, and that nothing was to be freely given: that by this pretence they are ſpunged of offerings to be filthily ſpent upon brothels, bawds and banqueetings, that the greateſt publiſhers of pardons are the greateſt deſpiſers of them, that this monſter doth daily more and more with greater licentiouſneſs overrun the world, and grow into outrage, and that there is no end, new traſh daily brought, and new money gotten. Yet with high reverence they received, they worſhipped and bought pardons, and ſuch as ſaw ſomewhat further, yet thought them to be godly cheats, whereby men might be beguiled with ſome profit: at length, ſince the world ſuffered itſelf to be ſomewhat wiſer, pardons wax cold, and by little and little become frozen, till they utterly vaniſh away.

The ground of pardons is the merit of ſaints than which nothing can be more oppoſite to the merits of Chriſt.

2. But foraſmuch as many who ſee the filthy gamings, deceits, thefts, and robberies, wherewith the pardoners have formerly mocked and beguiled us, yet do not ſee that fountain of ungodlineſs from whence they ſpring: it is neceſſary to ſhew not only of what theſe pardons are, but alſo what they are, when they are cleanſed from all ſpots. They call the treaſure of the church, the merits of Chriſt and the holy apoſtles and martyrs. The chief keeping of this barn (as I have already touched) they feign to be delivered to the biſhop of Rome, that he ſhould have the diſtribution of ſo great gifts, that he might both give them by himſelf, and alſo grant a power to others to give them. Hereupon proceed from the Pope ſometimes plenary pardons, ſometimes pardons for certain years: from the cardinals, pardons for a hundred days: from biſhops, pardons for forty days. But they are (as I may naturally deſcribe them) the profaning of the blood of Chriſt, Satans mockery, to lead away chriſtians from the grace of God, from the life that is in Chriſt, and to turn them from the true way of ſalvation. For how can the blood of Chriſt be more filthily prophaned, than when it is denied to ſuffice to the remiſſion of ſins, to reconciliation and ſatisfaction, unleſs it being withered and waſted, ſhould by pardons be ſupplied and perfected? The law and all the prophets (ſaith Peter Acts x. 43.) bear witneſs of Chriſt, that by him forgiveneſs of ſin is to be received: pardons give remiſſion of ſins by Peter, Paul and the martyrs. The blood of Chriſt ſaith John, (1 John ii. 7.) cleanſeth us from ſin: pardons do make the blood of martyrs the waſhing away of ſins. Chriſt (ſaith Paul 2 Cor. v. 21.) who knew no ſin, was made ſin for us, that is, the ſatisfaction of ſin, that we might be made the righteouſneſs of God in him: pardons place the ſatisfaction of ſins in the blood of martyrs. Paul cried out and teſtified to the Corinthians, (1 Cor. i. 13.) that only Chriſt was crucified and died for them: the pardons pronounce, that Paul and others died for us. In another place (Acts xx. 18.) he ſaith that Chriſt purchaſed the church with his blood: the pardons appoint another price of purchaſe in the blood of martyrs. The apoſtle ſaith, (Heb. x. 14.) that Chriſt with one oblation made perfect for ever them that were ſanctified: the pardons cry out the contrary, and ſay, that ſanctification is made per-

perfect by the martyrs, which otherwise was not sufficient. John saith (Rev. vii. 14.) that all the saints washed their garments in the blood of the Lamb: the pardons teach men to wash their garments in the blood of saints.

The evident testimonies of Leo and Augustine against their own vain allegations for the deserts of saints applicable unto others.

3. Leo bishop of Rome, writeth (Ep. lxxxi.) notably well to the Palestines against these sacrileges. Although (saith he) the death of many saints hath been precious in the sight of the Lord, yet the killing of no innocent hath been the propitiation of the world. The righteous received, but gave no crowns: and in the courage of the faithful are given examples of patieuce, not gifts of righteousness. For their deaths were every one singular to themselves, and none of them did by his end pay the debt of another, forasmuch as there is one Lord Christ, in whom all are crucified, all are dead, buried, and raised up again. Which sentence (as it was worthy to be remembred) he repeated in another place. (Ep. xcv.) There can nothing more plain be required to destroy this wicked doctrine. Yet Augustine speaketh no less fitly to the same effect, *Tract. in Joan* 83. Though (saith he) we die brethren for brethren, yet the blood of no martyr is shed for the forgiveness of sins. Which thing Christ hath done for us, neither hath he therein done that for us, that we should follow him, but hath given it to us to rejoice upon. Again in another place, *Lib.* 4. *ad Bonif. cap.* 4. As the son of God only was made the son of man, to make us with him the sons of God: so he hath taken upon himself the punishment without sin, that we by him might without righteousness, obtain grace not due unto us. Truly though all their doctrine is patched together of horrible sacrileges and blasphemies, yet this is a more monstrous blasphemy than all the rest. Let them remember whether these are not their decrees: that the martyrs have by their death done more to God, and deserved more, than was needful for themselves: and that they had remaining so great plenty of deservings, as did also overflow unto others: and therefore, least so great goodness should be superfluous, their blood is mingled with the blood of Christ, and both these are made the treasure of the church, for the remission and satisfaction of sins. And the saying of Paul (Col. i. 24.) is to be understood in this sense: I supply in my body those things that are wanting of the sufferings of Christ for his body, which is the Church. What is this else but to leave Christ only his name, to make him but a common petty saint, that can scarcely be distinguished among the multitude from the rest? He only, should be preached, he only set forth, he only named, he only be looked unto, when the obtaining of the forgiveness of sin, satisfaction, and sanctification are treated of: but let us hear their curtailed arguments. Lest the blood of the martyrs should be shed in vain, (say they) therefore let it be employed to the common benefit of the church. Is it so? Is it no profit to glorify God by their death? to subscribe to his truth with their blood? by despising this present life, to testify that they sought for a better? by their constancy to strengthen the faith of the church, and overcome the stubbornness of their enemies? But this is the truth of the matter: they will acknowlege no profit from the death of the martyrs, if Christ only be the propitiation, if he only died for our sins, if he only was offered up for our redemption. So (say they) Peter and Paul might have obtained the crown of victory, although they had died in their beds. And whereas they have fought even to the shedding of their blood, it would not agree with the justice of God to leave the same barren and and fruitless. As though God could not tell how to increase in his servants their glory, according to the measure of his gifts. But the church receiveth profit enough, when it is by their triumphs encouraged to a zealous desire to fight.

St. Paul words of supplying that which wanted in Christ's sufferings maliciously wrested to this purpose.

4. But how maliciously do they wrest that place of Paul (Col. i. 24.) where he saith, that he supplieth in his body those things that are wanting of the sufferings of Christ; for he doth not refer the supplying of the defect to the work of redemption, satisfaction, and expiation; but to those afflictions wherewith all the members of Christ, that is to say, all believers must be exercised as long as they live. He saith therefore, that this remaineth of the sufferings of Christ, that he daily suffereth in his members what he once suffered in himself. Christ vouchsafeth to do us so great honour, as to reckon and account our afflictions his own. When Paul addeth these words, for the Church, he meaneth not for the redemption, reconciliation, and satisfaction of the church, but for the edifying and profit of the church. As in another place he saith, (2 Tim. ii. 10.) that he suffereth all things for the elects sake, that they

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may also obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus. And he wrote to the Corinthians, (2 Cor. i. 6.) that he endured all the troubles that he suffered, for their comfort and salvation. And immediately in the same place he explaineth himself, when he saith further, that he was made a minister of the church, not for redemption, but according to the dispensation that was committed unto him, to preach the gospel of Christ. If they yet require another expositor, let them hear Augustine. (On Psal. xvi.) The sufferings of Christ (saith he) are in Christ only as in the head: and both in Christ and the church, as in the whole body. Whereby Paul being one member saith, I supply in my body that which wanteth in the sufferings of Christ. Therefore if thou whatsoever thou be that heareſt this, art one of the members of Christ, whatsoever thou sufferest of them that are not the members of Christ, that same was wanting in the sufferings of Christ. But whereunto the sufferings of the apostles taken for the church of Christ do tend, he explaineth in another place where he saith: *Tract. in Joan.* 47. Christ is to me the gate unto you: because ye are the sheep of Christ bought with his blood: acknowleging your price, which is not paid by me, but preached by me. Then he addeth, as he hath given his soul, so ought we to give our souls for our brethren, to promote their peace, and confirm their faith. These are Augustine's words. But God forbid, that Paul should have thought that any thing was wanting in the sufferings of Christ, as to all fulness of righteousness, salvation and life, or that he meant to add any thing thereunto, who so plainly and honourably preacheth, (Rom. v. 15.) that the abundance of grace was so largely poured out by Christ, that it far surmounted all the force of sin. By it only all the saints have been saved, and not by the merits of their own life or death as Peter expressly testified. (Act. xv. 11.) so that he would slander God and Christ, who should place the acceptance of any saint any where else than in the mercy of God alone. But why do I tarry hereupon any longer, as upon a matter doubtful, since the very exposing of such monstrous errors is a sufficient confutation of them?

Whence the gracious indulgence of Christ which should be published by preaching of the gospel began to be folded up in parchment and lead.

5. Now (to pass over such abominations) who taught the pope to inclose in lead and parchment the grace of Jesus Christ, which the Lord appointed to be distributed by the word of the gospel? Truly either the gospel of God must be false, or their pardons false. For, that Christ is offered us in the gospel, with all abundance of heavenly benefits, with all his merits, with all his righteousness, wisdom and grace, without any exception, Paul testifieth where he saith, (2 Cor. i.) that the word of reconciliation was delivered to the ministers, whereby they might use this form of message as if Christ were giving exhortation by them: we beseech you, be ye reconciled to God. He hath made him that knew no sin, to be made sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him. And believers know of what value that common partaking of Christ is, which (as the same apostle declareth) is offered us to be enjoyed in the gospel. On the contrary pardons bring out of the storehouse of the pope, a certain pittance of grace, and fasten it to lead and parchment, yea and to a certain place, and separate it from the word of God. If any man should ask whence this abuse took its rise: it seems to have proceeded from this, that when formerly penitents were loaded with more rigorous satisfactions than they could bear, they who felt themselves oppressed above measure with the penance enjoined them, begged of the Church a release; and the mitigation granted to such, was called an indulgence or pardon. But when they turned satisfactions from the church to God, and said that they were recompences whereby men might redeem themselves from the judgment of God, then they also made these indulgences or pardons to be propitiatory remedies, to deliver us from deserved punishments. As for these blasphemers that we have recited, they forged them so shamelesly, that they can have no colour at all.

The foresaid ground being taken away purgatory which is built thereupon falleth.

6. Now let them no more trouble us with their purgation, because it is with this ax already broken, hewed down and overthrown from the very foundation. For I do not agree with some men, who think it best to dissemble in this point, and to make no mention of purgatory, whence (as they say) great contentions arise, but small edification is gotten. Truly I think such trifles worthy to be negligently passed over, if they did not account them serious matters. But because purgatory is built on many blasphemies, and is still upheld with new blasphemies, and raiseth up many and grievous offences, it is not to be winked at. This peradventure might after a sort have been dissembled for a

time, that it was invented by curious and bold rashness without the word of God: that men believed it by I know not what revelations, feigned by the craft of satan; that for the confirmation of it, certain places of scripture were foolishly wrested. Yet the Lord alloweth not mens presumption to break into the secret places of his judgments, and hath severely forbidden men to enquire for the truth at dead men, neglecting his word, nor permitteth his word to be so irreverently defiled. Let us grant, that all those things might for a while have been born with, as of no great importance. But when the purging away of sin is sought for else where than in the blood of Christ, when satisfaction is ascribed to any other thing, then it is dangerous not to speak against it. Therefore we must cry out not only with a loud voice, but also with open mouth, and declare, that purgatory is a damnable device of satan, that it maketh void the cross of Christ, that it bringeth an intolerable scandal upon the mercy of God, that it weakeneth and overthroweth our faith. For what else is purgatory acccording to them, but the satisfaction that the souls of men departed do pay after their death? So that overthrowing the doctrine of satisfaction, purgatory is immediately overthrown by the very roots. But if in our former discourse it is sufficiently evident that the blood of Christ is the only satisfaction, propitiatory sacrifice, and cleansing for the sins of the faithful: then purgatory is a meer and horrible blasphemy against Christ? I pass over those robberies derogatory to the mercy of God wherewith it is daily defended, the offences it breedeth in religion, and innumerable other things, which have flowed from the same spring of ungodliness.

That sin against the holy Ghost shall neither be forgiven in this world, nor in the world to come, a slender proof for purgatory.

7. But it is proper to rescue from their abuse such places of scripture as they falsly allege in defence of purgatory. They say when the Lord affirmeth that the sin against the holy Ghost shall not be forgiven in this world, nor in the world to come, he thereby sheweth that there is a forgiveness of some sins in the world to come. But who seeth not our Lord in that place speaketh of the fault of sin? Now if it be so, what is that to their purgatory; since according to their opinion pain is there suffered for those sins, whereof they do not deny that the fault is forgiven in this present life? But that they may no more carp against us, they shall have yet a plainer solution. When the Lord meant to cut off all hope of pardon from so hainous wickedness, he thought it not enough to say that it should never be forgiven, but the more to amplify it, he useth a division, wherein he comprehendeth both the judgment that every mans conscience feeleth in this life, and the last judgment that shall be openly pronounced at the resurrection: as though he had said: Be as much afraid of malicious rebellion, as of present damnation. For he who shall wilfully endeavour to quench the light of the holy Ghost, shall not obtain pardon, neither in this life which is allowed to sinners for their conversion, nor in the last day when the lambs shall be separated by the angels of God from the goats, and the kingdom of heaven cleansed from all offences. They also allege that parable out of Matthew: (Matth. v. 25, 26.) Agree with thine adversary, lest he deliver thee to the judge, and the judge to the officer, and thou be cast into prison, from whence thou shalt not get out, until thou hast paid the uttermost farthing. If in this place the judge signify God, and the adversary the devil, the officer, the angel, and the prison purgatory, I will gladly yield the argument unto them. But if it be evident to all men, that Christ intended there to shew how many dangers and mischiefs they expose themselves to, who will rather obstinately pursue the extremity of the law, than deal according to equity and right, and to exhort his disciples the more earnestly to walk according to equity; where then will purgatory be found?

Other proofs alleged out of St. Paul, the book of Revelation and the book of Maccabees.

8. They fetch an argument out of the saying of Paul, (Phil. ii. 10.) where he affirmeth, that the knees of things in heaven, earth, and under the earth, shall bow to Christ. For they take it for granted, that those under the earth cannot there mean those who are adjudged to eternal damnation. Therefore it must be the souls lying in pain in purgatory. They do not reason ill, if the apostle by kneeling meant true godly worship. But since he teacheth only, that there is a dominion given to Christ, whereby all creatures are to be subdued, what proof is there to the contrary, but that we may by those under the earth understand the devils, who shall be brought before the judgment seat of God, to acknowlege him as their judge with fear and trembling? Like as Paul himself expoundeth the same prophecy in another place. (Rom. xiv. 10, 11.) All (saith he) shall be brought before the judgment

judgment ſeat of Chriſt. For it is written, as I live, every knee ſhall bow to me, &c. But we may not ſo expound that text in the Revelation. (Revel. v. 13.) I heard all creatures, both theſe that are in heaven, and thoſe that are upon the earth, and theſe that are under the earth, and thoſe that are in the ſea, and all thoſe that are in them, I heard them all ſay to him that ſitteth on the throne, and to the Lamb, bleſſing, and honour, and glory, and power for ever and ever. That I readily grant, but what creatures do they think are here mentioned? For it is certain, that therein are contained creatures both without reaſon and without ſenſe. Whereby nothing elſe is affirmed, but that all parts of the world, from the higheſt top of the heavens to the very centre of the earth, do in their manner declare the glory of their Creator. As for that which they allege out of the hiſtory of the Maccabees, (2 Mac. xii. 43.) I will not vouchſafe to anſwer it, leſt I ſhould ſeem to reckon that work in the number of the ſacred writings. But ſay they Auguſtine *Contra Gaudent. epiſt.* 2. *cap.* 23. received it for canonical. But firſt, in what reſpect did he receive it? The Jews (ſaith he) eſteem not the writing of the Maccabees as they do the law, the prophets, and the Pſalms, which the Lord himſelf hath witneſſed as of his witneſſes, ſaying: (Luke xxiv. 44) It was neceſſary that all things ſhould be fulfilled that are written in the law, and the Pſalms, and prophets concerning me. But it hath been received by the church not unprofitably, if it be ſoberly read or heard. And Hierome ſaith without any heſitation that the authority thereof is of no force to prove any point of doctrine. And it evidently appeareth by that old book, which goeth under the name of Cyprian, concerning the expoſition of the creed, that it had no place in the old church. But why do I here ſtrive without cauſe? As though the author himſelf did not ſufficiently ſhew, how much he is to be credited, when in the end he craveth pardon, if he hath ſpoken any thing wrong. Truly he who confeſſeth that his writings need pardon, ſaith plainly that they are not the oracles of the holy Ghoſt. Beſide that, the godlineſs of Judas is praiſed for no other cauſe but becauſe he had an aſſured hope of the laſt reſurrection, when he ſent an offering for the dead to Jeruſalem. Neither doth the writer of that hiſtory ſay that what Judas did was to be a price of redemption, but that they might be partakers of eternal life with all the faithful, who had died for their country and religion. This action was not without ſuperſtition and prepoſterous zeal, but they are worſe than fools, who apply a ſacrifice of the law ſo far down as unto us: ſeeing we know that things ceaſed by the coming of Chriſt, that were then in uſe.

The fire whereof St. Paul ſpeaketh to the Corinthians is no purgatory fire.

9. But they think they have an invincible bulwark in Paul, which cannot be ſo eaſily ſhaken. If any man (ſaith he) build upon this foundation, gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, timber, hay, ſtubble, the Lord ſhall ſhew every man's work what it is: becauſe it ſhall be revealed in fire, and the fire ſhall try every man's work what it is. If any man's work do burn, it ſhall ſuffer loſs, but he ſhall be ſafe, but as through the fire. What fire (ſay they) can that be, but the fire of purgatory? by which the filthineſſes of ſin are cleanſed away, that we may enter pure into the kingdom of God? But the moſt part of the fathers thought it to be another fire, that is to ſay, trouble or the croſs, by which the Lord trieth them that are his, that they ſhould not remain in the filthineſs of the fleſh: and that is much more probable, than that it relates to purgatory; yet I do not agree with theſe men, becauſe I think I have attained a certain and much plainer expoſition of that place. But before that I mention it, I would have them anſwer me, whether the apoſtles and all the ſaints were obliged to go through this fire of purgatory? I know they will ſay, no. For it would not anſwer them if they muſt have been purged, whoſe merits they imagine overflow above meaſure to all the members of the church. But the apoſtle affirmeth it. For he doth not ſay that the works of ſome ſhall be proved but the works of all. Neither is this my argument, but Auguſtine's who confuteth that expoſition. And (what is yet more abſurd) he doth not ſay, that they ſhall paſs through the fire for all works: but if they have faithfully built the church, they ſhall receive their reward when their work is examined with fire. Firſt, we ſee that the apoſtle uſed a metaphor, when he called the doctrines invented by men, wood, hay, and ſtubble. And the metaphor hath an apparent reſpect to this, for as wood ſo ſoon as it is put in the fire, conſumeth and waſteth, ſo thoſe doctrines cannot continue when they come to be examined. Now no man is ignorant that ſuch a trial cometh of the holy Ghoſt. Therefore to follow the true intention of his metaphor, and match the parts together with juſt relation to each other, he called the trial of the holy Ghoſt, fire. For the more that gold and ſilver are

purified by fire, ſo much the ſurer proof they have of their goodneſs and fineneſs: ſo the Lord's truth, the more ſtrictly it is weighed with ſpiritual examination, ſo much the greater confirmation and credit it receiveth. As hay, wood, and ſtubble put in the fire, are ſuddenly conſumed, ſo the inventions of men, not authorized by the word of God, cannot bear the trial of the holy Ghoſt, but fall away and periſh. Finally, if forged doctrines be compared to wood, hay, and ſtubble, becauſe like wood, hay, and ſtubble, they are burnt with fire, and deſtroyed: and theſe are not deſtroyed or driven away but by the Spirit of the Lord: hence it followeth that the holy Ghoſt is that fire wherewith they ſhall be proved, whoſe proof Paul, according to the common uſe of the ſcripture, calleth, the day of the Lord, when he doth any way ſhew his preſence to men. But then his face principally ſhineth, when his truth ſhineth upon us. Now have we proved, that Paul meaneth no other fire, but the trial of the holy Ghoſt. But ſay they, how are they ſaved by fire, who ſuffer loſs of their work? That will not be hard to underſtand, if we conſider of what kind of men he ſpeaketh. For he ſpeaketh of thoſe builders of the church, who keeping the true foundation, build diſagreeing matter upon it, that is to ſay, they who not ſwerving from the principal and neceſſary articles of faith, err in ſome points that are ſmaller and leſs dangerous, mingling their own inventions with the truth of God. Such I ſay, muſt ſuffer loſs of their work, having their devices deſtroyed; but they are ſaved, yet ſo as by fire: not that their ignorance and error is allowed before the Lord, but becauſe they are cleanſed from them by the grace and power of the holy Ghoſt. Therefore they who have debaſe the purity of God's word with this filthy doctrine of purgatory, muſt needs ſuffer loſs of their work.

The occaſion whence prayer for the dead firſt roſe, which yet doth not prove the ſouls of the dead, which were prayed for to be in purgatory.

10. But they ſay, it hath been an ancient cuſtom in the church. Paul anſwered this objection when he comprehended his own time in that ſentence, where he ſaith, that all they muſt ſuffer loſs of their work, who in the building of the church, lay any thing upon the foundation that doth not agree with it. Therefore when the adverſaries object againſt me, that it hath been uſed above a thouſand and three hundred years, to pray for the dead: I aſk them again, by what word of God, by what revelation, by what example was it done? For here they not only want teſtimonies of ſcripture but alſo all the examples of holy men that we there read of, ſhew no ſuch thing. Of mourning and the order of funerals there are ſometimes found many and long accounts: but of prayers we ſee not one word; and the greater the importance of the matter, the more expreſsly ought it to have been ſpoken of. But the very oldeſt fathers who prayed for the dead, ſaw that herein they wanted both the commandment of God, and lawful example. Why then durſt they do ſo? In this I ſay, they did ſuffer ſomewhat as men: and therefore I affirm that what they did, ought not to be drawn into example. For whereas the faithful ought not to undertake any thing, but upon being convinced in their conſcience, as Paul teacheth: this aſſurance is principally to be expected in prayer. And it is likely that they were led to it by ſome reaſon: they ſought ſome comfort to relieve their ſorrow: and it ſeemed unnatural not to ſhew before God ſome teſtimony of their love toward the dead. How man's mind is inclined to this affection, all men know by experience. Alſo the received cuſtom was like a burning brand to ſet men's minds on fire. We know that with all nations, and in all ages there were funerals performed for the dead, and their ſouls yearly purged. For though Satan beguiled fooliſh men with theſe deceits: yet he took occaſion to beguile them by a true principle; that death is not a deſtruction, but a paſſage out of this life into another. And there is no doubt, but that even ſuperſtition condemneth the Gentiles before the judgment ſeat of God, for neglecting the care of the life to come, which they profeſs to believe. Now chriſtians, becauſe they would not appear worſe than heathens, were aſhamed that they did nothing for the dead, as though they were annihilated by death. Hence came that ill judged care: becauſe if they were ſlow in looking to the funerals, in banqueetings and offerings, they thought they were in danger of a great reproach. And that which firſt proceeded from a wrong following the example of the heathens, was ſo multiplied by new additions, that it is now the principal holineſs of Popery, to help the dead in diſtreſs. But the ſcripture giveth a much better and more perfect comfort, when it teſtifieth, (Rev. xiv. 13.) that the dead are bleſſed who die in the Lord. And it addeth a reaſon; becauſe from thenceforth they reſt from their labours. And we ought not ſo tenderly to purſue our own affection and love, as to ſet up a wrong manner of praying in the church. Truly he that hath but little knowlege may ſoon perceive that all which is read in the fathers concerning this cuſtom, was done to bear with

with the common uſage, and the ignorance of the people. They themſelves alſo, I grant, were carried away into this error, even as an inconſiderate eaſineſs of belief is wont to rob mens minds of judgment. But yet the very reading of them doth ſhew, how doubtingly they commend prayers for the dead. Auguſtine in his book of confeſſions, reporteth that Monica his mother earneſtly deſired, that ſhe might be remembered in celebrating the ſervice at the altar. An old wife's requeſt, which the ſon never examined by the rule of the ſcripture, but according to his natural affection would have it allowed by others. As for the book that he wrote of care for the dead, it containeth ſo many doubts, that by right it ought with the coldneſs thereof to quench the heat of ſo fooliſh a zeal: and if any man deſire to be an advocate for dead men, truly by his cold arguments and conjectures it will relieve them from that care who were careful before. For this is one pillar of it, that this action is not to be deſpiſed, becauſe it is a cuſtom grown into uſe, that the dead ſhould be prayed for. But though I grant to the old writers of the church, that it is a charitable thing to help the dead: yet we muſt ſtill hold by a rule which cannot deceive: that it is not lawful for us in our prayers to uſe any expreſſions of our own, but our requeſts muſt be made ſubject to the word of God: becauſe in his will he hath appointed what he will have us to aſk. Now whereas the whole law and the goſpel doth not ſo much as in one ſyllable give a liberty to pray for the dead, it is a prophane abuſe of our calling upon God to attempt more than he commandeth us. But that our adverſaries may not boaſt that they have the ancient church for a companion in their error: I ſay there is a great difference between them and it. They uſed a memorial of the dead, leſt they ſhould ſeem to have caſt away all care of them: but they did therewithal confeſs that they doubted of their ſtate. As for purgatory, they affirmed nothing, concerning it, held it for a thing uncertain. The Papiſts require to have that which they have dreamed about purgatory, to be without queſtion believed as an article of faith. The ancient church ſlenderly and to paſs it lightly over, did in the communion of the holy ſupper commend their dead to God. The Papiſts do continually call upon the care of the dead, and with importunate praiſing it, make it preferable above all dutiful works of charity. Yea, and it would not be hard for us to bring forth ſome teſtimonies of the fathers which manifeſtly overthrow all thoſe prayers for the dead, which were then uſed. As this of Auguſtine, (*Hom. in Joan.* 456.) when he teacheth that all men look for the reſurrection of the fleſh and eternal glory, and that every man receiveth the reſt that followeth after death, if he be worthy thereof when he dieth: and therefore he teſtifieth, that all the godly do immediately after death enjoy that bleſſed reſt as well as the prophets, apoſtles, and martyrs. And if their condition be ſuch, what I beſeech you will our prayers avail them? I paſs over the groſſer ſuperſtitions, wherewith they have bewitched the minds of the ſimple: which yet are ſo innumerable and for the moſt part ſo monſtrous, that they have no honeſt pretence to excuſe them. Alſo I paſs by thoſe filthy buyings and ſellings which they practiſed, while the world was in ſuch groſs and ſtupid ignorance. For I ſhould never make an end, and becauſe the reader without any rehearſal of them, hath here ſufficient ground, whereupon he may ſtabliſh his conſcience.

CHAP. VI.

Of the chriſtian life: And firſt, by what arguments the ſcripture exhorteth us thereunto.

An order for framing our lives neceſſary to be gathered out of the ſcriptures

WE have already ſaid, that the end whereunto regeneration tendeth is, that in the life of the faithful there ſhould appear an agreement and conſent between the righteouſneſs of God and their obedience: and that ſo they ſhould confirm the adoption, whereby they are received as his children. But although his law contain in it ſelf that newneſs, whereby the image of God is reſtored in us, yet becauſe our dulneſs hath need of many helps, therefore it will be profitable to collect out of diverſe places of the ſcripture an order for framing our life ſo that they who are deſirous to amend, may not wander out of the way in their endeavour. Now when I take upon me the framing of a chriſtian man's life, I am not ignorant that I enter into a wide and ſpacious field, the greatneſs whereof would fill a long volume, if I would abſolutely treat of it in all its points. For we ſee to what great length the exhortatory orations of every one of the fathers have run, every one of which is written on one ſeveral virtue; neither is that done with too much idle babling. For whatſoever virtue a man purpoſe to diſplay in an oration, he ſtill runneth out into ſuch largeneſs by the copiouſneſs of the matter. that a man will not ſeem to have diſcourſed well upon it, unleſs he hath ſpoken much. But my intention is not to ſtretch ſo far the inſtitution of life, which I promiſe

miſe to teach, as peculiarly to go through every ſpecial virtue, and give ſome exhortations. Let ſuch things be ſought for in other mens writings, and eſpecially out of the Homilies of the ancient fathers. It will be enough for me to ſhew an orderly courſe, whereby a believer may be directed to a right mark for framing his life, and briefly to point out a certain univerſal rule, by which he may try what his duties are. There may perhaps come a more proper time for me to make declamations, or I will leave that to other, which I my ſelf am not able to do. I naturally love brevity, and may be if I would ſpeak more at large on theſe things, it would not ſuit well with me. And tho' a longer manner of teaching were never ſo pleaſing, yet I have no inclination to put it in practice. But the courſe of this preſent work requireth me to treat a ſimple doctrine with as great ſhortneſs as I can. As the philoſophers have their certain ends of right and honeſty, from which they derive particular duties, and all the virtues: ſo the ſcripture is not without its order in this matter: but hath a goodly and well ordered diſpoſition, and much more certain than all the ſyſtems of the philoſophers. With this only difference, that they (being vainglorious) have diligently endeavoured to attain an exquiſite plainneſs of order, to ſhew the readineſs of their wit. But becauſe the Spirit of God, taught without curious affectation, it hath not ſo exactly nor continually kept an orderly courſe: which yet as heſometimes uſeth it, doth thereby ſufficiently declare, that it is not to be neglected by us.

The firſt entrance unto newneſs of life is the love of holineſs, wherewith to enflame us we are taught that God is holy.

2. This inſtruction that the ſcripture teacheth, whereof we now ſpeak, conſiſteth chiefly of two parts. The firſt is, that there is poured and brought into our minds a love of righteouſneſs, to which otherwiſe by nature we are not inclined. The ſecond, that there is a rule preſcribed unto us, that will not ſuffer us to go out of the way in following righteouſneſs. In the commendation of righteouſneſs it hath both very many and very good reaſons: ſome of which we have here before ſpoken of in diverſe places, and other ſome we ſhall in this place briefly touch. At what foundation can it better begin, than when it putteth us in mind that we muſt be holy becauſe God is holy? For when we were ſcattered abroad like ſtraying ſheep, and diſperſed abroad in the hurry of the world, he gathereth us together a gain, to join us in one flock with himſelf. When we hear mention made of our joining with God, let us remember that holineſs muſt be the bond thereof. Not that by any merit in our holineſs we come into communion with him: (but rather we muſt firſt cleave unto him, that being endued with his holineſs, we may follow whither he calleth) becauſe it greatly belongeth to his glory, that he have no fellowſhip with wickedneſs and unrighteouſneſs. Therefore alſo the ſcripture teacheth, that this is the end of our calling, which we ought always to have reſpect unto, if we will anſwer God that calleth us. For to what purpoſe was it, that we ſhould be drawn out of the wickedneſs and filthineſs of this world, if we allow ourſelves all our life long to wallow in them ſtill; Moreover it alſo admoniſheth us that if we would be reckoned among the people of God, we muſt dwell in the holy city Jeruſalem; which as he hath hallowed it to himſelf, ſo it is unlawful to prophane it by the uncleanneſs of the inhabitants. From hence came theſe ſayings, (Pſal. xxxv. 8. xv. 2. and xxiii.) that they ſhall have a place in the tabernacle of God that walk without ſpot, and ſtudy to follow righteouſneſs, &c. Becauſe it is not meet that the ſanctuary wherein he dwelleth ſhould be like a ſtable full of filthineſs.

Another motive unto holineſs is the holineſs of Chriſt which God hath ſet to be our pattern.

3. And the better to ſtir us up, the ſcripture ſheweth that God the Father as he hath joined us to himſelf in Chriſt, ſo he hath given us a pattern in him, after which he would have us to be faſhioned. Now let them find me a better ſyſtem among the philoſophers, who think that the philoſophy concerning morals, is only framed orderly among them. They when they exhort us to virtue, adduce nothing elſe but that we ſhould live agreeably to nature. But the ſcripture bringeth its exhortations from the true ſource, when it not only teacheth us to refer our life to God, the author of it, to whom it is bound: but alſo when it hath taught that we are departed from the true original and ſtate of our creation, it immediately addeth, that Chriſt by whom we are again brought into favour with God, is ſet before us for an example, that we ſhould imitate him in our life. What can a man require more effectual than this one thing? Yea, what may a man require more than this only thing? For if the Lord hath by adoption made us his children upon this condition, that our life ſhall reſemble Chriſt the bond of our adoption: if we do not follow after righteouſneſs, we do not only

only by this moſt ſinful breach of our allegiance depart from our Creator, but alſo deny Chriſt to be our Saviour. And the ſcripture afterwards exhorteth us from all the benefits of God, which are there recorded unto us, and from all the parts of our ſalvation; and ſheweth (Mal. i. 6.) that ſince God hath ſhewed himſelf a father unto us, we deſerve to be condemned for our unthankfulneſs, if we do not likewiſe (Eph. v. 1.) on our part act as his children unto him. Since Chriſt hath cleanſed us with the waſhing of his blood, and hath made us partakers of this cleanſing by baptiſm, it is not ſeemly that we ſhould be ſpotted with any new filth. Since he hath graffed us into his body, we muſt carefully take heed that we defile not ourſelves with any ſpot or blemiſh who are his members. Seeing he who is our head, is aſcended into heaven, it behoveth us that laying aſide earthly affections, we do with all our ſoul aſpire heaven-ward: Since the holy Ghoſt hath dedicated us temples to God, we muſt endeavour that God's glory may be honourably diſplayed by us, neither muſt we do any thing whereby we may be prophaned with the filth of ſin: ſince both our ſoul and our body are ordained to heavenly incorruption and an unperiſhing crown, we muſt diligently labour that they may be kept pure and uncorrupted unto the day of the Lord. Theſe (I ſay) are the beſt laid foundations whereon to build a man's life, and are ſuch that the like cannot be found among the philoſophers, who in commendation of virtue do never aſpire above the natural dignity of man.

It is the imitation of Chriſt which declareth a true chriſtian.

4. And here it is proper to ſpeak to them, who having nothing but the title and badge of Chriſt, would yet be called chriſtians. But with what face do they boaſt of his holy name: ſince none have any fellowſhip with Chriſt, but they who have received a true knowlege of him out of the word of the goſpel? But the apoſtle ſaith, (Eph. iv. 21, 23.) that all they have not rightly learned Chriſt, who are not taught that they muſt caſt away the old man which is corrupted according to the deceitful luſts, and have not put on Chriſt. Therefore it is proved that they falſely, yea and wrongfully pretend to the knowlege of Chriſt, although they can eloquently and roundly talk of the goſpel. For it is not a doctrine of the tongue, but of the life: and is not conceived as other learning by the underſtanding and memory, but is then only received when it poſſeſſeth the whole ſoul, and findeth a ſeat and place in the moſt inward affections of the heart. Therefore either let them ceaſe, (to the ſcandal of religion) to boaſt of that which they are not, or let them ſhew themſelves worthy ſcholars for Chriſt their maſter. We have given the firſt place to the doctrine wherein our religion is contained, becauſe our ſalvation beginneth at it: but the ſame muſt be poured into our heart, and appear in our lives, yea and transform us unto it, that it be not unfruitful unto us. If the philoſophers are juſtly angry with them, and do with ſhameful reproach drive them from their company, who profeſſing an art that ought to be the rule of life, turn it into a ſophiſtical babling: with how much better reaſon may we deteſt theſe trifling ſophiſters, who are contented to roll the goſpel upon the top of their tongues, the effectual working whereof ought to pierce into the innermoſt affections of their heart, reſt in the ſoul, and alter the whole man a hundred times more, than the cold exhortations of philoſophy.

Though chriſtians are far from attaining unto, yet they ought to be earneſt in following after the perfect righteouſneſs which is ſet before them in the goſpel.

5. Yet do I not require that the behaviour of a chriſtian ſavour of nothing but the abſolute goſpel: which nevertheleſs both were to be wiſhed and we ought to endeavour after it. But I do not ſo ſtrictly require a goſpel-like perfection, that I would not acknowlege him for a chriſtian that hath not yet attained unto it. For thus all men would be excluded from the church, ſince there is no man found that is not very far diſtant from it, and many have hitherto but a little way proceeded toward it, who yet would be unjuſtly rejected. What then? let that goſpel perfection be ſet for a mark before our eyes, to which alone all our endeavours may be directed. Let that be appointed the goal for us to run and travel unto. For it is not lawful for thee to make a partition with God, to take upon thee part of thoſe things that are commanded in his word, and to leave part at thine own choice. For firſt of all he every where commendeth integrity as the chief part of worſhipping him: by which word he meaneth a pure ſimplicity of mind, that is without all deceitful hypocriſy and guile: againſt which a deceitful heart is ſet in oppoſition: as if it ſhould be ſaid, that the beginning of living uprightly is ſpiritual, when the inward affections of the mind are without hypocriſy dedicate to God to walk in holineſs and righ-

righteouſneſs. But becauſe no man in this earthly priſon of the body hath ſo great ſtrength as will enable him to run on in his chriſtian courſe as he ought to do, and the far greater number are ſo weak, that with ſtaggering and halting, yea and creeping upon the ground, they advance but ſlowly forward. Let us every one go on according to the meaſure of his little power, and proceed on the journey we have begun. No man will go ſo untowardly, but will every day gain ſome ground, though it be but little. Therefore let us not ceaſe to travel ſo, that we may continually proceed ſomewhat in the way of the Lord. And let us not deſpair from our ſmall progreſs in our journey; for tho' the ſucceſs anſwer not our expectation, yet we have not loſt all our labour when this day ſurpaſſeth yeſterday: if with pure ſimplicity we look forward unto the mark, and long to be at the end of our courſe, not foothingly flattering our ſelves, nor tenderly bearing with our own ſins, but by a conſtant endeavour labouring ſtill to become better and better, till we attain to the perfection of goodneſs: which indeed we ought to ſeek for and follow all our life long: but we ſhall then only attain it, when being unclothed from the weakneſs of the fleſh, we ſhall be received into full fellowſhip with God the ſource of all good.

CHAP. VII.

A ſummary of the Chriſtian life. wherein is treated of denying ourſelves.

The firſt beginning of a new life, is the reſigning over ourſelves unto God.

THOUGH the law of the Lord is moſt fitly diſpoſed to order and frame a man's life, yet it ſeemed good to the holy Spirit to inſtruct men with a more exact courſe to the ſame rule that he hath ſet forth in his law. And the beginning of that courſe, is this, that it is the duty of believers to yield their bodies to God a living, holy and acceptable ſacrifice (Rom.xii. 1.) and that therein conſiſteth the true worſhipping of him. Hereupon, he taketh occaſion to exhort men, that they do not conform themſelves to the faſhion of this world, but be transformed in the renewing of their minds that they may prove what the will of God is. Now this is a great thing, that we conſecrate and dedicate ourſelves to God: that we ſhould from thence forth think, ſpeak, imagine, or do nothing but to his glory. For any thing that is conſecrated, cannot be applied to unholy uſes, without great wrong done unto him. If we be not our own: but the Lord's, it is plain what ſins are to be avoided, and whereunto all the actions of our life are to be directed. We are not our own: therefore let neither our own reaſon nor our own will bear the ſway in our counſels and actions. We are not our own: therefore let us not make this the end to which our actions tend, to ſeek that which may be expedient for us according to the fleſh. We are not our own: therefore as much as we can, let us forget ourſelves and all things that are our own. On the other ſide, we are God's: therefore let us live and die to him. We are God's: therefore let his wiſdom and will govern all our actions. We are God's: therefore let all the parts of our life tend toward him as their only lawful end. Oh! how much hath he profited, who having learned that he is not his own, hath taken from himſelf the rule and government of his thoughts and actions and given it to God? For as the obeying of ourſelves is one of the moſt deadly poiſons whereby many are deſtroyed; ſo it is the only haven of ſafety, neither to know nor will any thing of ourſelves, but only to follow the direction of God. Let this therefore be the firſt ſtep, that man depart from himſelf, that he may apply all the ſtrength of his mind to the obeying of the Lord. I call not that obeying which conſiſteth in obedience of the word, but that whereby the mind of man, being freed from from the ſenſuality of the fleſh, yieldeth itſelf wholly to the will of God. Of this change of the heart (which Paul calleth renewing of the mind) becauſe it is the firſt entry into life, all the philoſophers were ignorant, For they make reaſon the only governeſs of man: they think ſhe only ought to be heard: finally to her only they give and aſſign the rule of our manners. But the chriſtian philophy commandeth her to give place, and to yield and be ſubject to the holy Ghoſt: ſo that man may not live unto himſelf, but bear Chriſt living and reigning in him.

The next degree of righteouſneſs is to ſeek thoſe things that are of God, ſincerely

2. Hence followeth this other point, that we muſt not ſeek our own things, but thoſe things that are according to the will of the Lord, and ſerve to the advancement of his glory. This is

for themſelves, not in any ſide reſpect of our own.

is alſo a proof of our great profiting; if in a manner forgetting ourſelves, and altogether deſpiſing any regard of ourſelves, we labour to employ our thoughts on God and his commandments. For when the ſcripture commandeth us to neglect all ſelfiſh regard to our own intereſt, it doth not only raze out of our minds the covetouſneſs of ſeeking for power and favour among men: but alſo rooteth out ambition and all deſire of worldly glory, and other more ſecret plagues: Truly a chriſtian muſt be ſo faſhioned and diſpoſed, as to think throughout all his life, that he hath to do with God. In this manner if he examine all his actions by God's will and word, he will reverently direct unto him the earneſt bent and diligence of his mind. For he who hath learned to look up unto God in all his actions will thereby be turned away from all vain thoughts. This is that forſaking of ourſelves, which Chriſt even from the firſt beginning of his inſtructions gave ſo earneſtly in charge to his diſciples: which when it hath once gotten poſſeſſion of the heart, leaveth no room either for pride, diſdainfulneſs, or vain glorious boaſting, neither for covetouſneſs, filthy luſts, riotouſneſs, daintineſs, or for thoſe other evils that ariſe from a love of ourſelves. On the contrary, where this ſelf-denial reigneth not, there either moſt filthy vices boil up without ſhame, or if there be any remains of virtue, it is corrupted with a perverſe deſire of vain glory. For ſhew me a man, if thou canſt, who unleſs he hath forſaken and denied himſelf according to the commandment of our Lord, will of his own free will walk righteouſly among men. For all who have not been poſſeſſed with this feeling, if they have followed virtue, have done it only for the praiſe of men. And all the philoſophers who moſt zealouſly affirmed that virtue was to be deſired for its own ſake, were puffed up with ſo great pride, that it appeared they deſired virtue for nothing elſe, but that they might have ſomething to be proud of. But God is ſo little pleaſed, either with theſe purſuers of fame, or with thoſe ſwelling boaſts, that he declareth they have already received their reward in this world, and ſaith harlots and Publicans are nearer the kingdom of heaven, than them. And yet we have not throughly declared with how many and great ſtops man is hindered from that which is right, ſo long as he doth not forſake himſelf. For it was truly ſaid in times paſt, that there is a world of vices hidden in the ſoul of man. And thou canſt find no other remedy, but denying thy ſelf, and neglecting all regard of thy own intereſt, thou incline thy mind to ſeek thoſe things that the Lord requireth of thee, and ſeek them only becauſe they pleaſe him.

The parts of a well ordered life, ſet down by St. Paul.

3. In another place (Tit. ii. 11, 12, 13, 14.) Paul doth more plainly, though ſhortly, go through all the parts of a well ordered life, ſaying: The grace of God that bringing ſalvation hath appeared unto all men, teaching us, that denying ungodlineſs, and worldly luſts, we ſhould live ſoberly, righteouſly and godly in this preſent world, looking for that bleſſed hope and glorious appearing of the great God, and of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, who gave himſelf for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himſelf a peculiar people zealous of good works. For after he hath ſet forth the grace of God to encourage them; to make ready the way for us to worſhip God, he taketh away two ſtops that do moſt hinder us, that is to ſay, ungodlineſs, whereunto we are naturally too much inclined, and worldly luſts, which extend further. And under the name of ungodlineſs, he not only meaneth ſuperſtition, but alſo comprehendeth all that diſagreeth with the true fear of God. And worldly luſts are in effect, as much as the affections of the fleſh. Therefore he commandeth us in reſpect of both the tables of the law, to deny all our own knowlege, and to forſake all that our own reaſon and will inclineth us to. And all the actions of our life he reduceth into three parts, ſobriety, righteouſneſs, and godlineſs: and ſobriety without doubt ſignifieth chaſtity and temperance, as well as a pure, moderate, and ſparing uſe of temporal things, and patient bearing of poverty. Righteouſneſs containeth all the duties of equity, to give every man his own. The third is godlineſs, which ſeparateth us from the pollutions of the world, and by true holineſs joineth us unto God. Theſe things, when they are joined together by an indiſſoluble union, make a full perfection. But as nothing is more difficult, than forſaking carnal reaſon, yea ſubduing and renouncing its deſires, to give up ourſelves to God and our brethren, and to purſue an angelic life in this ſinful ſtate upon earth: therefore Paul, to diſentangle our minds from all theſe ſnares, calleth us back to the hope of a bleſſed immortality, admoniſhing us not to ſtrive in vain: becauſe as Chriſt hath once appeared as our Redeemer, ſo at his laſt coming, he will then ſhew the fruit of that ſalvation which he

hath purchaſed. And thus he driveth away the enticements that blind and hinder us from aſpiring as we ought, to the heavenly glory: he alſo teacheth us that as men abſent from our home in this world, we muſt labour ſo that the heavenly inheritance and abode be not loſt or fall away from us.

The denial of our ſelves hath relation partly to men but chiefly to God.

4. Now in theſe words we perceive, that ſelf-denial hath partly a reſpect to men, and partly, but chiefly to God. For when the ſcripture commandeth us (Rom. xii. 20. and Phil. ii. 3.) ſo to behave ourſelves towards all men, that we prefer them before ourſelves in honour, that we faithfully employ ourſeves wholly to procure their conveniency: it commandeth ſuch things as our mind is not able to receive, till we diveſt ourſelves of our natural feelings. With ſuch blindneſs do we all run into ſelf love, that every man thinketh he hath juſt cauſe to advance himſelf, and to deſpiſe all others in compariſon of himſelf. If God hath given us any good gift, by and by valuing ourſelves thereon, we aſſume courage, and not only ſwell, but in a manner burſt with pride. The vices wherewith we abound we carefully conceal from others, and flatter ourſelves that they are light and ſmall, and ſometimes embrace them for virtues. And if the ſame good gifts, which we praiſe in ourſelves, or appear better in others, leaſt we ſhould be compelled to give place to them, we do by our envy deface, and find fault with them. If there are any faults in them, we are not contented ſeverely and ſharply to mark them, but alſo odiouſly to exaggerate them. Hence ariſeth that inſolence, that every one of us, as though he were privileged above the common eſtate of mankind, would be higher than the reſt, and careleſly and proudly makes light of every man, or deſpiſes them as his inferiors. The poor yield to the rich, baſe people to gentlemen, ſervants to their maſters, unlearned to the learned: but there is no man that doth not nouriſh within himſelf ſome opinion of his own excellency. Thus every man by flattering himſelf, beareth a certain kingdom in his breaſt. For preſumptuouſly taking upon themſelves ſomewhat whereby to pleaſe themſelves, they judge of the capacity and manners of other men. But if any debate or contention ariſe, then their pride appeareth. For many make a ſhew of great meekneſs, ſo long as they find all things gentle and mild: but how many are they who keep that continual courſe of modeſty, when they are ſtirred up to anger? And there is no other remedy for this, but that the moſt hurtful plague of a fondneſs, for ſuperiority and ſelf-love be rooted out of the bottom of their hearts, and this is only effected by the doctrine of the ſcripture. For there we are taught, that we muſt remember that the good gifts which God hath given us, flow not from any good in us, but the free gift of God, whereof if any be proud, they betray their own unthankfulneſs. Who maketh thee to excel? Paul ſaith, if thou haſt received all things, why doeſt thou boaſt as if they were not given thee: and again, that we muſt by a continual acknowleging of our faults, call ourſelves back to humility. So there will remain in us nothing to be proud of, but much matter to abaſe ourſelves. Again, whatſoever gifts of God we ſee in other men, we are commanded ſo to reverence and eſteem them, that we alſo honour thoſe men in whom they are. For it were a great wickedneſs in us, to take from them that honour, which God hath vouchſafed to give them. As for their faults, we are taught to wink at them, not to ſooth them with flattering, but we muſt not triumph over them for their faults, to whom we ought to bear good will and honour. So will it come to paſs, that with what man ſoever we have to do, we will behave ourſelves not only temperately and modeſtly, but alſo in a gentle and friendly manner. Nor will any man ever attain true meekneſs, except he hath a heart capable of abaſing himſelf, and reverencing others.

It is not poſſible we can do our duty to others except we have firſt denied ourſelves. And it is our duty to profit others with whatſoever God hath beſtowed on us.

5. How hard is it for thee to do thy duty in ſeeking the profit of thy neighbour? Thou ſhalt herein labour in vain, unleſs thou throw off a regard for thyſelf, and in a manner put off thyſelf. For how can thou perform theſe things that Paul teacheth are the works of charity, unleſs thou forſake thyſelf, to give thyſelf wholly to others. Charity (ſaith he 1 Cor. xiii. 4, 5.) ſuffereth long, and is kind; charity vaunteth not itſelf, charity envieth not, is not puffed up, ſeeketh not her own, is not eaſily provoked, &c. And this one thing being required, that we ſeek not our own things, we will do no ſmall violence to our nature, which ſo forcibly inclineth us to a love of ourſelves, that we cannot eaſily or careleſly neglect ourſelves and our own intereſt, to watch over and take care of the intereſt of our neighbour, yea to depart from our own right and reſign it to another. But the ſcripture,

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to lead us as it were by the hand to this duty, warneth us that whatever gracious gifts we obtain of the Lord, they are committed to our truſt upon this condition, that they ſhall be uſed to the common benefit of chriſtians: and therefore the true uſe of all God's graces is a liberal and bountiful communicating of them to others. There could not be a more certain rule laid down, nor a more forcible exhortation uſed for obſerving the ſame, than this; thereby we are taught that all the gifts we have, are the gifts of God delivered, and committed to our truſt upon this condition, that they ſhall be ſubſervient to the intereſt of our neighbours. But the ſcripture goeth yet further, when it compareth them to the powers wherewith the members of man's body are endued. No member hath its power for itſelf, nor applieth it to its own private uſe; but poureth it forth into the other members of the ſame body, and hath no profit there from, but ſuch as ariſeth from the common advantage of the whole body. So whatſoever a godly man is able to do, he ought to do it for his brethren, not providing ſelfiſhly for his own intereſt, but doing it in ſuch a manner, that his will may be inclined to the common edification of the church. Let this therefore be the rule of our kindneſs and charity: that whatſoever God hath beſtowed upon us, whereby we may help our neighbour, we are the ſtewards thereof, and bound to render an account of the diſpoſal thereof. And the only right way of diſpoſing it is that which is tried by the rule of love. Hereby we ſhall always not only join an endeavour for other mens advantage with the care of our own intereſt, but alſo prefer it to our own. And that we might not be ignorant that this is the true rule of diſpoſing all the gifts which we receive of God, even under the ceremonial law, he gave the ſame command even in the ſmalleſt gifts of his liberality. For he commanded (Exod. xxii. 29. and xxiii. 19.) the firſt fruits of corn to be offered unto him, whereby the people might acknowlege that it was unlawful for them to take any fruit of the goods that were not firſt conſecrate to him. If the gifts of God be then ſanctified unto us; when we have with our own hand dedicated them to the author thereof, it is plain that it is an abuſe of his gifts when ſuch a dedication is not practiſed. But it is vain for thee to go about to enrich the Lord by communicating to him any of thy goods. Therefore ſince thy liberality cannot extend unto him, as the prophet ſaith, (Pſal. xvi. 3.) thou muſt uſe it towards his ſaints that are on earth. Therefore in (Heb. xiii. 16.) alms are compared to holy oblations, that they may now be correſpondent to theſe under the law.

6. But that we may not be weary with doing good (which otherwiſe muſt needs come quickly to paſs) that other muſt be adjoined which the apoſtle ſpeaketh of (1 Cor. xiii. 4.) that charity ſuffereth long. The Lord commandeth to do good to all univerſally, a great part of whom are unworthy, if they be conſidered by their own deſerving. But here the ſcripture helpeth with a very good rule (Gal. vi. 10.) when it teacheth us that we muſt not look upon men as to what they deſerve of themſelves, but muſt conſider that the image of God is in all men, to which we owe all honour and love. And this is moſt diligently to be regarded in them who are of the houſhold of faith, becauſe it is renewed and reſtored in them by the ſpirit of Chriſt. Therefore whatever man thou light upon, that needeth thy help, thou haſt no cauſe to withdraw thyſelf from doing him good. If thou ſayeſt he is a ſtranger: the Lord hath given him a mark, which ought to be familiar unto thee, when he forbiddeth thee to deſpiſe thine own fleſh. If thou ſayeſt he is baſe and unworthy; the Lord hath ſheweth him to be one, to whom he hath vouchſafed to give the beauty of his image. If thou ſayeſt that thou doſt not owe him for any thing that he hath done for thee: God hath ſet him as it were in his place in reſpect of whom, thou knoweſt by how many and great benefits he hath bound thee unto him. If thou ſayeſt that he is unworthy that thou ſhouldeſt labour for his ſake: the image of God whereby he is recommended unto thee, is ſo worthy that thou ſhouldeſt give thy ſelf and all that thou haſt unto it. But if he have not only deſerved no good at thy hand, but alſo provoked thee by wrongs and injuries: even this is no juſt cauſe why thou ſhouldeſt ceaſe both to love him and do for him the dutiful works of charity. Thou wilt ſay, he hath deſerved far otherwiſe of me. But hath not the Lord deſerved? Who when he commanded thee to forgive every thing wherein any man hath offended thee, ordereth the ſame to be imputed to himſelf. Truly this is the only way to arrive at this perfection which is ſo much againſt the corrupt nature of man; it is very hard for men, to love them that hate us, to recompence evil with good, to render bleſſings for reproaches: but we muſt remember that we are not to regard the malice and ill will of men, but to obſerve the image of God in them, who defacing and blotting

Without patience we cannot continue in well doing unto others.

out their faults, doth by its own beauty and dignity allure us to embrace it.

To do works of Charity is nothing, except they be done charitably.

7. Therefore this mortification will only take place in us, when we perform the duties of charity. But he doth not discharge them aright who only doth all the dutiful works of charity, although he leave none of them undone, but he who doth them out of sincere affection and love. For it may happen, that a man may fully perform every outward duty which he oweth to men: and yet may be far from performing it aright. For you may see some that would seem very liberal, who yet give nothing but either with a proud and disdainful air, or with surly words upbraid them who receive it. And we are arrived at such a degree of hardness of heart in this unhappy world, that almost no alms are given by any man, or at least by the most part of men, without reproaching. Which would not have been allowed among the very heathens. But of christians somewhat more is required than to shew an outward cheerfulness in the countenance, and make their actions appear lovely with gentle words. First they must put themselves in the place of the person who they see needs their help, and then pity their case, as if they themselves felt and suffered it: so that they may be moved by the same feeling of mercy and gentleness, even as they would be to help themselves. He who is thus inclined to help his brethren, will not defile his own actions with any arrogance or upbraiding, but also will not despise his brother to whom he doth good as one needing his help, nor trample upon him as his slave; no more than we use to reproach a sick member, for easing whereof the whole body laboureth, or think it especially obliged to the other members, because it hath gotten more help than it hath repaid. For it is thought monstruous to deny that a common interchanging of duties between the members of the same body, is not a free kind of gift, but rather a payment of that which they owe to each other by the law of nature. And from this way of reasoning it will follow, that he must not think himself discharged, who hath performed one kind of duty, as is commonly done; as when a rich man hath given any thing of his own, he leaveth other duties to other men, as not belonging to him. But rather every man ought to think thus with himself, that he is always debtor to his neighbours, and that he must not desist from his liberality, till his ability fail, which how large soever it be, must be measured by the rule of charity.

The principal part of denying ourselves, is wholly to depend upon the favour and blessing of God, without any reckoning on or prizing worldly things.

8. Now let us more fully declare the principal part of forsaking ourselves, which we already said has a respect to God. We have said much of it already, which would be superfluous to rehearse again: it shall be sufficient to treat of it so far as it disposeth us to quietness of mind and patience under sufferings. First therefore in seeking the ease or quiet of this present life, the scripture calleth us thereto, that resigning ourselves and our concerns to the Lord's will, we must yield unto him the affections of our heart to be tamed and subdued. To covet wealth and honours, to acquire authority, to heap up riches, to gather together all such follies as serve for pomp and show, our lust is outragious, and our greediness infinite. On the other side we have such a great fear and hatred of poverty, a low estate and condition, that it provoketh us to use every method whereby we may escape them. Hereby we may see, how unquiet a mind they have, how many shifts they attempt, with what studies they weary themselves, who frame their life after their own devices, to attain those things that their ambition or covetousness requireth, and to escape poverty and reproach. Therefore the godly must take care, that they be not entangled with such snares. First let them neither desire, hope for, or think upon any other means of prospering, than by the blessing of the Lord: and therefore let them safely and boldly trust to it. For howsoever the flesh think itself sufficient, when she either laboureth by her own diligence, or endeavoureth by her own study, or is assisted by the favour of men, to the attaining of honour and wealth: yet it is certain, that all these things are nothing, and that we shall not prevail by wit or labour, but in so far as the Lord shall prosper both. But on the other side his blessing findeth away through all hinderances, to make every thing go on with us to a joyful and prosperous end. Then though we may obtain any glory or wealth without it (as we daily see the wicked get great honour and riches) yet as they upon whom resteth the curse, feel no part of real felicity, we can obtain nothing without his blessing that will not incline us to sin: and that is not to be coveted, which maketh men more miserable.

9. Therefore

He who knoweth himself and his estate to depend wholly upon the blessing of God, will neither seek to advance himself by unlawful means, nor immoderately desire to be advanced, nor impatiently murmur at any thing which happeneth.

9 If therefore we believe that all the means of prosperous success and such as is to be wished, consisteth only in the blessing of God, which being wanting, all kinds of miseries and calamities must happen unto us: this remaineth also, that we do not greedily endeavour to obtain wealth and honours trusting to our own wit or diligence, not depending on the favour of men, nor trusting upon a vain imagination of fortune, but that we always look unto the Lord, to be led by his guidance to whatsoever lot he hath provided. And it will thereby come to pass, that we will not violently catch at riches and pursue honours, by wrong, by guile and crafty means, extortion, by doing injury to our neighbours, but will only seek such a fortune as may not lead us aside from our integrity. For who can hope for the assistance of God's blessing amidst frauds, extortions, and other subtile means of wickedness? For as God's blessing followeth no man but him that thinketh purely, and doth rightly; so it restraineth all them who desire it, from crooked thoughts, and corrupt doings; and moderateth our desires that we burn not with an insatiable desire of growing rich, nor ambitiously gape for honours. For with what countenance can any man trust to be assisted by God, to obtain those things that he desireth against his word? For God forbid, that he should give the help of his blessing to that which he curseth with his own mouth. Last of all, though affairs succeed not according to our wish and hope, yet we will be restrained from impatience, and from cursing our condition whatever it be: because we know that we murmur against God, at whose will riches and poverty, baseness and honours are disposed. Briefly, he that dependeth in such a manner as is aforesaid upon the blessing of God, will neither by cunning craft hunt for those things that men most outragiously covet, by which craft he knoweth he will not prevail: nor if any thing happen prosperously will he impute it to himself, his own diligence, endeavour or fortune, but will assign it to God the author thereof. But if while other mens estates do flourish, he go but slowly forward, yea or slide backward, yet he will bear his ill fortune with greater quietness and moderation of mind, than a worldly man will bear a small good success, which is not altogether so good as he desired: because he hath a comfort wherein he may more quietly rest, than on the highest top of wealth and authority: because he reckoneth that his affairs are so ordered by God as shall be most conducive to his salvation. So we see that David (Psal. cxxxi. 1, 2.) was thus minded, and yielded himself to be ruled by God, where he declareth himself to be like a weaned child, and that he exerciseth not himself in things great or marvellous.

The quiet contentment of mind which ariseth unto men in the manifold casual miseries of this life, if they be once assured not that fortune doth blindly toss, but that God doth providently dispose their whole estate.

10. And godly minds ought to have that quietness and patience not only consisting in this: but it must also extend to all chances whereunto our present life is subject. Therefore no man hath rightly forsaken himself, but he who hath resigned himself up wholly to the Lord, and suffereth all the parts of his life to be governed by his will. He who is so disposed whatsoever happen, will neither think himself, miserable, nor will with envy complain against God of his fortune. How necessary this affection is, will appear, if we consider to how many chances we are subject. Divers kinds of diseases trouble us, sometimes the pestilence cruelly reigneth, sometimes we are sharply vexed with the calamities of war, sometimes frost or hail destroying the hopes of the year, bringeth barrenness, on the land and produceth a dearth: sometimes our wife, parents, children, or kinsfolk are taken away by death, our house is consumed with fire: these are things at the happening whereof men curse their life, detest the day of their birth, have heaven and light in execration, murmur against God, and (as they are eloquent in blasphemies) accuse him of injustice and cruelty: but a believer may even in these providences behold the merciful kindness and fatherly tenderness of God. Therefore altho' he see his house destroyed, his kinsfolk slain, yet he will not cease to praise God, but will rather comfort himself with this thought: yet the grace of the Lord that dwelleth in my house will not leave it desolate. Or if when his corn is blasted or bitten, or consumed with frosts, or beaten down with hail, he seeth famine at hand, yet he will not despair, nor speak despitefully of God, but will rest in this hope, we are yet in the Lord's protection, and the sheep of his pasture: (Psal. lxxix. 14.) he therefore will find us food even in the greatest scarcity.

Or if he be troubled with ſickneſs, even then he will not be diſcouraged with ſuch bitterneſs of ſorrow, as to burſt out into impatience and quarrel with God: but conſidering the juſtice and tenderneſs of God's correction, he will bear it with patience. Finally, whatſoever ſhall happen, becauſe he knoweth it is ordained by God, he will take it with a well pleaſed and thankful mind, leſt he ſhould ſtubbornly reſiſt his authority, into whoſe power he hath yielded himſelf and all that is his. Therefore let the fooliſh and miſerable comfort of the heathens be far from a believer's heart, who to ſtrengthen their minds againſt adverſity, imputed the ſame to fortune; with whom they counted it fooliſh to be angry, becauſe ſhe was blind and unadviſed, who thus wounded both the deſerving and undeſerving. For on the contrary this is the rule of godlineſs, that God is the judge and governor both of proſperity and adverſity, and that his hand ſmiteth not with unadviſed ſudden rage, but with moſt orderly juſtice dealeth among us both good and evil things.

CHAP. VIII.

Of bearing the croſs, which is a part of the forſaking of our ſelves.

He who forſaketh himſelf muſt arm himſelf to endure a troubleſome eſtate of life, wherein there is notwithſtanding this comfort, we go no other way than Chriſt himſelf hath troden before us.

BUT a godly mind muſt yet climb up higher, even to that whereunto Chriſt calleth his diſciples, that every one take up his croſs. For all whom the Lord hath choſen and vouchſafed to receive into his company, muſt prepare themſelves to a hard troubleſome and unquiet life, and full of many and divers kinds of inconveniencies. For it is the will of our heavenly Father, to exerciſe them in this manner, that he may have a true proof of them that are his. Beginning at Chriſt, his firſt begotten Son, he proceedeth with this order toward all his children. For whereas Chriſt was the beſt beloved Son above the reſt, and in whom the Father's mind was fully pleaſed, (Mat. iii. 17. and xvii. 5.) yet we ſee he was not tenderly nor gently handled: ſo that it may be truly ſaid, he was not only exerciſed with a perpetual croſs ſo long as he lived on earth, but that all his life was nothing elſe but a kind of continual croſs. The apoſtle ſheweth the cauſe thereof, that he might learn obedience by thoſe things that he ſuffered: why then ſhould we think to free ourſelves from that eſtate, whereunto it behoved Chriſt our head to be ſubject, eſpecially ſince he became ſubject thereunto for our ſake, to ſhew us an example of patience in himſelf? Therefore the apoſtle ſaith, that this is the appointed end of all the children of God, to be faſhioned like unto him. Whereupon alſo in hard and ſharp providences, which are reckoned adverſities and evils, ariſeth a great comfort unto us, that we communicate with the ſufferings of Chriſt: that as he out of a ſea of troubles entred into the heavenly glory, ſo we may by divers tribulations be brought into the ſame glory. (Act. xiv. 22.) For ſo ſaith Paul himſelf, (Philip. iii. 10.) that when we learn the communicating of his afflictions, we do alſo conceive the power of his reſurrection: and when we are made conformable to his death, we are ſo prepared to the fellowſhip of of his glorious riſing again. How much may this avail to aſſuage all the painfulneſs of the croſs, that the more we are afflicted with adverſities, ſo much the more ſurely is our fellowſhip with Chriſt confirmed? by communicating whereof, our ſufferings are not only bleſſed unto us, but alſo do much help us in the furtherance of our ſalvation.

Affliction neceſſary for us not only as for Chriſt to teſtify our obedience unto God, but further alſo to bring us to a ſenſible feeling of our own imbecillity and weakneſs.

2. Beſides that our Lord had no need to take upon him and bear the croſs, but only to teſtify and prove his obedience to his Father: but we for divers cauſes have need to lead our life under a continual croſs. Firſt, (as we are naturally bent to attribute all things to the fleſh) unleſs our weakneſs be ſhewed us as it were before our eyes, we readily eſteem our own ſtrength above its due meaſure, and doubt not that whatſoever happen, it will continue unbroken and unconquered againſt the moſt ſevere aſſaults. Whereby we are carried into a fooliſh and vain confidence of the fleſh, and truſting thereupon, we ſtubbornly wax proud againſt God himſelf, as though our own power without his grace was ſufficient for us. This arrogance he can no way better bear down, than when he proveth unto us by experience, not only how feeble, but alſo how frail we

we are. Therefore he afflicteth us either with ſhame, poverty, loſs of children, ſickneſs, or other calamities, which we being unable to bear of ourſelves, do immediately ſink down under them. And being ſo humbled we learn to call upon his ſtrength, which only maketh us to ſtand upright under the heavy burden of afflictions. Yea the moſt godly men, how well ſoever they know that they ſtand only by the grace of God and not by their own ſtrength, are too confident of their own ſtrength and conſtancy, unleſs by the trial of the croſs, he bring them into a more inward knowlege of themſelves. Thus ſlothfulneſs crept in on David: (Pſal. xxx. 6, 7.) I ſaid in my proſperity I ſhall never be moved, Lord, by thy favour thou haſt made my mountain to ſtand ſtrong: thou didſt hide thy face and I was troubled. For he confeſſeth that by ſluggiſhneſs in proſperity his ſenſes were dulled, and that not regarding the grace of God, upon which he ſhould have depended, he leaned unto himſelf, to promiſe himſelf perpetual continuance. If this happened to ſo great a prophet: which of us ought not to be fearful, that we may guard againſt the like? Therefore whereas in proſperity they flatter themſelves with an opinion of great conſtancy and patience, when they are once humbled with adverſity, they learn that their former opinion was but hypocriſy. The faithful (I ſay) being admoniſhed by ſuch examples of their weakneſs, do thereby gain humility, that being diveſted of the falſe confidence of the fleſh, they may have recourſe to the grace of God. And when they once apply to his grace, they feel the preſence of God's ſtrength, which is abundantly ſufficient to help them.

Affliction by teaching us how feeble we are of ourſelves, cauſeth us to reſt only upon God. This breedeth patience, whereby an experience ariſeth of God's upholding them that rely upon him, which trial of his goodneſs in things paſt, eſtabliſheth the hope confirmed: foraſmuch as we would be very unthankful, not to look for the ſame faithfulneſs in God as to things to come, that they had already by experience proved to be conſtant and ſure. We ſee now how many good things come unto us in one knot by the croſs. For the croſs overthrowing the falſe opinion that we have of our own ſtrength, and diſplaying our hypocriſy which blindeth us, it ſhaketh away all hurtful confidence in the fleſh, and teacheth us being ſo humbled to reſt upon God only, by which it cometh to paſs, that we are neither oppreſſed nor fall down. And after victory followeth hope, inſomuch as the Lord in performing that which he hath promiſed eſtabliſheth the credit of his truth for the time to come. Truly although, there were no other reaſons but theſe, it appeareth how much the exerciſe of the croſs is neceſſary for us. For it is a matter of no ſmall importance, to have the love of thy ſelf wiped away, that thou mayeſt thoroughly know thine own weakneſs; to feel thine own weakneſs, that thou mayſt learn to diſtruſt thy ſelf; to diſtruſt thy ſelf, that thou mayeſt remove thy confidence from thy ſelf and place it upon God, to reſt with confidence of heart upon God, that being upholden by his help, thou mayeſt continue unconquered to the end: to ſtand faſt by his grace, that thou mayeſt underſtand that he is true in his promiſes: to know by experience the truth of his promiſes, that thy hope may be ſtrengthened thereby.

3. And this is that which Paul teacheth, (Rom. v. 3.) that tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience. For whereas God hath promiſed to the faithful that he will be preſent with them in their troubles, they feel the ſame to be true, when they ſtand patiently being upheld by his hand, which by their own ſtrength they were not able to do. Patience therefore bringeth a proof by experience to believers, that God when need requireth, will indeed perform the help that he hath promiſed. And thereby alſo is their *credit of his truth for things to come, and increaſeth hope.*

4. The Lord hath alſo another end in afflicting his people, to try their patience, and inſtruct us to obedience. Not that they can perform any other obedience toward him, than what he giveth them: but ſo it pleaſeth him by open examples to make it approved by witneſſes, and to ſhew the graces that he hath beſtowed upon his ſaints, that they ſhould not be idly hid within them. And therefore in bringing forth into light the ſtrength of the patience and conſtancy, wherewith he hath furniſhed his ſervants, it is ſaid that he trieth their patience. And hence came theſe ſayings: (Gen. xxii. 1.) that God tempted Abraham, and had a proof of his godlineſs, by this, that he refuſed not to offer up in ſacrifice his own and only Son. Therefore Peter teacheth, (1 Pet. i. 7.) that

By affliction God bringeth forth the virtues of his ſaints, which before lay hid, into open ſhew, and alſo traineth them in true obedience.

that our faith is tried in troubles, as gold is tried in a furnace. And who can ſay that it is not expedient, that the moſt noble gift of patience, which a faithful man hath received of his God, ſhould be brought forth into uſe, that it may be made certainly known and manifeſt? For otherwiſe men will not eſteem it according to its worth. Now if God himſelf doth right when he furniſheth matter to ſtir up the virtues that he hath given to his faithful, that they ſhould not lie hidden, yea lie unprofitable and periſh: then is there good reaſon for the afflictions of the ſaints, without which their patience would be nothing. I ſay alſo that by the croſs they are inſtructed to obedience, becauſe they are thereby taught to live not after their own wiſh, but after the will of God. Truly if all things ſhould flow unto them after their own mind, they would not know what it were to follow God. And Seneca rehearſeth (*De vita beata cap.* 15.) that this was an old proverb, when they exhorted any man to bear adverſity, Follow God. By which they declared, that then only, man truly entred under the yoke of God, when he yielded his hand and back to God's correction. Now if it be moſt righteous, that we ſhould in all things ſhew our ſelves obedient to our heavenly Father, then we ought not to refuſe, that he ſhould by all means accuſtom us to yield obedience unto him.

The fleſh ſtubborn, rebellious and wanton without being ſubdued

5. But yet we do not perceive how neceſſary this obedience is for us, unleſs we alſo conſider, how fond the fleſhly mind is to ſhake off the yoke of God, ſo ſoon as it hath been but a little while delicately and tenderly handled. The ſame happeneth unto the fleſh which chanceth to ſtubborn horſes, which if they be a few days pampered idly, they cannot afterward for fierceneſs be tamed, neither do they know the rider, to whoſe government they were ſomewhat before obedient. And this is continually in us that God complaineth to have been in the people of Iſrael, (Deut. xxxii. 15.) that being well fed and covered with fatneſs, we kick againſt him that fed and nouriſhed us. The liberality of God ſhould indeed have allured us to conſider and love his goodneſs, but for as much as our depraved nature is ſuch, that we are always corrupted with his tender uſage, it is more than neceſſary for us, to be reſtrained by ſome diſcipline, that we run not outragiouſly into ſuch a ſtubborn wantonneſs. And that we ſhould not grow fierce with an unmeaſurable abundance of riches, that we ſhould not wax proud being lifted up with honours, that we ſhould not become inſolent, being puffed up with other good gifts, either of the ſoul, body, or fortune, the Lord himſelf, as he ſeeth it to be expedient, preventeth it, and with the remedy of the croſs ſubdueth and bridleth the fierceneſs of our fleſh, and that divers ways, as he knoweth what is neceſſary for every man. For all are not alike ſick of the ſame diſeaſes, nor do alike need of hard healing. And hence it may be obſerved how ſome are exerciſed with one kind of croſs, and ſome with another. But whereas the heavenly phyſician handleth ſome more gently, and purgeth ſome with ſharper remedies, when he intendeth to provide for the health of all: yet he leaveth none free or untouched, becauſe he knoweth that all are diſeaſed without exception.

Affliction needful for us, in reſpect of our paſt offences.

6. Moreover our moſt merciful Father needeth not only to prevent our weakneſs, but many times to correct our paſt offences. Therefore ſo oft as we are afflicted, the remembrance of our by paſt life ought immediately to enter into our mind: and without doubt we will find that we have done ſomewhat worthy of chaſtiſement. Yet we ought not chiefly to ground our exhortation to patience upon the acknowleging of ſin. For the ſcripture giveth us a far better conſideration, when it ſaith, that the Lord correcteth us with adverſity, that we ſhould not be damned with this world. Therefore we ought even in the very ſharpneſs of tribulations to acknowlege the kindneſs and goodneſs of our Father toward us, foraſmuch as even then he ceaſeth not to further and promote our ſalvation. For he doth afflict, not to deſtroy or kill us, but rather to deliver us from the condemnation of the world. That thought ſhould lead us to that, which the ſcripture teacheth in another place: (Prov. iii. 11, 12.) my ſon deſpiſe not the Lord's correction, nor weary when thou art rebuked of him. For whom the Lord loveth, he correcteth, and embraceth him as a father doth his child. When we know his rod to be the rod of a father, is it not our duty rather to ſhew ourſelves obedient children and willing to learn, than with obſtinacy to act like deſperate men, that are hardened by their wicked doings? The Lord deſpiſeth us, unleſs he call us back by correction when we are fallen away from him: ſo that the author of the epiſtle to the Hebrews rightly ſaith (Heb. xii. 8.) that we are baſtards,

baſtards, and not children if we be without correction. Therefore we are very froward, if we cannot ſuffer his correction when he thereby declareth his good will, and the care that he hath for our ſalvation. This the ſcripture teacheth to be the difference between the unbelievers and the faithful, that the unbelievers as the bond ſlaves of their own rooted and hardened wickedneſs, are made worſe and more obſtinate by chaſtiſement; whereas the faithful, like children having an honeſt freedom of nature, do thereby profit to repentance. Now muſt thou chuſe of which number thou wilt be. But becauſe I have ſpoken of this matter in another place, I am contented to touch it briefly, and therefore make an end.

When the cauſe of our ſuffering is righteouſneſs it is not a croſs, but a gain to ſuffer.

7. Moreover it is a ſingular comfort, when we ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſs. For then we ought to think, how great an honour God vouchſafeth to grant us, that he diſtinguiſheth us with the peculiar mark of his ſoldiers. I mean not that they only ſuffer perſecution for righteouſneſs, who ſuffer for the defence of the goſpel, but alſo all they who are perſecuted for any defence of righteouſneſs. Whether therefore in maintaining the truth of God againſt the lies of Satan, or in taking in hand the defence of good men and innocents againſt the wrongs of the wicked, we are obliged to incur the diſpleaſure and hatred of the world, whereby our life, goods, or reputation, may come into danger: let it not be grievous or loathſome unto us to employ our ſelves for God, neither let us think ourſelves miſerable in doing thoſe things for which he hath with his own mouth pronounced us bleſſed. (Matth. v. 5.) Poverty indeed, if it be conſidered in it ſelf, is miſerable: likewiſe baniſhment, a contemptuous eſtate, impriſonment and ſhame: Finally, death is the laſt and worſt of all calamities. But when the favour of God ſhineth upon us, there is none of all theſe misfortunes but it improveth to our felicity. Therefore let us rather be content with the teſtimony of Chriſt, than with the falſe eſtimation of the fleſh. So ſhall it come to paſs, that we ſhall rejoice as the apoſtles did, when God ſhall account us worthy to ſuffer reproach for his name. For why? If we being innocent, and knowing our ſelves clear in our conſciences, we are by the wicked and fraudulent dealings of ungodly men ſpoiled of our goods: we are indeed brought thereby to poverty among men, but we thereby lay up a treaſure in heaven before God If we be thruſt out of our houſes, we are the more inwardly received into the houſhold of God. If we are vexed and deſpiſed, we take ſo much the deeper root in Chriſt. If we be branded with reproach and ſhame, we have ſo much the more honourable a place in the kingdom of God. If we are ſlain, thereby is an entry opened for us unto a bleſſed immortality. Let us be aſhamed to eſteem theſe things leſs, upon which the Lord hath ſet ſo great a price, than the ſhadowy and fickle enticing pleaſures of this preſent life.

Patience doth not extinguiſh the feeling of that bitterneſs which is in trouble, but vanquiſheth the troubleſome vexation which is felt.

8. Since therefore the ſcripture doth with theſe and like admonitions give ſufficient comfort for the ſhame or calamities that we ſuffer for the defence of righteouſneſs, we are too unthankful if we do not gladly and chearfully receive them at the Lord's hand, eſpecially ſince this is the croſs, moſt properly belonging to the faithful, whereby Chriſt will be glorified in us. As alſo Peter teacheth. (1 Pet. iv. 12.) But it is more grievous to gentle natures to ſuffer ſhame than a hundred deaths, therefore Paul expreſsly warneth us, (1 Tim. iv. 10.) that we ſhould not only ſuffer perſecutions, but alſo reproaches, becauſe we truſt in the living God. As in another place, (2 Cor. vi. 8.) he teacheth us after his example to walk through ill report and good report. Yet there is not required of us ſuch a chearfulneſs as may take away all feeling of bitterneſs and ſorrow, the patience of the ſaints under their croſſes would be no patience, unleſs they ſhould be both tormented with ſorrow and vexed with grief. If there were no difficulty in bearing poverty, no pain in ſickneſs, no grief in ſhame, no horror in death, what courage or temperance were it to bear them inconſiderately? But when every one of theſe doth with the natural anguiſh thereof afflict our hearts; herein doth the courage of a believer ſhew itſelf, it being tried with the feeling of ſuch anguiſh, which how grievouſly ſoever he be troubled with it, yet by valiantly reſiſting he overcometh it: his patience ſheweth itſelf herein, if being ſharply provoked, he is yet ſo reſtrained by the fear of God, that he burſt not out into any kind of ſinful reſentment. His chearfulneſs appeareth herein, if being wounded with ſadneſs and ſorrow, he reſteth upon the ſpiritual comfort of God.

The patience which God requireth in afflictions is not a senseless want of grief.

9. This conflict, which believers sustain against the natural feelings of sorrow, while they study for patience and temperance, Paul hath very well described in these words. (2 Cor. iv. 8, 9.) We are troubled on every side, yet not distressed; we are perplexed but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed. You see that to bear the cross patiently, is not to be altogether astonished, and without all feeling of sorrow: as the stoicks formerly foolishly described a brave man, to be such an one, as putting of the nature of man, was alike moved in prosperity and adversity, in a sorrowful and joyful estate, yea such a one as like a stone was moved with nothing: and what have they profited with this high wisdom? They have delineated such an image of wisdom as never was found, nor ever will be found among men: But rather while they coveted to have too exact and precise a patience, they have taken away all the use of patience out of man's life. And at this day also among christians there are a new kind of stoicks, who reckon it a fault not only to groan and weep, but also to be sad and careful. But these strange conclusions do commonly proceed from idle men, who busying themselves rather in speculation than with action, can do nothing but contrive such new angled doctrines. But we have nothing to do with that stupid philosophy, which our master and Lord hath condemned not only by his word, but also by his example: for he mourned and wept both at his own and other mens adversities. The world (saith he John xvii. 20.) shall rejoice, but you shall mourn and weep. And that no man might find fault therewith, by his open proclamation, (Matth. v. 4.) he hath pronounced them blessed that mourn. And no wonder. For if all weeping be condemned, what shall we judge of the Lord himself, out of whose body dropped bloody tears? If all fear is to be branded with infidelity, what shall we think of that quaking fear wherewith we read that he was so much oppressed? If all sadness be disliked, how shall we like this, when he confesseth that his soul was sorrowful even unto death. (Luke xxii. 44.)

The contrary affections which are in godly afflicted minds.

10. This I thought good to speak for this end, to call godly minds from despair, that they should not altogether forsake the study of patience, because they cannot put off the natural affection of sorrow: which must needs happen to them, that make patience a senseless stupidity, and of a valiant and constant man, a stock. For the scripture giveth to the saints the praise of patience, when they are so troubled with the weight of their adversities, that yet they are not overcome nor cast down with them, when they are pricked with anguish, that they are still delighted with spiritual joy: when they are so distressed with grief, that yet they assume new courage being cheared with the comfort of God. Yet that repugnancy abideth still in their hearts, that natural sense escheweth and dreadeth those things which it knoweth to be contrary to it: but the love of godliness travelleth even through all those difficulties to attain an obedience to God's will. This repugnancy the Lord expressed when he said thus to Peter: (John xxi. 18.) When thou wast young thou didst gird thy self and didst walk whither thou wouldst: but when thou art old, another shall gird thee and lead thee whither thou shalt not be willing. Neither is it likely that Peter, when the time came that he must glorify God by his death, was drawn unwillingly and resisting unto it; else his martyrdom should have had but small praise. But tho' he did with great chearfulness of heart obey the commandment of God, yet because he had not put off the nature of man, he was doubly drawn by two sorts of wills. For when he did by himself consider the bloody death that he should suffer, being striken with the horror thereof, he would gladly have escaped it. On the other side, when it came into his mind, that he was called unto it by the commandment of God, then conquering and overcoming fear, he gladly, yea and chearfully took it upon him. This therefore we must endeavour if we will be the disciples of Christ, that our minds be inwardly filled with so great a reverence and obedience to God, as may tame and subdue all contrary affections to an obedience to his commands. So shall it come to pass, that with whatsoever kind of cross we be vexed, even in the greatest anguish of mind, we shall constantly preserve our patience. For adversities have their sharpness, wherewith we will be tormented: when we are afflicted with sickness, we shall both groan and be disquieted and desire health: being oppressed with poverty, we shall be troubled with the stings of anxious care and sorrow: in the like manner will we be affected with grief for shame, contempt and injury, and pay the tears of nature at the burial of our friends: but this will always be the conclusion. It is the Lord's will. Therefore let us follow it. Yea even in the midst of the anguish

anguiſh of ſorrow, in the midſt of mourning and tears this thought muſt needs come between, to incline our heart to bear chearfully the very ſame things, by reaſon whereof it is ſo moved.

The difference between Chriſtian and Philoſophical patience.

11. But for as much as we have drawn the chief cauſe of bearing our croſs, from the conſideration of the will of God, we muſt in a few words define the difference between philoſophical and chriſtian patience. Truly very few of the philoſophers attained to ſo high a reaſon, as to underſtand that the hand of God doth exerciſe us by afflictions, and to think that God is in this behalf to be obeyed. But they bring no other reaſon, but we muſt do ſo of neceſſity. What is this elſe, but to ſay that thou muſt yield unto God, becauſe thou ſhalt ſtrive in vain to wreſtle againſt him? For if we obey God, only out of neceſſity, then if we could eſcape, we would ceaſe to obey. But the ſcripture commandeth us to conſider another thing in the will of God, that is to ſay, firſt his juſtice and equity, then the care of our ſalvation. Theſe therefore are the chriſtian exhortations to patience, whether poverty, baniſhment, impriſonment, ſhame, ſickneſs, loſs of parents, or children, or any other like things grieve us, we muſt always remember that none of theſe things, happen, but by the will and providence of God, and that he doth nothing but in moſt juſt order: For why? do not our innumerable and daily offences deſerve to be chaſtiſed more ſharply: and with more grievous correction, than what the merciful kindneſs of God layeth upon us? Is it not moſt equitable, that our fleſh be ſubdued, and made acquainted as it were with the yoke, that it do not wantonly grow wild according to its nature? Is not the righteouſneſs and truth of God worthy, that we ſhould ſuffer pain for it? But if there appear an undoubted righteouſneſs in our afflictions, we cannot without unrighteouſneſs either murmur or wreſtle againſt it. We do not now hear that cold ſong: We muſt give place, becauſe we muſt do ſo of neceſſity, but we hear a lively leſſon and full of the moſt perfect perſuaſion, we muſt obey, becauſe it is unlawful to reſiſt: we muſt ſuffer patiently, becauſe impatience is a ſtubborneſs againſt the righteouſneſs of God. But now, becauſe that only is worthy to be loved by us, which we know to be for our ſafety and benefit, our heavenly father doth this way alſo comfort us, when he affirmeth, that even when he afflicteth us with the croſs, he provideth for our ſalvation. But if it be certain that troubles are uſeful for us, why ſhould we not receive them with a thankful and well pleaſed mind? Therefore in bearing them patiently, we do not forcibly yield to neceſſity, but quietly conſent to our own advantage. Theſe thoughts (I ſay) prove that as much as our minds are grieved in the croſs with a natural feeling of anguiſh, ſo much they are cheered with ſpiritual gladneſs. Whereupon alſo followeth thankſgiving, which cannot be without joy. But if the praiſe of the Lord and thankſgiving proceed from nothing but a cheerful and joyful heart, and there is nothing that ought to interrupt the ſame praiſing of God and thankſgiving in us: hereby appeareth how neceſſary it is that the bitterneſs of the croſs be tempered with ſpiritual joy.

CHAP. IX.

Of meditation on the life to come.

The miſeries of this life muſt teach us not to ſeek our happineſs here.

BUt with whatſoever kind of troubles we are diſtreſſed, we muſt always look to this end, to accuſtom ourſelves to the contempt of this preſent life, and thereby be ſtirred up to the meditation of the life to come. For, becauſe God very well knoweth how much we are by nature inclined to the love of this world, he uſeth a moſt proper mean to draw us back, and make us ſhake off our ſluggiſhneſs, that we ſhould not cleave too faſt to that love. There are none of us who do not want to appear to breathe after and endeavour all their life long for a bleſſed immorality. For we are aſhamed not to excel brute beaſts: whoſe condition would be nothing inferior to ours, unleſs there remained to us a hope of eternity after death. But if you examine the devices, ſtudies, and doings of every man, you will find nothing therein but what ſavours of the earth. Hence ariſeth that ſenſleſneſs, that the eyes of our mind being dazled with the vain gliſtering of riches, power, and honours, are ſo darkned that they cannot ſee far. Our heart alſo being poſſeſſed with covetouſneſs, ambition, and luſt, is ſo weighed down, that it cannot riſe up higher. Finally, all our ſoul being

ſo entangled with the enticements of the fleſh ſeeketh its felicity in earth. The Lord to remedy this evil, doth with continual examples of miſery teach us the vanity of this preſent life. Therefore that they may not promiſe themſelves in this life a ſound and quiet peace, he ſuffereth them to be many times diſquieted and troubled either with wars, tumults, robberies, or other injuries. That they may not with too much greedineſs, gape for periſhing and tranſitory riches, or reſt in the riches they already poſſeſs, he ſometimes with baniſhment, ſometimes with barrenneſs of the earth, ſometimes with fire, ſometimes by other means bringeth them to poverty, or at leaſt confineth them within due bounds. That they may not with too much eaſe take pleaſure in the bleſſings of marriage, he either vexeth them with the frowardneſs of their wives, humbleth them with ill children, or puniſheth them with want of iſſue. But if in all theſe things he tenderly beareth with them; yet leaſt they ſhould either ſwell with vain glory, or immeaſurably rejoice with fooliſh confidence, he doth by diſeaſes and dangers ſhew them, how unſtable, and vaniſhing all tranſitory and periſhing the things of this life are. Then only therefore we rightly profit under the diſcipline of the croſs when we learn that this life, when it is conſidered in itſelf, is unquiet, troubleſome, and innumerably various ways miſerable, and in no point fully bleſſed: and that all thoſe which are reckoned the good things thereof are uncertain, fickle, vain, and periſhing, and many evils mixed with them. And hereupon we conclude, that nothing is to be ſought or hoped for here but ſtrife: and that when we think of our crown, then we muſt lift up our eyes to heaven. For we muſt believe, that our mind is never truly raiſed up to the deſire and meditation of the life to come, unleſs it firſt think with contempt upon this preſent life.

Our dulneſs to learn the frail eſtate of this preſent life.

2. For between theſe two there is no medium, the earth muſt either become vile in our ſight, or hold us bound with an intemperate love of it. Therefore if we have any thought of eternity, we muſt diligently endeavour to looſe ourſelves from theſe fetters. Now becauſe this preſent life hath many flattering pleaſures wherewith to allure us, a great ſhew of pleaſantneſs, grace and ſweetneſs, wherewith to delight us; it is very neceſſary for us to be now and then called away, that we be not bewitched with ſuch allurements. For what, I pray you, would be done, if we did here enjoy a continual flow of good things and happineſs, ſince we cannot by a continual feeling of its evils be ſufficiently awakned to conſider the miſery thereof? Not only the learned know, but alſo the common people have no Proverb more common than this, that man's life is like a ſmoke or ſhadow: and becauſe they ſaw it to be a thing very uſeful to be known, they have ſet it out with many notable ſentences. But there is nothing we either more negligently conſider, or leſs remember. For we go about all things here as though we could ſecure to ourſelves an immortality on earth. If there be a corps carried to burial, or if we walk among graves, then, becauſe there is an image of death before our eyes, I grant we do wondrouſly well diſcourſe like philoſophers upon the vanity of this life. Altho' we do not even that continually, for many times all theſe things will nothing move us. But when it happeneth that our philoſophy laſteth a while, yet ſo ſoon as we turn our backs, it vaniſheth away, and leaveth no trace at all of remembrance behind it: finally, it paſſeth away as clapping of hands upon a ſtage at any pleaſant ſight. And we forgetting not only death, but alſo that we are ſubject to death, as though we had never heard any report thereof, fall into a careleſs certainty of an earthly immortality. If any man in the mean time tell us of the proverb, that man is a creature but of a day's continuance, we grant it indeed: but ſo heedleſly, that ſtill the thought of everlaſting continuance reſteth in our mind. Who therefore can deny, that it is very profitable for us all, not only to be admoniſhed in words, but by all the examples of experience, to be convinced of the miſerable eſtate of this earthly life? foraſmuch as even when we are convinced, we ſcarcely ceaſe to ſtand amazed with perverſe and fooliſh admiration of it, as tho' it contained the uttermoſt end of all good things. But if it be neceſſary that God inſtruct us, it is our duty likewiſe on our part to hearken to him when he calleth and awaketh us from our lethargy, that deſpiſing the world we may with all our hearts endeavour to the meditation of the life to come.

We muſt not ſo deſpiſe the life which we enjoy in this world that the eſtimation of thoſe good things which God doth

3. But let believers accuſtom themſelves to ſuch a deſpiſing of this preſent life, as may neither beget a hatred thereof, nor any unthankfulneſs toward God. For this life, however full it is of various miſeries, is yet worthily reckoned among the

beſtow upon us be unthankfully diminiſhed.

the bleſſings of God. Therefore if we do not acknowlege it as a benefit of God, we are guilty of no ſmall unthankfulneſs towards him. But eſpecially it ought to be a teſtimony of God's good will to believers, foraſmuch as it is wholly directed to, and intended for the furtherance of their ſalvation. For before he openly deliver unto us the inheritance of eternal glory, his will is to ſhew himſelf a Father unto us by ſome ſmaller inſtances; and theſe are the benefits which he daily beſtoweth upon us. Since therefore this life ſerveth to make us underſtand the goodneſs of God, ſhall we diſdain it as though it had not a crumb of goodneſs in it? We muſt therefore put on this feeling and affection, to reckon it among the gifts of his goodneſs that are not to be refuſed. For though their wanted teſtimonies of ſcripture, of which there are many moſt plainly refering thereto, yet nature itſelf doth exhort us to give thanks to the Lord, for that he hath brought us into the light of it, that he granteth us the uſe of it, that he giveth us all neceſſary helps for the preſervation of it. And this is a much greater reaſon, if we conſider that we are after a certain manner in this world prepared for the glories of his heavenly kingdom. For the Lord hath ordained that they who at laſt ſhall be crowned in heaven, muſt fight certain battles in earth, that they ſhould not triumph, till they had overcome the hard adventures of the battle, and obtained the victory. Then another reaſon is, that we do by diverſe benefits begin therein to taſte the ſweetneſs of God's liberality, that our hope and deſire ſhould be whetted for the full revelation thereof. When this is determined, that it is a gift of God's clemency, that we live in this earthly life, for which as we are bound unto him, ſo we ought to be mindful and thankful for it: then we ſhall in its proper ſeaſon come to conſider the miſerable eſtate thereof, to this end that we may be delivered from too much greedineſs of it, whereunto as I have before ſaid, we are of ourſelves naturally inclined.

This life is not ſimply to be lothed but in compariſon of the life to come.

4. Now whatſoever is taken from the wrong deſire of this life, ought to be added to the deſire of a better life. I grant indeed that they thought truly, who thought it beſt not to be born, and the next, to die quickly. For what could they being deſtitute of the light of God and true religion, ſee therein but unhappineſs and miſery? And they acted not without reaſon, who mourned and wept at the births of their friends, and ſolemnly rejoiced at their burials, but they did it without profit, becauſe being without the right doctrine of faith, they did not ſee how that may turn to the advantage of the godly, which is of itſelf neither bleſſed nor to be deſired: and ſo they ended their judgment with deſpair. Let this therefore be a mark to believers in judging of this mortal life, that when they underſtand it to be of itſelf nothing but miſery, they may reſort wholly and more freely and readily to the eternal life to come. When we come to this compariſon, then this preſent life may not only be ſafely neglected, but alſo utterly deſpiſed and lothed in compariſon of the other. For if heaven be our country, what is this earth elſe but a place of baniſhment? If our departure out of this world be an entering into life, what is the world but a grave? To abide in it, what is it elſe but to be drowned in death? If to be delivered from the body is to be ſet at perfect liberty, what is the body elſe but a priſon? If to enjoy the preſence of God is the higheſt ſum of our felicity, is it not miſerable to want it? But till we are eſcaped out of the world, we wander abroad from the Lord. (2 Cor. v. 6.) Therefore if this earthly life be compared with the heavenly life, doubtleſs it ought to be deſpiſed and troden under foot. But it is never to be hated, but in reſpect that it holdeth us in ſubjection to ſin, and yet that hatred is not properly to be laid upon our life. But however it be, yet we muſt be ſo affected either with wearineſs or hatred of it, that deſiring the end thereof, we may at the ſame time be ready at the will of the Lord to abide in it, ſo that our wearineſs muſt be far from all grudging and impatience. For it is like a place allotted us in battle, wherein the Lord hath placed us, which we muſt keep till he call us away. Paul indeed lamenteth (Rom. vii. 24.) his ſtate, that he is detained in the bonds of the body longer than he wiſhed, and ſighed with fervent deſire of his redemption: nevertheleſs to obey the commandment of the Lord, he profeſſed himſelf ready to both, becauſe he acknowlegeth himſelf, to be under this obligation to God, to glorify his name, either by death or life: and that it belongs to God to determine what is moſt expedient for his glory. Therefore if we muſt live and die to the Lord, (Phil. i. 23.) let us leave to his will the time of our life and death, but ſo that we be ſtill fervent in deſire of death, and

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be continually occupied in meditation thereof, and deſpiſe this life in compariſon of the immortality to come, and wiſh to forſake it when it ſhall pleaſe the Lord to call us from it, becauſe of the bondage of ſin.

The conſideration that ſhould conquer the fear of death in the minds of Chriſtians.

5. But it is monſtrous, that inſtead of this deſire of death, many who boaſt themſelves to be Chriſtians, are ſo afraid of it, that they tremble at every mentioning of it, as a thing betokening a misfortune and unhappineſs. Truly it is no wonder, if our natural ſenſe quake for fear when we hear of our diſſolution. But this is not tolerable, that there is not in a believer's mind ſuch a light of goodneſs, that ſhould with greater comfort overcome and ſuppreſs that fear, how great ſoever it be. For if we conſider that this unſtedfaſt, faulty, corruptible, frail, withering, and rotten tabernacle of our body, is diſſolved for this reaſon, that it may afterward be reſtored again to a ſtedfaſt, perfect, uncorruptible and heavenly glory: ſhall not faith compel us fervently to deſire that which nature feareth; if we conſider that by death we are called home out of baniſhment, to inhabit our country, as a heavenly country, ſhall we obtain no comfort thereby? but there is nothing in the creation which doth not wiſh always to preſerve its exiſtence? I grant this, and therefore I affirm, that we ought to look forward unto the immortality to come, where we may attain ſuch a permanent ſtate as appeareth no where in this earth. For Paul doth very well teach, (2 Cor. v. 1, 2, 3.) that believers ought to go chearfully to death: not becauſe they would be unclothed, but becauſe they deſire to be new clothed. Shall brute beaſts, (Rom. viii. 19.) yea and lifeleſs creatures, even ſtocks and ſtones, knowing their preſent vanity, earneſtly look for the reſurrection, that they may with the children of God be delivered from vanity, and ſhall we who are endued with the light of reaſon, and beyond reaſon, enlightned with the Spirit of God, when it agreeth with our notions of a future exiſtence, not lift up our minds beyond the periſhing things of this earth? But it belongeth neither to my preſent purpoſe, nor to this place, to ſpeak againſt this perverſeneſs. And in the beginning I have already profeſſed that I would not here take upon me the large handling of common places. I would adviſe ſuch timorous minds to read Cyprian's book of mortality, unleſs they were meet to be ſent to theſe philoſophers, that they may thereby be aſhamed when they ſee what contempt of death thoſe men ſhewed. But let us hold this as a certain truth, that no man hath improved well in Chriſt's ſchool, but he who doth joyfully look both for the day of his death and the laſt reſurrection. For Paul deſcribeth all the faithful by this mark, (Tit. ii. 13.) and it is alſo common in the ſcripture, to call us to this temper of mind as oft as it would expreſs a ground of perfect gladneſs. Rejoice (ſaith the Lord Luke xxi. 28.) and lift up your heads, for your redemption draweth nigh. Is it reaſonable I pray you, that the thing which he inclined to be of ſo great force to raiſe up joy and cheerfulneſs in us, ſhould breed nothing but ſorrow and diſcouragment? If it be ſo, why do we ſtill boaſt of him as of our ſchoolmaſter? Let us therefore get a ſounder mind, and howſoever the blind and ſenſeleſs deſires of the fleſh ſtrive againſt it, let us not ſcruple or heſitate to wiſh for the coming of the Lord, not only with wiſhing, but alſo with groaning and ſighing, as a thing moſt happy of all others. For he ſhall come as our redeemer, to draw us out of this boundleſs gulf of evils and miſeries, and lead us into that bleſſed inheritance of his life and glory.

We cannot but be troubled in mind till we turn our eyes from beholding the preſent face of things that are, unto the conſideration of that which is to come.

6. This is certainly true: that all the nations of the faithful, ſo long as they dwell on earth, muſt be as ſheep appointed to the ſlaughter, that they may be faſhioned like Chriſt their head. Therefore they will be in a moſt lamentable caſe, unleſs they have their minds raiſed up to heaven, and ſurmount all that is in the world, and look beyond the preſent face of things. On the contrary when believers have once raiſed their minds above all earthly things, altho' they ſee the wealth and honours of the wicked flouriſhing, though they ſee them enjoying quiet peace, tho' they ſee them proud in magnificence and ſumptuouſneſs of all things, though they ſee them ſwimming in plenty of all delights, nay tho' they be ſpoiled of their ſubſtance by their oppreſſion, tho' they ſuſtain reproachful dealings by their pride, tho' they be robbed by their covetouſneſs, tho' they be vexed by any other outrage of theirs: they will eaſily ſupport themſelves in ſuch adverſities. For that day will be always before their eyes, when the Lord ſhall receive his faithful into the quiet of his kingdom, when he ſhall wipe away all tears from their eyes, (Iſai. xxv. 8. and Revel. vii. 17.) when he ſhall cloth them with the robe of glory and

and gladneſs, when he ſhall feed them with the unſpeakable ſweetneſs of his dainties, when he ſhall advance them to the fellowſhip of his high eſtate: finally when he ſhall vouchſafe to communicate his happineſs with them. But theſe wicked ones who have flouriſhed on earth, he ſhall throw into extreme ſhame, he ſhall change their delights into torments, their laughing and mirth into weeping and gnaſhing of teeth, he ſhall diſquiet their peace with terrible torments of conſcience, he ſhall puniſh their daintineſs with unquenchable fire, and ſhall put their heads in ſubjection to thoſe godly men, whoſe patience they have abuſed. For it is a righteous thing with God, (as Paul teſtifieth 2 Theſ. i. 6.) to recompence tribulation to them that trouble the godly, when the Lord Jeſus ſhall be revealed from heaven. This truly is our only comfort, which if it be taken away, we muſt of neceſſity either deſpair, or flatteringly delight ourſelves with the vain comforts of the world to our own ruin and deſtruction. For even the prophet confeſſeth (Pſal. lxxiii. 2, 17.) that his feet ſtaggered, when he tarried too long upon conſidering the preſent proſperity of the wicked: and that he could not otherwiſe ſtand ſtedfaſt, but when he entered into the ſanctuary of God, and turned his eyes to the laſt end of the godly and the wicked. To conclude, in one word, then only the croſs of Chriſt triumpheth in the hearts of the faithful over the devil, fleſh, ſin, and the wicked, when our eyes are turned to the power of the reſurrection.

CHAP. X.

How we ought to uſe this preſent life, and the helps thereof.

The uſe of things which ſerve for this preſent life is neither ſo ſtrict as ſome, nor ſo looſe as others have imagined.

BY ſuch introductions the ſcripture doth alſo inform us what is the right uſe of earthly bleſſings: which is a thing not to be neglected in framing a rule of life. For if we muſt live, we muſt alſo uſe the neceſſary helps to life: neither can we avoid even thoſe things that ſeem rather to ſerve for delight, than neceſſity. Therefore we muſt keep a mean that we may uſe them with a pure conſcience, either for neceſſity or for delight. That mean or medium the Lord appointeth by his word, when he teacheth that this life is to them that are his, a certain journey through a ſtrange country, by which they travel toward the kingdom of heaven. If we muſt but paſs through the earth, doubtleſs we ought ſo far to uſe the good things of the earth, as they may rather further than hinder our journey. Therefore Paul (1 Cor. vii. 30, 31.) doth not unprofitably counſel us ſo to uſe this world, as though we uſed it not: and to buy poſſeſſions with ſuch a mind as they uſe to be ſold. But becauſe the road through this world is ſlippery, and ſo ſteep on both ſides, that it quickly maketh us fall, let us labour to faſten our feet there, where we may ſtand ſafely. For there have been ſome that otherwiſe were good and holy men, who when they ſaw that intemperance and riot continually raged with unbridled luſt, unleſs very cloſely reſtrained, and were deſirous to correct ſo great a miſchief, they could find no other way, but allowed man to uſe the benefits of the earth, only, ſo far as neceſſity required. This was indeed a pious advice, but they were too ſevere. For, (which is a very dangerous thing) they put ſtraiter bonds upon conſciences, than thoſe wherewith they were bound by the word of God. And they explained neceſſity to be an abſtinence from all thoſe things that a man can live without. And ſo by their opinion, a man durſt ſcarcely take any more food than bread and water. And ſome are yet more ſevere: as it is read of Crates the Theban, who threw his goods into the ſea, becauſe if they were not deſtroyed, he thought that he ſhould be deſtroyed by them. Many at this day, while they ſeek a pretence whereby their intemperance in the uſe of outward things may be excuſed, and while they go about to prepare a way for the fleſh to riot in wantonneſs, do take that as a thing allowed, which I do not grant them, i. e. that this liberty is not to be reſtrained with any limitation of meaſure, but that it is to be left to every man's conſcience to uſe as much as he ſeeth to be lawful for him. Truly I confeſs that conſciences neither ought nor can in this point be bound by certain and preciſe forms of laws. But foraſmuch as the ſcripture teacheth general rules of lawful uſe, we muſt ſurely meaſure the uſe according to theſe rules.

2. Let this be a principle: that in the uſing of Gods gifts we depart not from his intention, when it is referred to that end,

God having made things not only for neceſſity but

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alſo for delight, there is no cauſe why men for whom they are made, may not uſe them as well to the one as the other.

unto which the author himſelf created and appointed them for us, for as much as he created them for our good, and not for our hurt. Therefore no man can keep a righter way than he who ſhall diligently look unto this end. Now if we conſider to what end he hath created meats, we ſhall find that he meant to make proviſion not only for neceſſity, but alſo for delight and pleaſure. So alſo in apparel, beſide neceſſity he appointed another end, which is comelineſs and decency. In herbs, trees. and fruits, beſide diverſe profitable uſes, there is alſo a pleaſantneſs of ſight, and ſweetneſs of ſmell. For if this were not true, the prophet (Pſal. civ. 15.) would not reckon it among the benefits of God, that wine maketh glad the heart of man, and that oil maketh his face to ſhine, the ſcripture would not every where, to ſet forth his liberality, inform us that he hath given all ſuch things to men. And the very natural qualities of things do ſufficiently ſhew to what end, and how far we may uſe them. Hath the Lord given flowers ſo many various beauties as they preſent to our eyes: hath he given them ſuch a ſweetneſs of ſavour as naturally floweth into our noſtrils: and ſhall it be unlawful either for our eyes to be pleaſed with thoſe beauties, or for our ſmelling to feel that ſweetneſs of ſavour? what? hath he not made ſuch a difference of colours, for this end, that ſome one may be more acceptable than another? what? hath he not given to gold, ſilver, ivory, and marble, a ſpecial grace and beauty wherefore they might be prized as more precious than other metals or ſtones? Finally, hath he not made many things agreeable unto us without any neceſſary uſe?

Our acknowledging with thankfulneſs that all good things are received at the hands of God, bridleth the exceſſive abuſe of meats, apparel, furniture, and all things needful unto life.

3. Therefore away with that unnatural philoſophy, which in granting us no uſe of the creatures, but what ariſeth purely from neceſſity, doth not only in a niggardly manner deprive us of the lawful uſe of God's liberality, but alſo cannot take place, unleſs it firſt have ſpoiled man of all his ſenſes and made him a block. But on the other ſide we muſt with no leſs diligence provide a curb for the luſts of the fleſh, which if they be not brought into order, overflow beyond all due meaſure: and it hath (as I ſaid) its defenders, who under pretence of an allowed liberty do grant unto it all things. This is one bridle put in the mouth of it, if this be acknowleged, that all things are created for this end, that we ſhould know the author of them, and give him thanks for his tender kindneſs toward us, Where is thy thankſgiving, if thou ſo gluttonouſly fill thy ſelf with dainty meats or with wine, that thou art either made ſtupid and ſenſeleſs, or unfit to perform the duties of religion and of thy calling? Where is thy acknowleging of God, if thy fleſh by a too great abundance, and boiling in filthy luſts, do with her uncleanneſs infect thy mind, that thou canſt not ſee any thing that is right or honeſt? In apparel, where is thy thankfulneſs to God, if with the coſtly gorgeouſneſs thereof we fall into an admiration of ourſelves, and diſdain others: or with the neatneſs and cleanlineſs of it, we prepare ourſelves to unchaſtity? Where is thy acknowleging of God, if our mind be fixed upon the gayneſs of our apparel? For many ſo give up all their ſenſes to bodily delights, that the mind lieth overwhelmed and as it were buried under them, many are ſo delighted with marble, gold and paintings, that they become as it were men made of marble, they are as it were turned into metals, and are like unto painted images. The ſmell of the kitchen, or ſweetneſs of ſavour ſo engroſſeth the ſenſes of ſome, that they can neither ſmell or reliſh any thing that is ſpiritual. And the ſame may alſo be obſerved in the reſt of the ſenſes. Therefore it is certain that hereby the licentiouſneſs of abuſing God's mercies is ſomewhat reſtrained, and that rule of Paul confirmed, (Rom xiii. 14.) that we make no proviſion for the fleſh, to fulfil the luſts thereof, to which if we grant too much, they boil out above meaſure and temper.

The light eſtimation of this preſent life, and the earneſt meditation of immortality cutteth off the too great care which men have of outward things.

4 But there is no ſurer nor readier way than that which is laid down to us by that contempt of this preſent life, and the meditation of heavenly immortality. For thereupon followeth two rules: the one is that they who uſe this world, ſhould be ſo minded as though they uſed it not, they that marry wives, as tho' they did not marry: they that buy, as though they did not buy,

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as Paul teacheth. (1 Cor. vii. 31.) The other, that they ſhould learn, as well to bear poverty, quietly and patiently, as abundance moderately. He who commandeth thee to uſe this world as though thou didſt not uſe it, doth cut off not only the intemperance of gluttony in meat and drink, and too much daintineſs, ſumptuouſneſs, pride, haughtineſs, and nicety in diet, building, and apparel, but alſo all cares and affections that may either withdraw, or hinder thee from thinking of the heavenly life, or from ſtudy to improve thy mind. But this was long ago truly ſaid by Cato: that there is great carefulneſs in trimming our body, and great careleſneſs of virtue. And it is an old proverb, that they who are too much buſied in the care of their body are commonly careleſs of their ſoul. Therefore, although the liberty of believers in outward things is not to be reſtrained to a certain form, yet truly it muſt be ſubject to this law, to indulge their own affections very little, but on the contrary ſtill to be calling upon themſelves, with a conſtant reſolution of mind, to cut off all ſhew of ſuperfluous plenty, and much more to reſtrain all riotous exceſs, and to take diligent heed, that they do not make to themſelves hinderances of thoſe helps which God hath beſtowed on them.

A mind contented to want, and perſuaded that it ſtandeth accountable to God for things received, will eaſily moderate itſelf in the uſe of earthly things.

5. The other rule muſt be, that they who have but a ſmall and ſlender ſhare of riches, may learn to want them patiently, that they be not anxiouſly ſtirred up to an immoderate deſire of them; and they who preſerve this patience have not a little profited in the Lord's ſchool: and he who hath not at leaſt ſomewhat improved in this leſſon, can ſcarcely have any thing whereby to prove himſelf a ſcholar of Chriſt. For beſide this, that moſt part of the other vices accompany the deſire of earthly things, he who beareth poverty with impatience, doth for the moſt part betray the contrary diſeaſe in a great meaſure. I mean hereby, that he who will be aſhamed of a poor coat, will be proud of a coſtly one: he that will not be content with a ſcanty ſupper, will be diſquieted with the deſire of a daintier, and would alſo intemperately abuſe thoſe dainties if he had them: he that hardly and unquietly beareth a low and baſe eſtate, will not abſtain from pride, if he attain any honour. Therefore let all who have an unfeigned zeal of godlineſs, endeavour to learn by the apoſtle's example, (Phil. iv. 12.) to be full, and to be hungry, to have ſtore and to ſuffer want. The ſcripture hath alſo a third rule, whereby it moderateth the uſe of earthly things, of which we have ſpoken ſomewhat already, when we treated of the precepts of charity. For the ſcripture declareth that all earthly things are given us by the bounty of God, and appointed for our convenience, that they are as things delivered us to keep, whereof we muſt one day give an account. We muſt therefore ſo diſpoſe of them, as if this ſaying were continually ſounding in our ears, give an account of thy ſtewardſhip. At the ſame time let this alſo come into our mind, who it is that aſketh ſuch an account, even he who hath ſo much commended abſtinence, ſobriety, honeſt ſparing, and modeſty; and abhorreth riotous ſumptuouſneſs, pride, oſtentation, and vanity, who alloweth no other diſpoſing of our goods, but ſuch as is joined with charity: who hath already with his own mouth condemned all thoſe delightful things that either withdraw a man's mind from chaſtity and purity, or cloud his reaſon with darkneſs.

The conſideration of that whereunto God hath called us, is the laſt rule and the beſt direction for the guidance of all actions to which we are incident in this life.

6. Laſt of all, this is to be obſerved, that the Lord commandeth every one of us in all the actions of his life, to have an eye to his calling. For he knoweth with how great unquietneſs man's reaſon exalteth itſelf, with how much lightneſs it is carried hither and thither, how greedy his ambition is to hold divers things at once. Therefore that all things might not be confounded by our folly and raſhneſs, he hath appointed to every man his duty in the ſeveral ſtations of life. And that no man may run raſhly beyond his bounds, he hath named all ſuch kinds of life, vocations. Therefore every man's ſeveral kind of life, is unto him as it were his ſtation appointed him by God, that they ſhould not all their life uncertainly wander about. And this diviſion is ſo neceſſary, that all our actions are meaſured thereby in his ſight, and oftentimes contrary to the judgment of man's reaſon and philoſophy. There is no action accounted more noble, even among the philoſophers, than for a man to deliver his country from tyranny: yet by the voice of God's judgment the private man is openly condemned that layeth hands upon a tyrant. But I will not tarry upon the rehearſing of examples. It is ſufficient if we know that the calling of the Lord is in every thing the beginning and foundation of well-doing: to which he who doth not ſubmit himſelf, ſhall never obſerve a right way in his actions. He may peradventure

venture ſometimes do ſomething ſeemingly worthy of praiſe: but whatſoever that appear in the ſight of men, it will be rejected before the throne of God: moreover there will not be an harmonious agreement in the parts of his life. Therefore our life will then be beſt framed, when it ſhall be directed to this mark: for then, no man hurried away by his own raſhneſs will attempt more than his calling will allow, becauſe he knoweth that it is not lawful to paſs beyond his bounds. He who is a man of a low eſtate, will contentedly live a private life, leſt he ſhould forſake the rank wherein God hath placed him. Again this will be no ſmall relief to our cares, labours, griefs and other burdens, when a man knoweth that in all theſe things, God is his guide. The more chearfully will the magiſtrate execute his office; the houſholder will bind himſelf to his duty: every man in his kind of life will bear and paſs through the inconveniencies, cares, tedioufneſs, and anguiſhes thereof: when they are perſuaded that every man's burden is laid upon him by God. Hereupon alſo will ariſe ſingular comfort, foraſmuch as there ſhall be no work ſo filthy and vile, (if it be ſuch a one as thou obeyeſt thy calling in it) but it ſhineth and is moſt precious in the ſight of God.

CHAP. XI.

Of the juſtification of faith, and firſt of the definition of the name and of the thing.

The matter of juſtification the chiefeſt ſtay whereby religion is upheld.

I Think I have already ſufficiently ſhewed, that there remaineth for men being condemned by the law only one help to recover ſalvation: again, what faith is, and what benefits of God it beſtoweth upon man, and what fruits it bringeth forth in him. The ſum of all which was this, that Chriſt is given us by the goodneſs of God, and we conceive and poſſeſs him by faith, by partaking of whom we receive principally two graces: the firſt is, that being reconciled to God by his innocence, we may now inſtead of a judge have a merciful father in heaven: the ſecond, that being ſanctified by his Spirit, we muſt devote ourſelves to innocence, and purity of life. As for regeneration, which is the ſecond grace, we have already ſpoken of it as much as ſeemed to be ſufficient. The manner of our juſtification was therefore leſs touched, becauſe it was neceſſary for our purpoſe, firſt to underſtand how faith, by which alone we receive freely imputed righteouſneſs by themercy ofGod is inſeparable from good works; and alſo what are the good works of the ſaints, whereupon part of this queſtion treateth. Therefore they are firſt to be throughly diſcuſſed, and ſo handled that we muſt always remember that this is the chief ſtay for ſupporting our religion, that we may be the more careful and heedful about it. For unleſs thou firſt know, in what ſtate thou art with God, and what his judgment is of thee: as thou haſt no ground to ſtabliſh thy ſalvation, ſo haſt thou alſo none to awaken in thee reverent fear toward God. But the neceſſity of this knowlege ſhall better appear by knowlege itſelf.

What it is to be juſtified before God, what by works, what by faith, and that juſtification conſiſteth of two parts, forgiveneſs of ſins and imputation of Chriſt's righteouſneſs,

2. But that we may not ſtumble at the entry, (which we would do if we ſhould begin a diſputation concerning a thing unknown) let us firſt declare what is meant by theſe ſayings, man to be juſtified before God, to be juſtified by faith or by works. He is ſaid to be juſtified before God, who is pronounced by the judgment of God both juſt and accepted for his own righteouſneſs ſake. For as wickedneſs is abominable before God, ſo a ſinner cannot find favour in his eyes, in reſpect that he is a ſinner, or ſo long as he is accounted ſuch a one. Therefore whereſoever ſin is, there alſo appeareth the wrath and vengeance of God. He is juſtified, who is not accounted a ſinner, but a juſt man, and by reaſon thereof he ſtandeth faſt before the judgment ſeat of God when all ſinners fall. As if an innocent perſon be brought to be arraigned before the ſeat of a righteous judge, when judgment is given according to his innocence, he is ſaid to be juſtified before the judge: ſo he is juſtified before God, who being exempt out of the number of ſinners, hath God a witneſs and an affirmer of his righteouſneſs. Therefore after the ſame manner a man is ſaid to be juſtified by works, in whoſe life there is found ſuch purity and holineſs, as may deſerve the teſtimony of righteouſneſs before the throne of God: or he that with the uprightneſs of his works is able to anſwer and ſatisfy God's judgment. On the contrary he is ſaid to be juſtified by faith, who being

being excluded from the righteouſneſs of works, doth by faith take hold of the righteouſneſs of Chriſt: wherewith when he is clothed, he appeareth in the ſight of God, not as a ſinner, but as righteous. So we ſimply expound juſtification to be an acceptation, whereby God receiveth us into favour and accepteth us for righteous. And we ſay that the ſame conſiſteth in the forgiveneſs of ſins, and an imputation of the righteouſneſs of Chriſt.

Proof that juſtification is taken for God's acquitting men from ſin, and his imputing unto them the righteouſneſs which is in Chriſt.

3. For confirmation hereof there are many and evident teſtimonies of ſcripture. Firſt it cannot be denied, that this is the proper and common ſignification of the word. But becauſe it is too long to gather all the places and compare them together, it will be enough to put the readers in mind of them, for they may of themſelves eaſily obſerve them. But I will bring forth ſome, where this juſtification that we ſpeak of is expreſly treated of by name. Firſt, where Luke ſaith (Luke vii. 29.) that the people when they had heard Chriſt did juſtify God. And where Chriſt pronounceth (Luke vii. 35.) that wiſdom is juſtified of her children: he doth not mean there, that they do give righteouſneſs, for that always remaineth perfect with God, although all the world ſhould endeavour to take it away from him: nor in this place alſo to make the doctrine of ſalvation righteous, which is always ſo of itſelf. But both theſe ſpeeches are as much in effect, as to aſcribe to God and his doctrine the praiſe which they deſerve. Again when Chriſt reproaches the Phariſees, (Luk. xvi. 15.) that they juſtified themſelves, he doth not mean that they obtained righteouſneſs by well doing, but did vain-gloriouſly ſeek for the fame of righteouſneſs, whereof indeed they were void. They who are ſkilful in the Hebrew tongue do better underſtand the ſenſe of this phraſe: in which language they are not only called evil doers, that are guilty in their conſcience of any wicked action, but alſo they that come in danger of judgment or condemnation, For when Berſheba ſaith (1 Kings i. 21.) that ſhe and Solomon ſhall be counted offenders, ſhe doth not therein acknowlege any offence, but complaineth that ſhe and her ſon ſhall be ſo affronted, as to be numbered among the reprobate and condemned. But by the proceſs of the text it eaſily appeareth, that the ſame word in Latin alſo, cannot otherwiſe be taken but by way of relation, and not to ſignify any quality. But as concerning the matter that we are now in hand with, where Paul ſaith, (Gal. iii. 8.) that the ſcripture did foreſee, that God would juſtify the Gentiles by faith, what can any man underſtand thereby, but that God doth impute righteouſneſs by faith? Again, when he ſaith (Rom. iii. 26.) that God juſtifieth the wicked man that is of the faith of Chriſt, what other meaning can be thereof, but by the benefit of faith to deliver them from the damnation which their wickedneſs deſerved? And he ſpeaketh more plainly in the concluſion, when he cried out thus, (Rom. viii. 33, 34.) Who ſhall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that juſtifieth, who is he that condemneth: It is Chriſt that died, yea rather that is riſen again, who alſo maketh interceſſion for us. It is as much in effect as if he ſhould ſay, Who ſhall accuſe them whom God acquitteth? Who ſhall condemn them whoſe patron Chriſt is, and defendeth them? To juſtify therefore is nothing elſe, but to acquit him who was accuſed, from guilt, allowing his innocence. Since therefore God doth juſtifiy us by the interceſſion of Chriſt, he doth acquit us, not by allowing of our own innocence, but by imputation of righteouſneſs, that we may be counted for righteous in Chriſt, who are not righteous in ourſelves. So in the xiii. chapter of the Acts, 38, and 39. ver. in Paul's ſermon: by him is forgiveneſs of ſins preached unto you, and by him all that believe are juſtified from all things, from which ye could not be juſtified by the law of Moſes. You ſee that after forgiveneſs of ſins, juſtification is added in place of an expoſition. You ſee plainly that it is taken for abſolution, you ſee that it is taken away from the works of the law, you ſee that it is the mere beneficial gift of Chriſt, you ſee that it is received by faith. Finally, you ſee that there is a ſatisfaction ſpoken of, where he ſaith that we are juſtified from our ſins by Chriſt. So when it is ſaid (Luke xvii. 14.) that the Publican came juſtified out of the Temple, we cannot ſay that he obtained righteouſneſs by any merit in his works. This therefore is ſaid, that after pardon of his ſins was obtained, he was counted for righteous before God. He was therefore righteous, not by approving of his works, but by God's free abſolution. Wherefore Ambroſe ſaith very well, (On Pſal. cxviii. Homil. 10.) when he calleth the confeſſion of ſins a lawful juſtification.

Juſtification expreſt in ſcripture by acceptation into favour, defined by pardon in

4. But to leave ſtriving about the word: if we look upon the thing itſelf, as it is deſcribed unto us, there will remain no more doubt. For truly Paul doth expreſs juſtification by the name of accepta-

oppoſition to guilt, contained in the name of reconcilement.

tion, when he ſaith (Eph. i. 5.) Having predeſtinated us unto the adoption of children by Jeſus Chriſt, to himſelf according to the good pleaſure of his will, to the praiſe of the glory of his grace, wherein he hath made us accepted in the beloved. For the ſame is meant by it, that is ſaid in another place, (Rom. iii. 24.) that God doth freely juſtify. In the iv. chap. to the Romans, he firſt calleth it an imputation of righteouſneſs, and ſticketh not to ſay that it conſiſteth in forgiveneſs of ſins. That man (ſaid he Rom. iv. 6. 7.) is called by David a bleſſed man, to whom God accounteth or imputeth righteouſneſs without works, as it is written: Bleſſed are they whoſe iniquities are forgiven, &c. Truly he there doth treat not of one part of juſtification, but of all juſtification wholly. And he teſtifieth that D vid in that place makes a definition of juſtification, when he pronounceth that they are bleſſed to whom is imputed the free forgiveneſs of ſins. Whereby it appeareth that this righteouſneſs whereof he ſpeaketh, is by this compariſon ſimply oppoſed as contrary to guilt. But for this purpoſe, that is the beſt place, (2 Cor. v. 18.) where he teacheth that this is the ſum of the meſſage of the goſpel, that we ſhould be reconciled to God: becauſe it is his will to receive us into favour through Chriſt, in not imputing our ſins unto us. Let the readers diligently weigh the whole proceſs of the text. For by and by after, where he addeth by way of expoſition, that Chriſt who was without ſin, was made ſin for us, to expreſs the manner of our reconciliation, doubtleſs he meaneth nothing elſe by the word reconciling but juſtifying. And that which he ſaith in another place, (Rom. v. 19.) that we are made righteous by the obedience of Chriſt, could not agree together, unleſs we be accounted righteous before God, in him, and without ourſelves.

Oſianders opinion concerning juſtification.

5. But where as Oſiander hath brought in, I know not what monſter of eſſential righteouſneſs, whereby, although his will was not to deſtroy free righteouſneſs, yet he hath wrapped it within ſuch a miſt, as darkeneth pious minds, and depriveth them of the earneſt feeling of the grace of Chriſt: therefore ere I proceed to other things, it is worth my labour to confute this fooliſh error. Firſt this ſpeculation floweth from mere and greedy curioſity. He doth indeed heap together many teſtimonies of ſcripture, to prove that Chriſt is one with us, and we one with him, which needeth no proof: but becauſe he keepeth not his bond of unity, he layeth a ſnare for himſelf. But we who hold that we are made all one with Chriſt by the power of his ſpirit, may eaſily undo all his knots. He had conceived a certain thing very near to the opinion of Manicheus, to deſire to convey the ſubſtance of God into men. Hereupon ariſeth another invention of his, that Adam was faſhioned after the image of God, becauſe even before the fall, Chriſt was ordained the pattern of the nature of man. But becauſe I would be ſhort, I will keep cloſe to the matter that I have preſently in hand. He ſaith that we are one with Chriſt. That we grant. But we deny that the ſubſtance of Chriſt is mingled with ours. Moreover we ſay that this principle, that Chriſt is righteouſneſs to us, becauſe he is an eternal God, the fountain of righteouſneſs and the very ſelf righteouſneſs of God, is wrongfully dr wn in to defend his falſhoods. The readers will pardon me, if I do now but touch theſe things, which the order of teaching requireth to be deferred unto another place. But although he excuſe himſelf, by ſaying he meaneth nothing elſe by the name of eſſential righteouſneſs, but to reſiſt this opinion that we are accounted righteous for Chriſt's ſake: yet he plainly expreſſeth that he is not contented with the righteouſneſs which is purchaſed for us by the obedience and ſacrifice of Chriſt, but feigneth that we are ſubſtantially righteous in God, as well by ſubſtance as by quality poured into us. For this is the reaſon why he ſo earneſtly affirmeth, that not only Chriſt, but alſo the Father and the holy Ghoſt do dwell in us. Which although I grant to be true, yet I ſay that he wrongfully wreſteth it. For he ſhould have conſidered the manner of dwelling; that is, that the Father and the holy Ghoſt are in Chriſt, and as the fulneſs of the Godhead dwelleth in him, ſo do we poſſeſs a whole God in him. Therefore all that he ſaith ſeparately of the Father and the holy Ghoſt, tendeth to no other end but to draw the ſimple from Chriſt. And then he thruſteth in a mixture of ſubſtances, whereby God pouring himſelf into us, doth make us as it were a part of himſelf. For he reckoneth it almoſt a matter of nothing, that it is wrought by the power of the holy Ghoſt, that we grow into one with Chriſt, and that he is our head, and we his members, unleſs his very ſubſtance be mingled with ours. But in ſpeaking of the Father and the holy Ghoſt (as I have ſaid) he doth more openly betray what he thinketh, even this, that we are juſtified not by the grace of the Mediator alone, and that righteouſneſs

ouſneſs is not ſimply or perfectly offered us in his perſon, but that we are made partakers of the righteouſneſs of God, when God is eſſentially made one with us.

Oſiander's firſt error, that juſtifying righteouſneſs is not a free imputation of holineſs, but an holineſs, which the ſubſtance of God remaining in us doth work.

6. If he ſaid no more, but that Chriſt in juſtifying us, is by an eſſential conjunction made ours: and that not only he is our head, in that he is man, but alſo that the ſubſtance of the divine nature is poured into us: he ſhould with leſs hurt feed himſelf daintily, and peradventure ſo great a contention ſhould not have been raiſed about this fooliſh error. But ſince this beginning is like the cuttle fiſh who by caſting out of black and thick blood hideth her many tails, we muſt needs earneſtly reſiſt, unleſs we will wittingly and willingly ſuffer that righteouſneſs to be taken from us, which only giveth us confidence to glory of our ſalvation. For in all this diſcourſe, the name of righteouſneſs, and this word juſtifying, extend to two parts: that to be juſtified, is not only to be reconciled to God by a free pardon, but alſo to be made righteous; that righteouſneſs is not a free imputation, but a holineſs and uprightneſs, which the ſubſtance of God remaining in us doth breathe into us. Then he ſtrenuouſly denieth, that Chriſt is our righteouſneſs, in reſpect that being a prieſt he did by a ſatisfactory purging away of our ſins appeaſe his Father's wrath againſt us, but in reſpect that he is eternal God and life. To prove the firſt point, that God doth juſtify not only by forgiving, but alſo by regenerating, he aſketh, whether doth God leave them whom he juſtifieth, ſuch as they were by nature, changing nothing of their vices. The anſwer hereto is very eaſy: that as Chriſt cannot be torn in parts, ſo theſe two things which we receive together and conjunctly in him, that is to ſay righteouſneſs and ſanctification, are inſeparable. Therefore whom ſoever God receiveth into favour, he doth alſo therewith give them the ſpirit of adoption, by the power whereof he faſhioneth them anew after his image. But if the brightneſs of the ſun cannot be ſeparated from the heat thereof, ſhall we therefore ſay that the earth is warmed with the light, and enlightened with the heat? There is nothing more fit for this purpoſe, than this ſimilitude, the ſun with his heat giveth life and fruitfulneſs to the earth, with his beams he giveth light and brightneſs. Here is a mutual and inſeparable conjunction: yet reaſon forbiddeth us to convey or attribute to the one that which is peculiar to the other. The like abſurdity is in this confuſion of two ſorts of graces, which Oſiander truſteth in. For becauſe God doth indeed renew them to the obſerving of righteouſneſs, whom he freely accounteth for righteous, therefore Oſiander confoundeth that gift of regeneration with this free acceptation, and affirmeth that they are all one, and the ſelf ſame thing. But tho' the ſcripture joineth them both together, yet doth it mention them ſeparately, and diſtinctly, that the manifold grace of God may the better appear unto us. For that ſaying of Paul is not ſuperfluous, (1 Cor. i. 30.) that Chriſt is made unto us righteouſneſs and ſanctification. And whenſoever he reaſoneth to prove that we are called to holineſs and purity, by the ſalvation purchaſed for us by the fatherly love of God, and by the grace of Chriſt, he plainly declareth that it is one thing to be juſtified, and another to be made new creatures. But when Oſiander cometh to the ſcripture, he corrupteth as many places as he allegeth. Where Paul ſaith that faith is accounted for righteouſneſs to him that worketh not, but believeth in him that juſtifieth the ungodly, (Rom. iv. 5.) he expoundeth it to make righteous. With the ſame boldneſs, he depraveth all the fourth chapter to the Romans, and ſticketh not with a like falſe gloſs to corrupt that place which I even now cited, who ſhall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? it is God that juſtifieth: where it is plain that he ſpeaketh ſimply of guiltineſs and acquitting, and the meaning of the apoſtle dependeth upon a comparing of contraries. Therefore Oſiander is found a very fooliſh diſputant as well in making uſe of ſuch a reaſon, as in citing teſtimonies of ſcripture. Neither doth he ſpeak more juſtly of the name of righteouſneſs, in ſaying, that faith was accounted to Abraham for righteouſneſs, after that embracing Chriſt (which is the righteouſneſs of God, and God himſelf) he excelled in many rare graces, whereby it appeareth that of two whole places he hath wrongfully made one corrupt place. For the righteouſneſs that is there mentioned, belongeth not to the whole courſe of his calling: but rather the holy Ghoſt teſtifieth, that although the graces of Abraham were ſingularly excellent, and that by a long perſeverance in the exerciſe of them, he had at length increaſed them: yet he did no other way pleaſe God, but by this, that he received by faith the grace offered in the promiſe. Whereupon it followeth, that in juſtification there is no place for works, as Paul very juſtly affirmeth.

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Juſtification granted by Oſiander to be thro' believing, if that belief be taken for Chriſt which is believed.

7. As for what Oſiander objecteth, that the power of juſtifying is not in faith of itſelf, but in reſpect that it receiveth Chriſt, I willingly grant it. For if faith did juſtify of itſelf, or by inward force, as they call it, and as it is always weak and imperfect, it could not effect our juſtification but in part, and ſo ſhould that juſtification be imperfect, which could procure us but part of our ſalvation. As for us, we imagine no ſuch thing, but in properly ſpeaking, we ſay that God only juſtifieth: and then we attribute the ſame to Chriſt, becauſe he was given unto us for righteouſneſs. And faith we compare as it were to a veſſel; for except we come empty, and with our whole ſoul crave the grace of Chriſt, we cannot be able to receive Chriſt. Whereupon we conclude that we do not take from Chriſt the power of juſtifying, when we teach that he is firſt received by faith, before his righteouſneſs be received. But yet I do not admit the falſe compariſons of this ſophiſter, when he ſaith that faith is Chriſt: as if an earthen pot were a treaſure, becauſe gold is hidden in it. For the reaſon is not unlike, for faith although it be by itſelf of no worth or value, may juſtify us in bringing us to Chriſt, as a pot full of money maketh a man rich. Therefore I ſay that faith, which is only the inſtrument to receive righteouſneſs, is very improperly conjoined with Chriſt who is the material cauſe, and both the author and miniſter of ſo great a benefit. Now this doubt is alſo ſolved. How this word faith ought to be underſtood when we treat of juſtification.

Chriſt is our righteouſneſs in reſpect only of his Godhead, according to Oſianders doctrine.

8. In the receiving of Chriſt he goeth further: for he ſaith, that the inward word is received by the miniſtration of the outward word, thereby to draw us from the prieſthood of Chriſt and the perſon of the Mediator to his outward Godhead. As for us, we divide not Chriſt, but we ſay that he is the ſame eternal word of God, who reconciling us to God in his fleſh, gave us righteouſneſs: and we confeſs that otherwiſe he could not have fulfilled the office of Mediator, and purchaſed us righteouſneſs, unleſs he had been eternal God. But this is Oſiander's doctrine, whereas Chriſt is both God and man, he ſays that he was made righteouſneſs to us, in reſpect of the nature of his Godhead, and not of his manhood. But if this properly belong only to the Godhead, then it will not be peculiar to Chriſt, but common with the Father and the holy Ghoſt, for as much as there is not one righteouſneſs of the one, and another of the other. Moreover, that which was naturally from eternity, cannot be properly ſaid to be made to us. But although we grant this, that God was made righteouſneſs for us: how ſhall it agree that that which is ſet between, is made of God? Truly that properly belongeth to the perſon of the Mediator: which though he contain in himſelf the nature of the Godhead, yet here he is ſpecially ſignified by his proper title, by which he is ſeparately and diſtinctly to be diſcerned from the Father and the holy Ghoſt. But he fooliſhly triumpheth in that one word of Jeremiah, xxiii. 6. where he promiſeth that the Lord Jehovah ſhall be our righteouſneſs, but out of that he can infer nothing, but that Chriſt who is righteouſneſs, is God openly ſhewed in the fleſh. In another place we have it told us, out of Paul's ſermon, (Acts xx. 18.) That God purchaſed to himſelf the church with his blood, if any man conclude thereupon, that the blood wherewith ſins were purged was divine, and of the nature of Godhead, who can endure ſo groſs an error? But Oſiander thinketh that with this childiſh and ſophiſtical argument he hath gained his point, he boaſteth, he leapeth for joy, and ſtuffeth many leaves full with his big words: when yet there is a plain and ready ſolution for it, by ſaying, that the word Jehovah when he is made the iſſue of David ſhall be the righteouſneſs of the godly: but Iſaiah teacheth (Iſa. liii. 11.) in what ſenſe we are to underſtand this ſaying: By his knowlege ſhall my righteous ſervant juſtify many. Let us obſerve that the Father ſays, he giveth to the Son the office of juſtifying: he addeth a cauſe, for that he is juſt, and ſetteth the manner or mean as they call it in the doctrine whereby Chriſt is known. For it is a more proper expoſition to take this word *Daah*, knowlege, paſſively. Hereupon I conclude firſt that Chriſt was made righteouſneſs when he did put on the form of a ſervant: ſecondly, that he did juſtify us in that he ſhewed himſelf obedient to his Father: and that therefore he doth not this for us according to his nature of Godhead, but according to the office of diſpenſation committed unto him. For although God alone is the fountain of righteouſneſs, and we are made righteous by no other means but by partaking of him: yet becauſe we are by an unhappy diſagreement eſtranged from his righteouſneſs, and therefore as

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we cannot ſave ourſelves by any righteouſneſs of our own, we muſt of neceſſity have recourſe to this remedy, even that Chriſt may juſtify us by the power of his death and reſurrection.

How Chriſt doth juſtify as man, and how as God.

9. If he object that this is a work of ſuch excellency, that it is above the nature of man, and therefore can only be aſcribed to the nature of God, the firſt I grant: but in the ſecond I ſay he is fooliſhly deceived. For although Chriſt could neither cleanſe our ſouls with his blood, nor appeaſe his Father with his ſacrifice, nor acquit us from guilt, nor execute the office of a prieſt, unleſs he had been true God, becauſe the ſtrength of the fleſh had been too weak for ſo great a burden: yet it is certain that he performed all theſe things according to his nature of manhood. For if it be demanded how we are juſtified, Paul anſwereth, (Rom. v. 19.) by the obedience of Chriſt. But did he any otherwiſe obey than by taking upon him the ſhape of a ſervant? whereupon we conclude that righteouſneſs was given us in his fleſh. Likewiſe in the other words (which I wonder that Oſiander is not aſhamed to allege ſo often) he placeth the fountain of righteouſneſs no where elſe but in the fleſh of Chriſt. Him that knew no ſin he made ſin for us, that we might be the righteouſneſs of God in him. Oſiander with full mouth extolleth the righteouſneſs of God, and triumpheth as though he had proved that it is his fancied ghoſt of eſſential righteouſneſs: when the words ſound far otherwiſe, that we are righteous by the cleanſing made by Chriſt. Very young diſciples in Chriſt's ſchool cannot be ignorant that the righteouſneſs of God is taken for the righteouſneſs that God alloweth us, as in John x. 34. where the glory of God is compared with the glory of men. I know that is ſometimes called the righteouſneſs of God, whereof God is the author, and which God giveth us: but though I ſhould ſay nothing, readers who have their judgment ſound will perceive that nothing elſe is meant in this place, but that we ſtand upright before the judgment ſeat of God, being upheld by the cleanſing ſacrifice of Chriſt's death. And there is not ſo great an importance in the word itſelf, provided that Oſiander would agree with us in this point, that we are juſtified in Chriſt, in this reſpect that he was made a propitiatory ſacrifice for us, which cannot agree with his nature of Godhead. After which ſort, when Chriſt meaneth to ſeal the righteouſneſs and ſalvation that he hath brought us, he ſetteth before us an aſſured pledge thereof in his fleſh. He doth indeed call himſelf the lively bread, but expreſſing the manner here, he addeth that his fleſh is verily meat, and his blood is verily drink. Which manner of teaching is ſeen in the ſacraments, which although they direct our faith to whole Chriſt, and not to half Chriſt, yet they do therewithal teach that the matter of righteouſneſs and ſalvation remaineth in his fleſh: not in as much as he is only man, he either juſtifieth or quickeneth of himſelf, but becauſe it pleaſed God to ſhew openly in the mediator that which was hidden and incomprehenſible in himſelf. Whereupon I am wont to ſay, that Chriſt is as it were a fountain ſet open for us, out of which we may draw that which otherwiſe ſhould without any benefit have lain hid in that cloſe and deep ſpring which riſeth up unto us in the perſon of the Mediator. In this manner and in this ſenſe, I do not deny that Chriſt as he is God and man doth juſtify us, and that this is the work of the Father and the holy Ghoſt as well as his. Finally, that the righteouſneſs whereof Chriſt maketh us partakers, is the eternal righteouſneſs of the eternal God, provided he yield to the ſure and plain reaſons which I have alleged,

Although we are not juſtified unleſs Chriſt dwell in our hearts, yet it is not the eſſential poſſeſſing of Chriſt as God which juſtifieth us.

10. Now that he may not with his ſophiſtical arguments deceive the ignorant, I grant that we want this incomparable benefit, till Chriſt be made ours. Therefore we place that conjunction of the head and the members, the dwelling of Chriſt in our hearts, and that myſtical union, in the higheſt degree: that Chriſt being made ours, may make us partakers of the gifts wherewith he is endued. Therefore we do not behold him a far off out of ourſelves, that righteouſneſs may be imputed unto us, but becauſe we have put on him, and are graffed into his body: finally becauſe he hath vouchſafed to make us one with him, therefore we glory that we have a fellowſhip of righteouſneſs with him. Hence Oſiander's abuſe and ſophiſtical arguments is confuted, where he ſaith that we count faith righteouſneſs, as though we robbed Chriſt of his right, when we ſay that we come by faith empty to him, to give room to his grace, that he only may fill us. But Oſiander refuſing this ſpiritual union and conjunction, ſtrengthens himſelf by joining with true chriſtians, and odiouſly calleth them all Zwingalins, who

who do not ſubſcribe to his whimſical error, concerning eſſential righteouſneſs: becauſe they do not think that Chriſt is ſubſtantially eaten in the Lord's ſupper. As for me, I count it a great glory to be reproached by ſo proud a man, and one ſo much attached to his own errors. Yet he hath not attacked me only, but alſo other writers well known to the world, whom he ought to have modeſtly reverenced. That doth not move me, which meddleth not with my own private cauſe: and I handle this cauſe ſo much the more ſincerely as I am free from all corrupt affection. Whereas therefore he ſo importunately requireth eſſential righteouſneſs, and the eſſential dwelling of Chriſt in us, it tendeth to this end, firſt that God ſhould with a groſs mixture pour himſelf into us, as he feigneth a fleſhly eating of Chriſt in the Lord's ſupper: ſecondly that God ſhould breathe his righteouſneſs into us, whereby we may be really righteous with him: for according to his opinion, this righteouſneſs is as well God himſelf, as the goodneſs, holineſs, or purity of God. I will not ſpend much labour in wiping away the teſtimonies he brings, which he wrongfully wreſteth from the heavenly life unto this preſent ſtate. Through Chriſt (ſaith Peter 2 Pet. i. 4.) are given unto us exceeding great and precious promiſes, that by theſe you might be made partakers of the divine nature: as if we were now ſuch perſons as the goſpel promiſeth we ſhall be, at the laſt coming of Chriſt: yea John tells us, (1 John iii. 2.) that we ſhall then ſee God as he is, becauſe we ſhall be like unto him. Only I thought good to ſhew my readers, that I purpoſely paſs over theſe trifles: not becauſe it is hard to confute them, but that I incline not to be tedious in an unneceſſary work.

The certain aſſurance of ſalvation weakened by Oſiander taking the juſtification which is by righteouſneſs imputed.

11. But in the ſecond point lurketh more poiſon, where he teacheth that we are righteous together with God. I think I have already ſufficiently proved, that although this doctrine were not ſo hurtful, yet becauſe it is cold and fruitleſs, and of itſelf ſo vain that it dwindleth away, it ought deſervedly to be diſagreeable to ſound and godly readers. But this is an intolerable wickedneſs, under pretence of a double righteouſneſs, to weaken the certain aſſurance of ſalvation, and to carry us above the clouds, that we ſhould not embrace by faith the grace of propitiation, and call upon God with quiet minds. Oſiander deſpiſeth them who teach that this word juſtifying is a law term, becauſe we muſt be righteous indeed. And he abhorreth nothing more than to ſay, that we are juſtified by free imputation. But, if God do not juſtify us by acquitting and pardoning, what meaneth that ſaying of Paul, (2 Cor. v. 19.) God was in Chriſt reconciling the world to himſelf, not imputing to men their ſins? for, him that had done no ſin, he made ſin for us, that we might be the righteouſneſs of God in him. Firſt I gain thus much, that they are judged righteous that are reconciled to God. The manner how is declared, for God juſtifieth by forgiving, and in another place juſtification is ſet as contrary to accuſation, which comparing of them as contraries, doth clearly ſhew that it is a phraſe borrowed from the uſe of the law. And there is no man who tho' he have but very little ſkill in the Hebrew tongue, if he have a ſober head, is ignorant that this phraſe came from thence, whereunto it tendeth, and what it meaneth. Now where Paul ſaith (Rom. iv. 7. and Pſal. xxxii. 1.) that David deſcribed the righteouſneſs without works, in theſe words, bleſſed are thoſe whoſe ſins are forgiven: let Oſiander anſwer me whether this be a full definition or but half a one. Truly Paul bringeth not in the prophet for a witneſs, as though he taught that forgiveneſs of ſins is but a part of righteouſneſs, or that being connected with any other thing it contributeth to the juſtifying of man: but includeth a complete righteouſneſs in free forgiveneſs, pronouncing the man bleſſed, whoſe ſins are covered, to whom God hath forgiven iniquities, and to whom he imputeth no tranſgreſſions. He thereby meaſures and judges ſuch a man's happineſs becauſe he is not this way righteous indeed, but by imputation. Oſiander takes exception and ſaith, that this would reflect diſhonour upon God, and is contrary to his nature, if he ſhould juſtify them who remain ſtill in their ſins. But we muſt remember, as I have already ſaid, that the grace of juſtifying is not ſeparated from regeneration though they be different things. But becauſe it is more than ſufficiently known by experience, that ſome remnants of ſin ſtill lurk and remain in the righteous, of neceſſity they are juſtified in a very different manner, from that whereby they are reformed into a newneſs of life. For this laſt point of reformation, God begins in his elect, and through the whole courſe of their life, by little and little, and ſometimes ſlowly proceedeth in it, that they may be always afraid, leſt they fall into condemnation. But he juſtifieth them not by piece-meal, but ſo that they may freely, as clothed with the purity and holineſs

of

of Christ, appear in heaven. For no portion of righteousness could appease our consciences, till they be satisfied that God is fully pleased with us, because we are righteous in his sight without exception. Whence it followeth, that the doctrine of justification is biassed, yea, overturned from the very foundation, when any doubts are raised in mens minds, when the trust and confidence of our salvation is shaken, when our freedom, and a holy boldness in prayer is hindered, yea when quiet and tranquillity with spiritual joy is not established. Whereupon Paul (Gal. iii. 18.) concluding by an argument from contraries, proveth that the inheritance is not by the law. For by this means faith would be made void, which if it have respect to works, is overthrown, because none even the most holy persons will therein find whereupon to trust. This difference of justifying and regenerating (which two things Osiander confounding together, calleth two sorts of righteousness) is very well expressed by Paul: for speaking of his real righteousness only, or of the uprightness wherewith he was endued, (which Osiander calleth essential righteousness) he lamentably crieth out (Rom. vii. 24.) O Wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death? But flying to that righteousness which is grounded upon the mercy of God alone, Rom. viii. 33. he gloriously triumpheth over both life, death, reproaches, hunger, sword, and all adversities. Who shall accuse the elect of God whom he justifieth? for I am surely persuaded, that nothing shall separate us from his love in Christ. He plainly publisheth, that he hath not such a righteousness which of itself is fully sufficient to save him, before God, so that the wretched bondage which he knew himself, to be in and made him a little before bewail his estate, could not lessen nor any way hinder his confidence and glorying in the righteousness procured by Christ. This difference is sufficiently known, and so familiar to all believers, who groan under the burden of sin, that yet with victorious confidence, they surmount all their fears. As for what Osiander objecteth, that it disagreeth with the nature of God, it falleth upon himself. For although he cloathes the holy saints with a double righteousness, as it were with a furred garment, yet he is obliged to confess that without forgiveness of sins, they can never please God. If that be true, then at least let him grant, that they who are not righteous in themselves, are accounted righteous according to the appointed proportion of imputation, as they call it. But how far shall a sinner extend this free acceptation that is put in place of righteousness: shall he measure it by the pound or by the ounce? truly he shall doubt and waver to this and that side, because he dare not assume to himself so much righteousness as will be necessary to establish his confidence. It is happy that he who would bind God to a law, is not judge of this cause. But this saying of the psalmist (Psal. li. 4.) will remain unshaken, that thou (*viz.* God,) mightest be justified when thou speakest, and be clear when thou judgest. But how great and daring is their presumption to condemn the judge of all the earth when he freely acquitteth, that they may destroy the strength of God's answer to Moses (Exod. xxxiii. 19.) I will shew mercy upon whom I will shew mercy. And yet the intercession of Moses which God silenced with this saying, tended not to this end, that he would spare none, but that he would acquit altogether, taking away their condemnation although they were guilty of an offence. And we say that they who were lost have their sins buried, and so are justified before God: because, as God hateth sin, so he can love none but them whom he justifieth. But this is a wonderful manner of justifying, that they who are covered with the righteousness of Christ need not be afraid of the condemnation which they have deserved; and when they justly condemn themselves, they are accounted righteous, without any righteousness in themselves.

The foolish objections which Osiander gathereth against them who hold a man justified not by the righteousness which Christ worketh in us, as he is God, but which we have by his death and resurrection as he is man.

12. But the readers had need to be warned, that they take good heed to the mystery which he boasteth that he will not hide from them. For after he hath long and largely laboured to prove that we do not obtain the favour of God by the imputation of the righteousness of Christ only, because it would be impossible for him to count them righteous who are not righteous, (I use his own words) at length he concludeth that Christ was given unto us for righteousness, not in respect of his nature of manhood, but of his nature of Godhead: and that although this righteousness cannot be found but in the person of the Mediator, yet it is the righteousness not of man but of God, he doth now twist his rope made up of two righteousnesses, but he plainly taketh away the office of justifying from Christ's nature of manhood. But it is worthy our observation to notice how he disagreeth with himself. It

is ſaid in the ſame place, that Chriſt was made unto us wiſdom, which belongeth to none but to the eternal word. Therefore Chriſt as he is man is not wiſdom. I anſwer that the only begotten Son of God was indeed his eternal wiſdom, but in Paul's writings (Col. ii. 3.) that name is given him in different ways, becauſe all the treaſures of wiſdom and knowlege are laid up in him. That therefore which he had with his Father, he diſcloſed unto us: and ſo that which Paul ſaith is not referred unto the eſſence of the Son of God, but to our uſe, and is rightly applied to Chriſt's nature of manhood: becauſe although (John viii. 12.) he ſhone as a light in darkneſs, before he put on fleſh, yet it was a hidden light till the ſame Chriſt came forth in the nature of man, the ſhining Sun of righteouſneſs, and who calleth himſelf the light of the world. Alſo it is fooliſhly objected by Oſiander, that the power of juſtifying is far above both angels and men: for as much as this dependeth not upon the worthineſs of any creature, but upon the ordinance and appointment of God. If angels will take upon them to ſatisfy God, they cannot prevail, becauſe they are not appointed thereunto. But this ſingularly belonged to Chriſt being man, (Gal. iii. 13.) who was made ſubject to the law, to redeem us from the curſe of the law. Alſo he doth abuſively find fault with them who deny that Chriſt is our righteouſneſs according to his nature of Godhead, that they leave but one part of Chriſt, and (which is worſe) make two Gods, becauſe though they confeſs, that God dwelleth in us, yet they ſay again that we are not righteous by the righteouſneſs of God. For though we call Chriſt the author of life, in reſpect that he ſuffered death to deſtroy him that had the power of death, (Heb. ii. 14.) we do not immediately take away that honour from whole Chriſt as he was openly manifeſted God in the fleſh, but we only make a diſtinction how the righteouſneſs of God is conveyed unto us, that we may enjoy it. In which point Oſiander hath too groſsly erred. Neither do we deny that what is openly given us in and through Chriſt, proceedeth from the ſecret grace and power of God: neither do we ſtrive againſt this, that the righteouſneſs which Chriſt giveth us is the righteouſneſs of God that proceedeth from God: but we ſtedfaſtly maintain this truth, that we have righteouſneſs and life in and by the death and reſurrection of Chriſt. I paſs over that heaping together of places which he ought to be aſhamed of, wherewith he hath tediouſly plagued his readers without choice and without common-reaſon, to prove that whereever mention is made of righteouſneſs, there we ought to underſtand this eſſential righteouſneſs. As where David calleth upon the righteouſneſs of God to help him: whereas he doth above a hundred times, Oſiander ſticketh not to corrupt ſo many ſentences. And the other objection is nothing ſtronger, that, that is properly and juſtly called righteouſneſs, whereby we are inclined to do rightly, but that God only worketh in us both to will and to perform. (Phil. ii. 13.) For we do not deny, that God reformeth us by his Spirit unto holineſs of life and righteouſneſs: but we muſt firſt of all take notice whether he doth this by himſelf and immediately, or by the hand of his Son, with whom he hath left all the fulneſs of his holy Spirit, that with his abundant ſtore he ſhould ſupply the neceſſities and wants of his members. Moreover, although righteouſneſs come unto us out of the ſecret fountain of the Godhead, yet it followeth not that Chriſt who ſanctified himſelf in the fleſh for our ſakes, (John xvii. 19.) was righteouſneſs unto us according to his nature of Godhead. No leſs fooliſh is that which he ſaith, that Chriſt himſelf was righteous by the righteouſneſs of God. Becauſe unleſs the will of his Father had moved him, he could not himſelf have fully executed the office committed unto him. For though we have ſaid in another place that all the merits of Chriſt himſelf proceed from the mere good will of God, yet that expreſſion no way ſupporteth that whimſical thing, wherewith Oſiander bewitcheth both his own and ſimple men's eyes. For who would ſuffer a man to draw this concluſion, that becauſe God is the fountain and beginning of our righteouſneſs, therefore we are eſſentially righteous, and the eſſence of God's righteouſneſs dwelleth in us? In redeeming the church Iſaiah ſaith, chap. lix. 17. God put on righteouſneſs as a breaſtplate: but did he ſo ſpoil Chriſt of his armour, which he had given him, to hinder him from being a perfect redeemer? the prophet means nothing elſe by this expreſſion, but that God borrowed nothing which he had not within himſelf, and that he was not aſſiſted by any foreign aid to redeem us. Which thing Paul briefly expreſſeth in other words, (Rom. iii. 26.) ſaying that he gave us ſalvation to declare his righteouſneſs. But this doth not overthrow that which he teacheth in another place, (Rom. v. 19.) that we are righteous by the obedience of one man. Finally, whoever compoſeth a double righteouſneſs, thereby to

hinder

hinder poor ſouls from reſting on the mercy of God alone, doth in a way of mockery crown Chriſt with thorns.

Righteouſneſs cannot be by faith and works joined together.

13. But foraſmuch as many men imagine righteouſneſs to be made up of faith and works, let us firſt ſhew this alſo, that the righteouſneſs of faith and works do ſo differ, that when the one is eſtabliſhed, the other muſt needs be overthrown. The apoſtle ſaith, (Phil. iii. 8.) that he eſteemed all things as dung, that he might win Chriſt, and find in him the righteouſneſs that is of God by faith, not having his own righteouſneſs which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Jeſus Chriſt. You ſee that here is a compariſon of contraries, and that it is declared that he who will obtain the righteouſneſs of Chriſt, muſt forſake his own righteouſneſs. Therefore in another place he ſaith, (Rom. x. 3.) that this was the cauſe of ſtumbling to the Jews, that going about to eſtabliſh their own righteouſneſs, they did not ſubmit themſelves unto the righteouſneſs of God. If in eſtabliſhing our own righteouſneſs we ſhake away the righteouſneſs of God, therefore to obtain God's righteouſneſs our own muſt be utterly aboliſhed. And he ſheweth the ſame thing, when he ſaith, (Rom. iii. 27.) that our boaſting is not excluded by the law, but by faith. Whereupon it followeth, that as long as there remaineth any righteouſneſs of works, how little ſoever it be, there ſtill remaineth ſome matter for us to glory upon. Now if faith exclude all glorying, then the righteouſneſs of works can no wiſe be coupled with the righteouſneſs of faith. To this purpoſe he ſpeaketh ſo plainly in his epiſtle to the Romans, chap. iv. 2. that he leaveth no room for ſophiſtical arguments or evaſive ſhifts: If (ſaith he) Abraham was juſtified by works, he hath whereof to glory. And immediately he addeth: but not before God. It followeth therefore that he was not juſtified by works. Then he bringeth another argument by contraries, when reward is rendered to works, that is done of debt and not of grace; therefore it does not flow from any merit of works. Wherefore farewel their dream, who imagine a righteouſneſs made up of faith and works mingled together.

Not only the works of unregenerate men but alſo the works of believers are excluded in the matter of juſtification.

14. Theſe cavilling diſputants think that they have a ſhift, who make a ſport and paſtime of wreſting the ſcripture, to their vain arguments. For they expound works in that place to be thoſe actions which men not yet regenerate perform only literally, and by the endeavour of free will unaſſiſted by the grace of Chriſt: and ſay that they belong not to ſpiritual works. So according to their opinion a man is juſtified both by faith and works: and that the works are not his own, but the gifts of Chriſt, and the fruits of regeneration. For they ſay that Paul ſpake ſo for no other reaſon, but to convince the Jews, who truſting to their own works, fooliſhly preſumed to claim a righteouſneſs to themſelves, ſince the Spirit of Chriſt alone doth give it to us, and not any endeavour by our own corrupt nature. But they do not obſerve that in the compariſon of the righteouſneſs of the law, and the righteouſneſs of the goſpel, which Paul adduceth in another place, all works are excluded with what titles ſoever they are adorned. For he teacheth (Gal. iii. 12.) that this is the righteouſneſs of the law, that he ſhall obtain ſalvation, who hath performed that which the law commandeth: and that this is the righteouſneſs of faith, if we believe that Chriſt died and is riſen again. Moreover we ſhall hereafter ſhew in its proper place, that ſanctification and righteouſneſs are ſeparate and diſtinct benefits of Chriſt. Whereupon it followeth that even ſpiritual works come not into the account, when the power of juſtifying is aſcribed to faith. And where Paul denieth (as I even now alleged) that Abraham had any thing whereupon to glory before God, becauſe he was not made righteous by works: this ought not to be reſtrained to the literal and outward kind of virtues, or to the endeavour of free will. But though the life of the Patriarch Abraham was ſpiritual and in a manner angelic, yet he had not a ſufficient merit of works to purchaſe righteouſneſs to himſelf before God.

The ſchoolmens errors about the ſpirit and grace whereby man is juſtified.

15. The ſchoolmen teach a little more groſly who mix their preparations with the righteouſneſs which is by faith: but theſe do leſs infect the ſimple and ignorant with corrupt doctrine, who under a pretence of Spirit and grace obſcure and hide the mercy of God, which only is able to appeaſe trembling conſciences. We confeſs with Paul, that the doers of the law are juſtified before God: but becauſe we are all far from keeping the law, hereupon we conclude, that the works which ſhould moſt of all have contributed to our righteouſneſs, do not help us, becauſe

we want them. As for the common papiſts or ſchoolmen, they are in this point doubly deceived: both becauſe they call faith an aſſuredneſs of conſcience in looking for a reward at the hand of God for our own deſervings, and alſo becauſe they explain the grace of God not to be a free imputation of righteouſneſs, but the holy Ghoſt helping our endeavours after holineſs. They read in the apoſtle (Heb. xi. 6.) that he who cometh to God, muſt firſt believe that there is a God, and then that he is a rewarder of them that diligently ſeek him. But they do not obſerve what is the manner of ſeeking. And that they are deceived in the name of grace, is plainly proved by their own writings. For Lombard (*Sent. lib.*3.*diſt.*16.*cap.* 2.) expoundeth, that juſtification by Chriſt is given us two ways. Firſt (ſaith he) the death of Chriſt doth juſtify us, when by it charity is ſtirred up in our hearts, by which we are made righteous. Secondly, that by the ſame death ſin is deſtroyed, by which Satan held us captive, ſo that now he hath not whereby to condemn us. You ſee how he conſidereth the grace of God principally in juſtification, only to be ſo far aſſiſting to us, as we are directed to good works by the grace of the holy Ghoſt. He would forſooth have followed the opinion of Auguſtine: but he followeth him a far off, and goeth far out of the way from rightly following him: becauſe if Auguſtine ſpoke any thing plainly he hath darkened it: if there be any thing in Auguſtine not very impure, he corrupteth it. The ſchoolmen have ſtill erred from bad to worſe, till with a head long fall at length they are rolled down into a Pelagian error. And the very words of Auguſtine, or at leaſt his manner of ſpeaking is not altogether proper to be adopted. For though he very well and juſtly taketh from man all praiſe of righteouſneſs, and aſſigneth it wholly to the grace of God, yet he referreth grace to ſanctification, whereby we are renewed unto newneſs of life by the holy Ghoſt.

The righteouſneſs of faith ſpoken of in ſcripture turneth men's eyes from their own works to the free goodneſs of God, which pardoneth ſin, and cauſeth ſinners to feel the mercy whereby they are pardoned, and in Chriſt made righteous.

16. But the ſcripture, when it ſpeaketh of the righteouſneſs of faith, leadeth us to a very different end, that is to ſay, that turning us away from looking upon our own works, we ſhould only look unto the mercy of God and perfection of Chriſt. For it teacheth this order of juſtification, that firſt God vouchſafeth to embrace man being a ſinner, with his meer and free goodneſs, conſidering nothing in him but miſery, whereby he may be moved to mercy, becauſe he ſeeth him altogether naked and void of good works, bringing from his own inexhauſtible mercy the cauſe to do him good: then he moveth the ſinner himſelf by a ſenſe of his goodneſs, who deſpairing upon his own works, caſteth the whole of his ſalvation upon God's mercy. This is the feeling of faith, by which the ſinner cometh into poſſeſſion of his ſalvation, when he acknowlegeth that he is reconciled to God by the doctrine of the goſpel: that obtaining forgiveneſs of ſins by means of the righteouſneſs of Chriſt, he is juſtified: and although he be regenerate by the ſpirit of God, he thinketh upon the conſtant righteouſneſs laid up for him, not in the good works to which he applieth himſelf, but in the only righteouſneſs of Chriſt. When theſe things are every one particularly weighed, they will give a perfect declaration of our opinion and judgment on the matter. Although they might be better diſpoſed in another order than they are ſet forth. But that is of little conſequence; provided they are connected together in ſuch a manner, that we may have the whole matter truly declared and certainly proved.

The difference which St. Paul to the Romans putteth between the righteouſneſs of the goſpel and of the law, excludeth works from that juſtification which is through faith.

17. Here it is proper to remember the relation that we have before ſaid is between faith and the goſpel: it is ſaid that faith juſtifieth, becauſe it receiveth and embraceth the righteouſneſs offered in the goſpel. And as it is ſaid to be offered by the goſpel, thereby all conſideration of works is excluded. Which Paul declareth many times elſewhere, but moſt plainly in two places. For, to the Romans, comparing the law and the goſpel together; he ſaith, the righteouſneſneſs which by the law is after this manner, The man that doth theſe things ſhall live in them. But the righteouſneſs which is by faith offereth ſalvation, if thou believe in thy heart and confeſs with thy mouth the Lord Jeſus, and that the Father hath raiſed him up from the dead. See you not how he maketh this the difference of the law and the goſpel, that the law giveth righteouſneſs to works, and the goſpel giveth free righteouſneſs without the help of works? it is a place, well worth our obſervation, which may deliver us out of many per-

perplexing doubts, if we understand that the righteousness which is given us by the gospel, is free from all the conditions of law. This is the reason, why he doth more than once, with great seeming contrariety, set the promise by way of opposition against the law, as in this saying, (Gal. iii. 18.) if the inheritance be of the law, then it is not of the promise: and all the rest of the same chapter is to the same purpose. I own the law itself hath also its promises. Therefore there must of necessity be, in the promises of the gospel, something contrary to, and different from the promises of the law, unless we confess that the comparison is very foolish and absurd. But what difference will this be unless it is that the promises of the gospel are freely given, and upheld by the mercy of God alone, whereas the promises of the law depend upon the condition of works? Neither let any man here take exception against me, and say, that in this place the righteousness is rejected, which men would by their own strength, and free will compel God to receive? because Paul without any exception teacheth (Rom. iii. 23.) that the law in commanding profiteth nothing: because there is no person, not only among the common multitude, but even among the most perfect, that fulfilleth it. Love undoubtely is the chief point of the law: when the Spirit of God disposeth our hearts thereunto, why is it not a cause of righteousness to us, but because even in the saints it is imperfect, and therefore deserveth no reward.

The same difference to the same effect taught in the epistle to the Galatians.

18. The second place is this, (Gal. iii. 11, 12.) But that no man is justified by the law in the sight of God, is evident: for the just shall live by faith. And the law is not of faith: but the man that doth them shall live in them. How could this argument otherwise be consistent, unless we agree upon this point, that works come not into the account of faith, but are to be altogether separated from it? The law (saith he) differeth from faith. Why so? because works are required to the righteousness thereof. Therefore it followeth that works are not required to the righteousness of faith. By this relation it appears that they who are justified by faith, are justified beside the merit of works, yea without the merit of works, because faith receiveth that righteousness which the gospel giveth. And the gospel differeth from the law in this point, that it doth not annex righteousness to works, but placeth it in the mercy of God alone. Like hereunto is that which he affirmeth to the Romans, (Rom. iv. 2.) that Abraham had nothing to glory upon, because faith was imputed to him for righteousness, and he addeth a confirmation, because there is room for the righteousness of faith, when there are no works to which a reward is due. Where works are (saith he) a due reward is rendered unto them: and that which is given to faith is freely bestowed. For the very meaning of the words which he useth in that place serve to prove the same. Whereas he adjoineth within a little after, that we obtain the inheritance by faith as according to grace, hereupon he concludeth that the inheritance is of free gift, because it is received by faith: and how cometh that, but because faith without any help of works resteth wholly upon the mercy of God? And in the same sense without doubt he teacheth in another place, (Rom. iii. 21.) But now the righteousness of God without the law, is manifested being witnessed by the law and the prophets: because excluding the law, he saith, that it is not assisted by works, and that we obtain it not by working, but by coming empty that we may receive it.

This doctrine carped at without cause which teacheth justification by faith only; excluding thereby not only ceremonial but moral works also.

19. By this time the reader will perceive with what equity these wrangling disputants do at this day object against our doctrine, when we say, that man is justified by faith only. They dare not deny that a man is justified by faith because it is so often found in scripture: but because this word, only, is never expressed, they cannot abide to have such an addition made. Is it so? But what will they answer to these words of Paul, (Rom. iv. 2.) where he affirmeth that righteousness is not of faith except it be freely given? How can a free gift agree with works? And with what sophistical arguments will they invalidate that which he saith in another place, (Rom. i. 17.) that the righteousness of God is revealed in the gospel? If righteousness be revealed in the gospel, surely there is contained in the gospel not a divided or half righteousness, but full and perfect righteousness. Therefore the law hath no place therein. And they ground their opinion not only upon a false, but also a foolish shift about this exclusive word, only. Doth not he perfectly enough give all things to faith only, who taketh all things from works? What, I pray you mean these sayings, (Rom. iii. 21. and 24.) that righteousness was manifested

nifeſted without the law: that man is juſtified freely and without the works of the law? Here they have a witty ſhift to eſcape with, which although they did not invent it themſelves, but borrowed it from Origen and ſome of the old writers, yet it is very fooliſh and abſurd; they ſay that the ceremonial works of the law, not the moral, are excluded. Do they think that the apoſtle dreamed when he alleged theſe places (Gal. iii. 10, 12.) to prove his ſaying? The man that ſhall do theſe things ſhall live in them: and, curſed is every one that fulfilleth not all things that are written in the book of the law to do them. Unleſs they be mad they will not ſay that life was promiſed to the obſervers of ceremonies, or a curſe threatned only againſt the breakers of them. If theſe places are to be underſtood of the moral law, there is no doubt that moral works alſo are excluded from the power of juſtifying. To the ſame purpoſe ſerve theſe arguments which he uſeth: (Rom. iii. 20.) Therefore by the deeds of the law, there ſhall no fleſh be juſtified in his ſight; for by the law is the knowlege of ſin. (Rom. iv. 15.) Becauſe the law worketh wrath, therefore it worketh not righteouſneſs. Becauſe the law cannot make the conſcience aſſured, therefore alſo it cannot give righteouſneſs. Becauſe faith is imputed unto righteouſneſs, therefore righteouſneſs is not a reward of work, but is given not being due. Becauſe we are juſtified by faith, therefore glorying is cut off, Gal. iii. 21, 22. If there had been a law given, which could have given life, verily righteouſneſs would have been by the law: but the ſcripture hath concluded all under ſin, that the promiſe by faith of Jeſus Chriſt, might be given to them that believe. Let them now fooliſhly ſay, if they dare, that theſe things are ſpoken of the ceremonial and not of the moral law: but even children would hiſs at ſo great an impudence. Therefore let us maintain this for a certain truth, that the whole law is ſpoken of, when the power of juſtifying is taken away from the law.

Neither can works juſtify though they be highly eſteemed; becauſe the value of them depends only upon God's allowance, neither doth love give unto faith the force where-by it is able to juſtify.

20. But if any man wonder why the apoſtle uſeth ſuch an addition, not being content with only naming works: the reaſon is ready to be ſhown for it. For, though works be ſo highly eſteemed, yet God alloweth that value by his permiſſion, rather than from any worth in themſelves. For who can boaſt before God of any righteouſneſs in his works, but that which he hath allowed? Who dare claim any reward as due unto them, but ſuch as he hath promiſed? They therefore enjoy this favour by the bounty of God, that they are counted worthy both of the name, and reward of righteouſneſs: and any value they are allowed is only for this cauſe, when the purpoſe of him who doth them is by them to ſhow his obedience to God. Wherefore the apoſtle in another place, (Gal. iii. 17.) to prove that Abraham could not be juſtified by works, alledgeth that the law was given almoſt four hundred and thirty years after the covenant was made. Ignorant people would laugh at ſuch an argument that there might be righteous works befor the publiſhing of the law. But becauſe he knew that there was no ſuch value in works, but by the the teſtimony and allowance of God, therefore he taketh it as a thing confeſſed and acknowleged, that before the law they had no power to juſtify. We underſtand why he namely expreſſeth the works of the law, when he intendeth to take away juſtification from any works, becauſe an argument may be drawn from works, but from nothing elſe, altho' ſometimes he excepteth all works without any addition, as when he ſaith, (Rom. iv. 6.) that by the teſtimony of David bleſſedneſs is aſſigned to that man, to whom the Lord imputeth righteouſneſs without works. Therefore they cannot with all their evaſive arguments, hinder us from ſtrengthening our notion of juſtification by the uſe of this general excluſive word, Only. And they in vain ſeek that trifling ſubtilty, that we are only juſtified by that only faith which worketh by love, ſo that our righteouſneſs muſt ſtand upon love. We grant indeed with Paul, (Gal. v. 6.) that no other faith juſtifieth, but that which effectually worketh with charity or love: but faith deriveth not its power of juſtifying from that effectualneſs of charity. Yea, it juſtifieth by no other means, but becauſe it bringeth us in to the communicating of the righteouſneſs of Chriſt. Or elſe all that which the apoſtle ſo earneſtly preſſeth would fall to nought. To him that worketh (ſaith he, Rom. iv. 4, 5.) the reward is not reckoned according to grace, but according to debt. But to him that worketh not, but believeth in him that juſtifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteouſneſs. Could he ſpeak more plainly than by ſaying, that there is no righteouſneſs by faith except where there are no works to which any reward is due; and that then only faith is imputed unto righteouſneſs, when righteouſneſs is given by grace that is not due.

21. Now

Sin putteth enmity between man and God: so that except it be pardoned, we cannot be joined unto him.

21. Now let us examine how true that is, which is said in the definition, that the righteousness of faith is the reconciliation with God, which consisteth only in the forgiveness of sins. We must always return to this principle, that the wrath of God abideth upon all men, as long as they continue in their sins; which Isaiah hath very well expresst in chap. lix. 1, 2. in these words: The hand of the Lord is not shortened, that it cannot save: nor his ear heavy that he cannot hear: but your iniquities have separated between you and your God, and your sins have hid his face from you that he will not hear. We hear that sin hath made a division between man and God, and turned away God's face from the sinner. Nor can it otherwise be. For it is contrary to his righteousness to have any fellowship with sin. Wherefore the apostle teacheth (Rom. v. 8.) that man is an enemy to God till he be restored into favour by Christ. Therefore whomsoever the Lord receiveth into union with him, he is said to justfy him because he can neither receive him into favour, nor unite him with himself, till of a sinner he make him righteous. And we further say, that this is done by the forgiveness of sins. For if they whom the Lord hath reconciled to himself be judged by their works, they should be found still to be sinners, who yet must be free and clean from sin. It is certain therefore that they whom God embraceth, are no otherwise made righteous, but because they are cleansed by having their sins wiped away by forgiveness, that such a righteousness may in one word be called the forgiveness of sins.

Righteousness and reconciliation unto God do mutually contain the one the other, and are attained unto, when our sins are not imputed.

22. Both these are most clearly to be seen by these words of Paul, which I have already cited. (2 Cor. v. 19.) God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself, not imputing their sins to them, and he hath given unto us the word of reconciliation. And then he addeth the sum of his message, (2 Cor. v. 21.) that he who knew no sin was made sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him. Here he nameth righteousness and reconciliation without any distinction that we may perceive that the one is mutually contained in the other. And he teacheth that the manner to attain this righteousness is when our sins are not imputed unto us; therefore do not any longer doubt, how God doth justify us, when you hear that he reconcileth us to himself by not imputing unto us our sins. So to the Romans (chap. iv. 6.) he proveth by the testimony of David, that righteousness is imputed to man without works, because David pronounceth the man blessed whose iniquities are forgiven, whose sins are covered, to whom the Lord hath not imputed his offences. Without doubt by blessedness he there meaneth righteousness: and seeing he affirmeth the same to consist in the forgiveness of sins, there is no reason why we should define it otherwise. Therefore Zacharias the father of John the Baptist singeth, (Luke i. 77.) that the knowlege of salvation consisteth in the forgiveness of sins. Which rule Paul followeth in his sermon which he made to the people of Antioch concerning the sum of salvation, as Luke reporteth it, (Acts xiii. 38, 39.) concluding in this manner: by him forgiveness of sins is preached unto you, and every one that believeth in him is justified from all these things from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses. The apostle so closely connecteth the forgiveness of sins with righteousness, that he sheweth them both to be the same thing. From which he justly reasoneth, that righteousness is freely given unto us, which we obtain by the loving kindness of God. Neither ought it to seem a strange or unusual saying, that believers are righteous before God, not by works, but by free acceptation: since it is so oft found in the scripture, and also the old authors do sometimes speak so. For Augustine saith thus in one place (*De civit. Dei cap.* 27.) The righteousness of the saints in this world consisteth rather in forgiveness of sins, than in the perfection of their virtues. Wherewith agreeth that notable sentence of Bernard (*Serm.* 23. *in cant. Ser.* 22.) Not to sin is the righteousness of God: but the righteousness of man, is the merciful kindness God. He had before affirmed that Christ is to us righteousness in absolution, and therefore that they only are righteous who have obtained pardon by mercy.

The righteousness of Christ imputed unto us maketh us righteous.

23. Hereupon also followeth this, that only by the means of Christ's righteousness, we obtain justification before God. Which is as much in effect as if it were said, that man is not righteous in himself, but because the righteousness of Christ is by imputation communicated unto him, which deserves to be carefully observed: for thereby that trifling error vanisheth away, to

say

ſay that man is juſtified by faith, becauſe faith taketh part of the Spirit of God by which he is made righteous, which is ſo contrary to the doctrine above taught, that they can never be made to agree together. For there is no doubt that he is void of his own righteouſneſs, who is taught to ſeek righteouſneſs without himſelf. This the apoſtle affirmeth moſt plainly (2 Cor. v. 21.) when he writeth that he who knew no ſin was made for us a propitiatory ſacrifice to cleanſe away ſin, that we might be made the righteouſneſs of God in him. You ſee that our righteouſneſs is not in us but in Chriſt, and that we have a right unto it, only by this title, becauſe we are partakers of Chriſt, becauſe we poſſeſs all his riches with him. And it maketh nothing to the contrary that in another place he teacheth, (Rom. viii. 3.) that ſin was condemned of ſin in the fleſh of Chriſt, that the righteouſneſs of the law might be fulfilled in us: where he meaneth no other fulfilling, but that which we obtain by imputation. For the Lord Chriſt doth in ſuch a way communicate his righteouſneſs with us, that after a certain wonderful manner, he infuſeth the ſtrength thereof into us, ſo much as pertaineth to the judgment of God. It appeareth that he meant no otherwiſe, by the other ſentence which he had ſpoken a little before. (Rom. v. 19.) As by the diſobedience of one man many were made ſinners, ſo by the obedience of one man many are made righteous. What is it to place our righteouſneſs in the obedience of Chriſt, but to affirm that hereby only we are accounted righteous, becauſe the obedience of Chriſt is imputed unto us as if it were our own? Therefore I think that Ambroſe (*Lib. 2. de Jac. & vita beata.*) hath excellently well ſhewed how there is an example of this righteouſneſs in the bleſſing of Jacob. For Jacob not having of himſelf deſerved the pre-eminence of the firſt begotten ſon, concealed himſelf in the apparel of his brother, and being clothed in his brother's coat that ſavoured of a moſt ſweet ſmell, he crept into the favour of his Father, and received the bleſſing to his own advantage, in the perſon of another: ſo we lie hid under the precious purity of Chriſt our elder brother, that we may get a teſtimony of our righteouſneſs in the ſight of God. The words of Ambroſe are theſe. Whereas Iſaac ſmelt the ſavour of the garments, peradventure this is meant thereby, that we are not juſtified by works, but by faith: becauſe fleſhly weakneſs hindereth works, but the brightneſs of faith which meriteth forgiveneſs of ſins, overſhadoweth the errors of our actions. And truly ſo it is. For, that we may appear before the face of God unto ſalvation, it is neceſſary for us to ſmell ſweetly with his odour, and to have our faults covered and hid with his perfection.

CHAP. XII.

That we may be fully perſuaded of the freeneſs of juſtification, we muſt lift up our minds to the judgment ſeat of God.

The cauſe of men's preſuming ſo much upon the righteouſneſs of their own works, is their not conſidering what an exact purity it muſt be that will anſwer the law when it comes to be ſtrictly examined before the judgment ſeat of God.

THOUGH it appeareth by moſt evident teſtimonies, that all theſe things are true, yet we will not clearly perceive how neceſſary they are, until we have ſet before our eyes thoſe things that ought to be the grounds of all this diſputation. Firſt therefore let us remember this, that we intend not to ſpeak of the righteouſneſs of a worldly judicial court, but of the heavenly judgment ſeat: and that we ſhould not meaſure by our own ſmall portion, by what uprightneſs of works God's judgments may be ſatisfied. But it is ſurprizing to ſee with what raſhneſs and boldneſs it is commonly debated. Yea, and it is to be ſeen that none do more boldly or with fuller mouths (as the ſaying is) talk about the righteouſneſs of works, than they who are either openly wicked, or are ready to burſt with inward vices. This comes to paſs, becauſe they think not upon the righteouſneſs of God, which if they had the leaſt ſenſe of, they would never mock in ſo groſs a manner. And truly it is too lightly regarded, when it is not acknowleged to be ſuch, and ſo perfect, that nothing is imputed unto it but what is every way whole and abſolute, and defiled with no impurity, and acknowleged to be ſuch as never was, nor ever will be found in man. It is indeed eaſy and ready for every man in ſchools to talk vainly upon the worth that is in works to juſtify men: But when they appear in the ſight of God, they muſt avoid ſuch dalliance, becauſe God acteth in earneſt, and alloweth

alloweth no trifling ſtrife about words. To this, to this I ſay, we muſt apply our minds, if we will profitably enquire after true righteouſneſs, how we will anſwer the heavenly judge when he calleth us to account. Let us conſider him to be a judge, not ſuch a one as our own underſtandings imagine; but ſuch a one as he is deſcribed in ſcripture, with whoſe brightneſs the ſtars ſhall be darkened, by whoſe ſtrength the hills melt away, by whoſe wrath the earth is ſhaken, by whoſe wiſdom the wiſe are taken in their ſubtilty, by whoſe purity all things are proved impure, whoſe righteouſneſs angels are not able to bear, who maketh the innocent not innocent, whoſe vengeance when it is once kindled pierceth to the bottom of hell. If he (I ſay) ſit to examine men's actions, who ſhall appear with confidence before his throne? who ſhall dwell with devouring fire? ſaith the prophet, Iſaiah xxxiii. 14. 15. Who ſhall abide with continual burnings? he that walketh in righteouſneſs and ſpeaketh truth, *&c.* But let ſuch a one come forth, whoever he be. But the anſwer ſheweth that none dare come forward. For this terrible ſaying ſoundeth to the contrary. (Pſal. cxxx. 3.) Lord if thou mark iniquities, Lord, who ſhall abide it? truly all muſt immediately periſh, as it is written in another place: (Job iv. 17. 18, 19, 20.) Shall mortal man be more juſt than God? ſhall a man be purer than his maker? Behold he putteth no truſt in his ſervants; and his angels he chargeth with folly: how much leſs in them that dwell in houſes of clay, whoſe foundation is in the duſt, who are cruſhed before the moth? they are deſtroyed from the morning until the evening. Behold among his ſaints there is none faithful, and the heavens are not clean in his ſight: how much more is man abominable and unprofitable, who drinketh in iniquity as water? I grant indeed that in the book of Job, mention is made of a righteouſneſs that is higher than the keeping of the law. And it is good to underſtand this diſtinction: becauſe although a man did ſatisfy the law, yet he could not ſtand the trial of that righteouſneſs that paſſeth all ſenſes. Therefore although Job be clear in his own conſcience, yet he is amazed, and not able to ſpeak becauſe he ſeeth that even angelic holineſs cannot appeaſe God, if he exactly weigh their works. But I therefore will at this time paſs over that righteouſneſs which I have ſpoken of, becauſe it is incomprehenſible: but only this I ſay, that if our life be examined by the rule of the written law, we are more than ſenſeleſs if ſo many curſes wherewith the Lord hath willed us to be awakened do not torment us with horrible fear, and among others this general curſe, Curſed is every one that doth not abide in all the things that are written in the book. Finally all this diſcourſe ſhall be but unſavoury and cold, unleſs every man own himſelf guilty before the heavenly judge, and willingly throw down and abaſe himſelf, being careful how he may be acquitted.

How righteous ſoever we be in compariſon of other men, this in the ſight of God is not able to make us blameleſs.

2. To this, to this I ſay, we ſhould have lift up our eyes, to learn rather to tremble for fear, than vainly to rejoice. It is indeed eaſy, ſo long as the compariſon extendeth no further than men, for every man to think himſelf to have ſomewhat which others ought not to deſpiſe. But when we riſe up to have reſpect unto God, then ſuddenly that confidence falleth to the ground and cometh to nought. And in the ſame caſe altogether is our ſoul in reſpect of God, as man's body is in reſpect of the heaven. For the ſight of the eye, ſo long as it continueth in viewing things that lie near unto it, doth ſhew of what piercing force it is, but if it be once directed up to the ſun, then being dazled and impaired by the too great brightneſs thereof, it feeleth no leſs weakneſs in beholding the ſun, than it felt ſtrength in beholding inferior things. Therefore let us not deceive ourſelves with a vain confidence, although we reckon ourſelves either equal or ſuperior to other men: for that is nothing to God, by whoſe will this knowlege is to be tried. But if our wildneſs cannot be corrected by theſe admonitions, he will anſwer us as he ſaid to the Phariſees: (Luke xvi. 15.) you are they who juſtify yourſelves before men: but that which is highly eſteemed among men is abominable to God. Now go thy way and proudly boaſt of thy righteouſneſs among men, while God from heaven abhorreth it. But what ſay the ſervants of God that are truly inſtructed with his Spirit? (Pſal. cxliii. 2.) enter not into judgment with thy ſervant, for in thy ſight ſhall no man living be juſtified. Another ſaith, (Job. ix. 2, 3.) although ſomewhat in a different meaning: How ſhould man be juſt with God? if he will contend with him, he cannot anſwer one of a thouſand. Here we are now plainly informed what is the righteouſneſs of God, that it is ſuch as can be ſatisfied with no works of men, who when he examineth us of a thouſand offences, we cannot purge ourſelves of one. Such a righteouſneſs had

that chosen instrument of God, Paul conceived to himself, when he professed (1 Cor. iv. 4.) that he knew nothing, by himself, and he says, I am not hereby justified: but he that judgeth me is the Lord.

St. Augustine and St Bernard how far from looking to be justified by their own works.

3. And such examples are to be found not only in the scriptures, but also all godly writers shew that they were of this mind. Augustine saith, (*Ad Boni. li.* 3. *ca.* 5.) all the godly who groan under this burden of corruptible flesh, and the weakness of this life, have this only hope, that we have one Mediator Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins. And he addeth further, if this be their only hope, where is the confidence of works? For when he calleth it the only confidence, he cutteth off thereby every thing else. And Bernard saith, (*Super. Cant. ser.* 61.) where is safe and settled rest and assurance for the weak, but in the wounds of our Saviour? and I dwell so much the surer therein as he is mighty to save. The world tempteth, the body is burdened, and the devil lieth in wait: I do fall, not because I am built upon the sure rock: I have sinned a grievous sin, my conscience is troubled, but it shall not be overtroubled, because I will remember the wounds of the Lord. And hence he concludeth, therefore my only merit is the Lord's shewing of mercy, I am not utterly void of merit, so long as he is not without mercy. But if the mercies of the Lord are many, then I have as many merits. Shall I sing mine own righteousness? Lord I will remember only thy righteousness; for that is my righteousness, because Christ is made unto me righteousness of God. Again in another place, (*In Psal. qui habitat ser.* 15.) This is the whole merit of man, to place all his hope in him that saveth the whole man. Likewise where he comforts himself on the peace of mind which the sense of God's righteousness procured, he saith let God's glory remain undiminished: it will be well with me, if I have peace, I renounce boasting altogether, lest I wrongfully assume to my self what is not my own, and lose that which is offered me. And more plainly in another place (*In Cant. ser.* 13.) he saith: why should the church be careful about merits when it hath a surer and safer way to glory on the purpose of God? there is no cause why thou shouldst ask, by what merits we hope for good things, especially when you hear God saying by the prophet, (Ezek. xxxvi. 22, and 32.) I will do it, not for your sakes, but for mine holy name's sake. It is a sufficient merit to know that merits are not sufficient for salvation. But as it is sufficient merit, not to presume on our own merits, so to be without merits sufficeth to judgment. And as he useth the word merits instead of good works we must bear with the custom. But the whole of his purpose was to make such hypocrites afraid, as wildly rage and licentiously sin against the grace of God. As he afterward explaineth himself, saying: happy is the church that wanteth neither merits without presumption, nor presumption without merits. It hath something whereupon to presume, but not merits. It hath merits, only to deserve, not to presume. Is not the very not presuming a deserving? Therefore it presumeth so much the more boldly, because it presumeth not, having great matter to glory upon, even the many mercies of the Lord.

Men who are judged by their own worthiness be they never so holy, shall be found unholy.

4. This is the truth. Exercised consciences perceive this to be the only sanctuary of safety, wherein they may safely rest themselves when they have to do with the judgment of God. For if the stars that seem most bright in the night season, lose their brightness, when the sun appears, what think ye will become even of the greatest innocence of man, when compared with the purity of God? For it will be a most severe examination, that shall pierce into the most hidden thoughts of the heart, and (as Paul saith 1 Cor. iv. 5.) shall bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the secret counsels of the heart, which shall compel the lurking and unwilling conscience to utter all these things which are now written. The devil our accuser will press us, who is privy to all the wicked actions he hath tempted us to commit. There the outward pompous shew of good works which are now only esteemed, shall not profit us. Then only purity of mind shall be required. Wherefore that hypocrisy, whereby every man knoweth himself guilty before God, yet boasteth himself of it, before men, but also that with which every man deceiveth himself before God (as we are all naturally inclined, and flatter ourselves) will then fall down confounded, however proud it be now, with more than drunken boldness. They who will not now turn their mind to look on these things, may indeed for a time sweetly and pleasantly frame a righteousness to themselves, but it is such a righteousness as shall by and by be shaken at the judgment of God: as great riches heaped up in a dream vanish

vaniſh from men when they awake. But they who earneſtly as it were in the ſight of God, enquire after the true rule of righteouſneſs, ſhall certainly find, that all the works of men, if they be judged by their own worth, are nothing but droſs and dung: and what is accounted righteouſneſs among mankind is mere wickedneſs before God: that what is judged purity, is uncleanneſs: that what is reckoned glory, is but ſhame.

The partial and blind affection which we bear unto ourſelves when we are our own judges, makes us fooliſhly imagine that ſuch as we are, ſo we ſhall appear when God judgeth us muſt be ſhaken off.

5. From this beholding of the perfection of God, let it not grieve us to deſcend to look to upon ourſelves without flattery or blind affection of love. For it is no marvel if we be all ſo blind in this behalf, foraſmuch as none of us doth beware of the peſtilent tenderneſs toward himſelf, which (as the ſcripture crieth out) naturally ſticketh faſt in us all. To every man (ſaith Solomon) his own way is right in his own eyes. Again. All the ways of man ſeem clean in his own eyes. But what? is he acquitted by this blindneſs? no, but (as he further ſaith in the ſame place) the Lord weigheth the hearts, that is to ſay, while man flattereth himſelf by reaſon of an outward maſk or righteouſneſs that he beareth in reſemblance, in the mean time the Lord with his ballance examineth the hidden uncleanneſs of the heart. Therefore ſince we profit nothing with ſuch flatteries, let us not wilfully mock ourſelves to our own deſtruction. But that we may try ourſelves rightly, we muſt neceſſarily call back our conſcience to the judgment ſeat of God. For we do altogether need his light to diſcloſe the ſecret foldings of our perverſeneſs, which otherwiſe lie too deeply hidden. For then and never till then, we ſhall clearly perceive what is meant hereby: that man being rottenneſs and a worm, abominable and vain, who drinketh in wickedneſs as water, is far from being juſtified before God. For who ſhould make that clean that is conceived of unclean ſeed? not one man. (Job xv. 16.) Then ſhall we alſo find that by experience, which Job ſaid of himſelf? (Job xiv. 4.) If I will go about to ſhew my ſelf innocent, mine own mouth ſhall condemn me: (Job ix. 20.) If I will ſhew my ſelf righteous: it will prove me wicked. For that is not meant of one age only, but of all ages, which the prophet in old time complained of Iſrael, that all went aſtray like ſheep, that every one turned aſide to his own way. (Iſa. liii. 6.) For he there comprehendeth all them, to whom the grace of redemption ſhould come. And the righteouſneſs of this examination ought to proceed ſo far, till it ſubdue us, ſo that we are fully thrown down withal, and by that means prepare us to receive the grace of Chriſt. For he is deceived who thinketh himſelf able to receive the enjoying of this grace, until he have firſt thrown down all haughtineſs of mind. This is a known ſaying: that God confoundeth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble.

We can neither be righteous till we be humble nor humble as long as we make any reckoning or account at all of our own righteouſneſs.

6. But what way is there to humble ourſelves, but that we being altogether needy and empty, ſhould give place to the mercy of God? For I do not call it humbleneſs, if we think that we have any thing remaining with us. And hitherto they have taught a very hurtful hypocriſy who have joined theſe two things together, that we muſt think humbly of our ſelves before God, and that we muſt make ſome account of our own righteouſneſs. For if we confeſs to God things contrary to what we think, we do wickedly lie unto him: but we cannot think as we ought, without immediately confeſſing that what ſeemed moſt to our honour muſt be troden under foot. Therefore when you hear in the prophet, (Pſal. xviii. 27.) that ſalvation is prepared for the humble, and abaſement for the eyes of the wicked: firſt think, that there is no way open to ſalvation, until thou haſt laid aſide all pride and taken to thee perfect humility: then conſider, that humility conſiſts not in a certain modeſty whereby thou giveſt over to the Lord a hair breadth of thine own right: as among men, they are called humble, who neither preſumptuouſly advance themſelves, nor reproachfully triumph over others, though perhaps they value themſelves upon their own excellence: but rather in an unfeigned ſubmiſſion of a mind caſt down with a ſenſe of thy own miſery and want. For it is deſcribed every where in the word of God. When the Lord ſaith thus in Zephaniah (Zeph. iii. 11. 12.) I will take away out of the midſt of thee, them that rejoice in thy pride, and I will alſo leave in the midſt of thee an afflicted and poor people, and they ſhall truſt in the name of the Lord: doth he not there plainly ſhew who the humble are? even they that are afflicted with a ſenſe of their own poverty. On the other ſide he calleth them

proud, who rejoice without bounds, becauſe men in proſperity are apt to rejoice without meaſure. But to the humble whom he purpoſeth to ſave, he leaveth nothing but to truſt in the Lord. And likewiſe it is ſaid in Iſaiah lxvi. 2. Whom ſhall I look unto, even to him that is poor and of a contrite ſpirit, and trembleth at my word? Again, (Iſa. lvii. 15.) Thus ſaith the high and lofty one, that inhabiteth eternity, whoſe name is holy, I dwell in the high and holy place, with him alſo that is of a contrite and humble ſpirit, and to revive the ſpirit of the humble and the heart of the contrite ones. When thou ſo often heareſt the word contrition, underſtand thereby ſuch a wounded heart as alloweth not a man who is caſt down on the ground to riſe again. With ſuch contrition ought thy heart to be wounded, if thou wilt according to the ſaying of God be advanced with the humble: if that be not done, thou ſhalt be brought low with the mighty hand of God to thy ſhame and diſgrace.

The Publican a pattern of true humility.

7. And our beſt ſchoolmaſter the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, thinking it not enough to expreſs it in words, hath alſo given us in a parable the image of true humility as it were in a picture. For he ſheweth a Publican ſtanding a far off, not daring to lift up his eyes to heaven, ſmiting upon his breaſt, praying in this wiſe: God be merciful to me a ſinner. Let us not think theſe are tokens of falſe and hypocritical modeſty, that he dare not look up to heaven, nor come nearer, that with ſmiting his breaſt he confeſſeth himſelf a ſinner: but know that they are proofs of an inward affliction. On the other ſide he placeth the Phariſee who thanketh God that he is not as other men are, either an oppreſſor, or an unrighteous man, or an adulterer; becauſe he faſted twice on the ſabbath, and gave tithes of all he poſſeſſed. He doth with open confeſſion acknowlege that the righteouſneſs which he hath is the gift of God: but becauſe he confidently truſteth that he is righteous, he departeth without God's favour; and abhorred by him; whereas the Publican by acknowleging of his wickedneſs is juſtified. By this we may ſee what high value is put on our humbling ourſelves in the preſence of God: that the heart cannot be open to receive his mercy, unleſs it be firſt void of all opinion of its own worth. When this contrary opinion hath poſſeſſed the heart, it ſhutteth up the way for God's mercy to enter. And that no man may doubt hereof, Chriſt was ſent by his Father into the earth with this commiſſion, (Iſa. lxi. 1, 2, 3.) to bring glad tidings to the poor, to heal the contrite in heart, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the priſon to them that are bound, and to comfort all that mourn: to give them beauty for aſhes, the oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praiſe for the ſpirit of heavineſs. According to this commiſſion, (Matth. xi. 28.) he calleth none but them that labour and are heavy laden, to partake of his bounty. And in another place (Matth. ix. 13.) he ſaith: I came not to call the righteous, but ſinners.

Both pride and careleſneſs muſt be avoided.

8. If therefore we will obey the call of Chriſt, let all arrogance and careleſneſs depart far from us. Arrogance proceedeth from a fooliſh perſwaſion of our own righteouſneſs, when a man thinketh he hath ſomething by the merit whereof he may be commended before God, careleſneſs may be even without any perſwaſion of the merit of our good works. For many ſinners, being intoxicated with the ſweetneſs of vice do not think upon the judgment of God, and lie as it were ſenſeleſly ſtupified with drowſineſs, that they do not aſpire after the mercy offered them. But we muſt ſhake off ſuch ſlothful indifference, as well as lay aſide all vain confidence in our ſelves, that we may without any hinderance flee to Chriſt, that being empty and hungry we may be filled with his good things. For we ſhall never ſufficiently truſt in him, unleſs we utterly diſtruſt ourſelves; we ſhall never ſufficiently raiſe up our courage in him, unleſs it be firſt caſt down in ourſelves. We ſhall never ſufficiently have conſolation in him, unleſs we be firſt miſerable in ourſelves. Therefore we are only meet to take hold of and obtain the favour of God, when caſting away all truſt in ourſelves, and truſting only upon the aſſurance of his goodneſs, and (as Auguſtine ſaith, *De verbis Apoſt. cap.* 8.) forgetting our own deſervings, we embrace the gift of Chriſt. Becauſe if he ſought for any merits in us, we would not obtain his gifts. Wherewith Bernard very well agreeth, (*Ser.* 15. *in Cant.*) comparing proud men to unfaithful ſervants, who arrogantly claim any thing, be it never ſo little to their own deſerts: becauſe they wrongfully aſſume to themſelves the praiſe of grace paſſing by them, as if a wall ſhould ſay that it gives birth to the ſun beam which it receiveth through a window. But, not to dwell longer hereon, let us take a ſhort but a general and ſure rule, that he is prepared to ſhare of the fruits of God's mercy who hath utterly emptied himſelf,

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I will not ſay of his righteouſneſs, which is none at all, but of the vain and empty ſhadow of righteouſneſs. Becauſe every man ſo far hindereth his receiving of the liberality of God in as much as he truſteth to any thing in himſelf.

CHAP. XIII.

That there are two things to be obſerved in free juſtification.

We cannot without robbing God of his glory challenge any thing to ourſelves.

AND there are two things to be principally obſerved here; viz. that the Lord's glory, always remain undiminiſhed, and wholly and perfectly maintained, and that our conſciences preſerve an undiſturbed calmneſs and tranquillity before his judgment. We ſee how often and how earneſtly the ſcripture exhorteth us, to pay unto God alone our tribute of praiſe, when we ſpeak of righteouſneſs. And the apoſtle teſtifieth, (Rom. iii. 25, 26.) that this was the Lord's principal purpoſe of giving us righteouſneſs through Chriſt, that he might declare his own righteouſneſs. And what kind of a declaration that ſhould be, he informeth us immediately after: that is that he might be juſt, and the juſtifier of him who believeth in Jeſus. You ſee that the righteouſneſs of God is not ſufficiently ſet out, unleſs he alone be accounted righteous, and communicate the grace or gift of righteouſneſs to them who do not deſerve it. By this means he will have every mouth to be ſtopped, and the whole world to be made ſubject to him. For while man hath any thing to ſay in his own defence, ſo long there is ſomething taken away from the glory of God. So in Ezekiel (Ezek. xx. 43, 44.) he teacheth how much we glorify his name by acknowleging of our wickedneſs. You ſhall remember (ſaith he) your ways and all your wicked doings wherewith ye have been defiled. And ye ſhall lothe yourſelves in your own ſight, for all the evils that ye have committed. And ye ſhall know that I am the Lord, when I ſhall do good to you for my names ſake, and not according to your moſt wicked ways. If theſe things are contained in the true knowlege of God, that we being bruiſed with the knowlege of our iniquities, ſhould conſider that he doth good to us though we are unworthy thereof: why then do we to our great hurt, attempt to ſteal away from the Lord any part of the praiſe of his free grace be it never ſo ſmall? As alſo Jeremiah when he ſaith, (Jer. ix. 23, 24.) Let not the wiſe man glory in his wiſdom, or the rich man in his riches, or the ſtrong man in his ſtrength, but let him that glorieth, glory in the Lord: doth he not there declare that ſomething is taken from God's glory, if any man glory in himſelf? To this purpoſe doth Paul (1 Cor. i. 30.) apply thoſe words, when he teacheth that all the parts of our ſalvation are laid up in Chriſt, that we ſhould not glory but in the Lord. For his meaning is, that he riſeth up againſt God and obſcureth his glory, who thinketh that he hath any thing be it never ſo little of his own.

2. This is the truth, we never glory in him aright, unleſs we be utterly put from glorying in ourſelves. On the other ſide, this is to be holden as a ſound principle, that all men glory againſt God, who glory in themſelves. For Paul judgeth that only by this means the world is made ſubject to God, when all matter to glory upon is utterly taken from men. Therefore Iſaiah, (Iſa. xlv. 25.) when he declareth That, in the Lord ſhall all the ſeed of Iſrael be juſtified, and ſhall glory. As though he ſhould ſay, that the Lord juſtifieth the elect for this reaſon that they ſhould glory in him and in nothing elſe. And how we ought to boaſt of ourſelves in the Lord, he had taught in the verſe next before: that is, that we ſhould ſwear that our righteouſneſs and ſtrength are in the Lord. Obſerve that there is required not only a bare confeſſion, but alſo a confirmation with an oath, that a man may not think that he will be diſcharged by a feigned humility. And let no man here alledge for an excuſe that he doth not glory, when without arrogance he ſetteth forth his own righteouſneſs: for we cannot ſet any the leaſt value upon it without begetting ſome confidence in it, nor any confidence without glorying in it. Therefore let us always remember that in our diſputations concerning righteouſneſs, we muſt have regard to this end, that the praiſe thereof remain whole and perfect with the Lord. Becauſe to declare his righteouſneſs (as the apoſtle teſtifieth Rom. iii. 26.) he hath poured out his grace upon us, that he might be juſt, and the juſtifier of him which believeth in Jeſus.

What it is not to glory in ourſelves

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Wherefore in another place, (Eph. i. 6.) when he had taught that the Lord gave us ſalvation, to the praiſe of the glory of his grace, afterward as it were repeating the ſame thing he addeth, (Eph. ii. 8, 9.) by grace ye are ſaved, through faith: and that not of yourſelves: it is the gift of God, Not of works, leſt any man ſhould boaſt. And when Peter ſays that we are called unto the hope of ſalvation that we ſhould declare the power of him that hath called us out of darkneſs into his marvellous light, without doubt his meaning is to make the praiſe of God alone to ſound in the ears of believers, that they might by the moſt profound ſilence depreſs all arrogancy of the fleſh. In ſhort man cannot without robbing God, challenge to himſelf one crumb of righteouſneſs: becauſe by ſo doing, as much is taken away from the glory of God's righteouſneſs, as we arrogate to ourſelves.

The opinion of righteouſneſs by our own works troubleth the conſcience and depriveth us of all tranquillity of mind.

3. Now if it be aſked by what means the conſcience may be quieted before God, we will find no other mean but the free righteouſneſs which is given us by the gift of God: let us alway think upon this ſaying of Solomon, (Prov. xx. 9.) who ſhall ſay, I have made my heart clean, I am pure from my ſin? and every man will be overwhelmed with numberleſs impurities. Therefore let even the moſt perfect man look into his own conſcience and call his actions to account: and obſerve what will be the iſſue. Will he calmly reſt as if all things were in good order between God and him, will he not rather be vexed with terrible torments, when he feels as much as will condemn him abiding in himſelf, if he be judged according to his works? The conſcience if it look upon God, muſt of neceſſity either have aſſured peace with his judgment, or be ſurrounded with the terrors of hell. Therefore we will gain nothing in diſputing of righteouſneſs, unleſs we eſtabliſh ſuch a righteouſneſs, by the ſtability and firmneſs of which our ſouls may be ſupported in the judgment of God. When our ſouls ſhall have ſuch a confidence as may embolden them to appear before the face of God without fear and receive his judgment unſhaken, then, and not till then, let us know that we have found an unfeigned righteouſneſs. Therefore it is not without cauſe the apoſtle inſiſteth ſo much upon this point in whoſe words I had rather expreſs it than with mine own. If (ſaith he Rom. iv. 14.) they which are of the law be heirs, faith is made void, and the promiſe is of none effect. He firſt infers that faith is diſannulled and made void, if the promiſe of righteouſneſs have reſpect to the deſervings of our works, or depends upon the keeping of the law. For every man could aſſuredly reſt in it: becauſe it could never come to paſs that any man might aſſuredly determine with himſelf that he had ſatisfied the law, and indeed no man doth fully ſatisfy it by works. To prove which, we need not ſeek far for teſtimonies to convince us, every man may be a witneſs to himſelf that will with a right eye behold himſelf. And hence it appears, in how deep and dark corners hypocriſy buries the minds of men, while they careleſly bear with themſelves that they ſtick not to ſet their own flatteries in oppoſition to the judgment of God, as though they would put a ſtop to his judicial proceedings. But believers who ſincerely examine themſelves, are grieved and tormented with a very different carefulneſs. Therefore there would enter into our minds a doubting, and at length deſpair when each man ſhould make account for himſelf with how great a burden of debt he is ſtill oppreſſed, and how far he is from the condition wherewith he is charged. Lo, how faith is by this means already depreſſed and extinguiſhed. For to waver, to vary, to be carried up and down, to doubt, to be held in ſuſpence, to ſtagger, and at length to deſpair, is not to truſt: but to ſtrengthen thy mind with conſtant certainty and perfect aſſurance, and to have whereupon to reſt and faſten thy foot.

To reſt upon the worth of our own works, is to make the promiſes of God ineffectual.

4. He addeth alſo another thing, that is, that the promiſe will thereby be made of no effect and void. For if the fulfilling thereof depend upon our deſerving, when ſhall we merit the bountifulneſs of God? And this ſecond point depends upon the former: For the promiſe ſhall not be fulfilled but to them who believe it. And if faith is fallen, there will remain no ſtrength in the promiſe. Therefore the inheritance is of faith, that it may be according to grace, to eſtabliſh the promiſe. And it is abundantly well eſtabliſhed when it reſteth upon the mercy of God alone: becauſe his mercy and truth are with a perpetual knot joined together, that is to ſay, whatſoever God mercifully promiſeth, he alſo faithfully performeth. So David (Pſal. cxix. 76.) before that he required ſalvation by the word of God, firſt determined the cauſe thereof to be in his mercy. Let, I pray thee, thy merciful kindneſs be for my comfort, according

ing to thy word unto thy ſervant. And rightfully: becauſe God is perſwaded by no other mean to make the promiſe, but of his own meer mercy. Therefore we muſt hereon ſtay, and faſten all our hope, and not look to our own works, to ſeek any help from them. And that you may not think I herein ſpeak any new thing: Auguſtine doth alſo teach (In Pſal. lxxxviii. *tractatu priore.*) that we ought to do ſo. Chriſt (ſaith he) ſhall reign for ever in his ſervants, God hath promiſed it, God hath ſaid it, and if that be not enough, God hath ſworn it. And ſeeing the promiſe is eſtabliſhed, not according to our deſervings, but according to his mercy, no man ought to ſpeak fearfully of that of which he cannot doubt. Bernard alſo ſaith: (In *dedicat. templi. ſer.* 5.) The diſciples of Chriſt ſay, who can be ſaved? But he anſwered, this is impoſſible with men, but it is not impoſſible with God. This is all our confidence, this is our only comfort, this is the whole ground of our hope, but being aſſured of the poſſibility, what ſay we of his will? Who knoweth whether he be worthy of love or hatred? (Eccel. ix. 1.) Who hath known the mind of the Lord? Or who hath been his counſellor? (1 Cor. ii. 16.) Here faith muſt of neceſſity help us, here muſt his truth ſuccour us, that what is hidden from us in the boſom of the Father, may be revealed by the Spirit, and by his Spirit teſtifying, it may perſuade our hearts that we are the ſons of God. And it may perſuade us by his calling and juſtifying us freely by faith, in which things there is as it were a certain mean paſſage from the eternal predeſtination to the glory that is to come. Briefly let us conclude. The ſcripture declareth that the promiſes of God are not eſtabliſhed, unleſs they be taken hold of with an aſſured truſt and confidence of mind: and wherever there is any doubting or uncertainty, it pronounceth that they are void. Again it ſaid that they ſtagger and waver, who reſt upon their own works. Therefore we muſt either loſe righteouſneſs, or we muſt not conſider our own works, but faith only muſt take place, whoſe nature it is, to lift up her ears and ſhut her eyes, that is to ſay, to be heedfully bent on the promiſe only, and to turn away her thought from man's worth or deſerving. So that notable prophecy of Zechariah is fulfilled, (Zech. iii. 9, 10.) that when the wickedneſs of the land ſhall be done away, a man ſhall call his friend under his vine and under his fig tree, where the prophet declareth that believers do not enjoy true peace but after obtaining the forgiveneſs of ſins. For this is to be remembred, that when the prophets ſpeak of the kingdom of Chriſt, they make uſe of the outward bleſſings of God as figures of the ſpiritual things. Whence (Iſai. ix. 6. and Eph. ii. 14.) Chriſt is called both the king of peace, and our peace, becauſe he appeaſeth all the troubleſome motions of conſcience. If we aſk by what means he doth it, we muſt of neceſſity have recourſe to the ſacrifice by which God is appeaſed. For he will never ceaſe to tremble for fear, who will not conclude that God is appeaſed by the only ſatisfactory cleanſing wherein Chriſt hath ſuſtained his wrath. Finally peace is no where elſe to be ſought for, but in the terrors and ſufferings of Chriſt our redeemer.

5. But why do I uſe ſo dark a proof? Paul every where denieth (Rom. v. 1.) that there is peace or quiet joy left to conſciences, unleſs we believe that we are juſtified by faith. And he alſo declareth (Rom. v. 5.) whence that aſſurance cometh, namely when the love of God is ſhed abroad in our hearts by the holy Ghoſt: as if he had ſaid, our conſciences cannot be quieted, unleſs we be firmly perſuaded that we pleaſe God. Whereupon alſo in another place he crieth out in the perſon of all the godly, Who ſhall ſeparate us from the love of God, which is in Chriſt? becauſe we ſhall tremble even at every little breath of wind, till we arrive in the haven: but we will fear no ill even in the darkneſs of death, ſo long as the Lord ſhall ſhew himſelf a ſhepherd unto us. (Pſal. xxiii. 4.) Therefore thoſe who ſay that we are juſtified by faith, becauſe being regenerate, we are juſt by living ſpiritually, never taſted the ſweetneſs of grace, to conſider that God will be merciful unto them. Whence alſo it followeth, that they no more know the manner of praying rightly, than Turks and other prophane nations. For (as Paul witneſſeth) (Gal. iv. 6.) it is no true faith unleſs it teach and put us in mind of that moſt ſweet name of Father, yea unleſs it open our mouth freely to cry Abba Father. Which in another place he more plainly expreſſeth, where he ſaith that by Chriſt we have boldneſs and confidence by our faith in him. And truly

Upon theſe two promiſes that we ought to aſcribe all glory unto God, and ſeek the aſſurance of our own hearts, which we cannot do as long as we ſeek righteouſneſs in our own works, it followeth that to be juſtified by faith, is not as ſome imagine to be juſt by living according to that ſpirit which the faithful have received.

truly this cometh to paſs only by the gift of regeneration: which as it is always imperfect in the fleſh, ſo it containeth in itſelf many grounds of doubting. Wherefore we muſt of neceſſity apply to this remedy, that believers ſhould determine and conclude that they can by no other right, hope for the inheritance of the heavenly kingdom, but becauſe being graffed into the body of Chriſt, they are freely accounted righteous. For as touching juſtification, faith is a thing meerly paſſive, bringing nothing of our own to the recovering of the favour of God, but receiving through Chriſt that which we want.

CHAP. XIV.

What is the beginning of juſtification, and the continual proceedings thereof.

Four ſorts of men whoſe works are in this queſtion to be conſidered: and firſt ſuch as are not at all endued with any true knowlege of God.

THat the matter may be made more plain, let us ſearch, what may be the righteouſneſs of man in the whole courſe of his life: and let us make four degrees thereof. For men either having no knowlege of God, are drowned in idolatry: or being entred into the profeſſion of chriſtianity by the ſacraments, and denying God by the impurity of their lives, whom they confeſs with their mouth, theſe are Chriſt's no further than in name: or they are hypocrites who cover the wickedneſs of their hearts, with deceitful colours: or being regenerate by the Spirit of God, they endeavour after true holineſs. And when they are to be judged ſpecially and ſeverally according to their natural gift, from the crown of their head to the ſole of their foot, there will not be found one ſpark of goodneſs, unleſs we will accuſe the ſcripture of falſhood, when it ſetteth out all the ſons of Adam with theſe titles that they are of froward and ſtubborn heart, (Jer. xvii. 9.) that all the imaginations of their heart are evil from their infancy, (Gen. viii. 21.) that their thoughts are vain, that they have not the fear of God before their eyes, that none of them underſtandeth or ſeeketh God, (Pſal. liii. 2, 3. and xiv. 2.) inſhort that they are fleſh, (Gen. vi. 3.) by which word we are to underſtand all thoſe works which Paul narrateth, (Gal. v. 19, 20, 21.) Adultery, fornication, uncleanneſs, laſciviouſneſs, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, ſtrife, ſeditions, hereſies, envyings, murders, drunkenneſs, revellings and whatever filthineſs and abomination may be deviſed. This is the worth, and confidence whereof they muſt be proud. But if any among them excel with ſuch honeſty of manners as hath ſome ſhew of holineſs among men: yet becauſe we know that God regardeth not the outward appearance, we muſt ſearch the very fountain of works if we will have them to avail any thing to righteouſneſs. We muſt (I ſay) thorougly look into them, and obſerve from what affection of heart theſe works proceed. But though here lieth open a moſt large field to diſcourſe on, yet, as the matter may he declared in very few words, I will purſue brevity as much as poſſibly I can in teaching.

The virtues of unbelievers, God, both worketh and rewardeth.

2. Firſt I deny not that whatever excellent gifts appear in unbelievers, they are the gifts of God. Neither do I ſo far differ from the common opinion, that I would affirm that there is no difference between the juſtice, temperance and equity of Titus and Trajan, and the rage, intemperance, and cruelty of Caligula, or Nero, or Domitian: between the filthy luſts of Tiberius, and in this behalf the continency of Veſpaſian: and (that we may not tarry too long upon ſome ſpecial virtues or vices) between the obſerving and the deſpiſing of equity and law. For there is ſo great difference of right and wrong, that it appeareth even in the dead image thereof. For what will remain well ordered in the world, if we confound right and wrong together? For which cauſe the Lord hath not only engraven ſuch a difference between honeſt and diſhoneſt actions, in the minds of all men, but alſo doth often confirm it in the diſpenſations of his providence. For we ſee how he extendeth many of the bleſſings of this preſent life to them who follow virtue. Not becauſe that outward image of virtue deſerveth the leaſt benefit of his: but ſo it pleaſeth him to declare by this proof how much true righteouſneſs pleaſeth him, when he alloweth not, even an outward and feigned righteouſneſs to paſs without a reward. Whence follows what we juſt now confeſſed, that theſe virtues ſuch as they are, or rather images of virtues, are the gifts of God, as there is nothing praiſe worthy in them, which proceedeth not from him.

3. But

There is a punishable wickedness in the greatest righteousness of unbelievers.

3. But nevertheless it is true which Augustine writeth, *Lib.* 4. *cont. Julianum.* that all they who are strangers from the true religion of the one God, however they may be reckoned worthy of admiration for the sake of virtue, are not only worthy of no reward, but rather deserve punishment, because by their pollution of heart, they bespot the pure good things of God. For though they are the instruments of God to preserve fellowship among men with justice, continency, temperance of mind, courage, and wisdom: yet they very ill execute these good works of God: because they are restrained from doing evil not by a sincere love of goodness, but only by ambition, a love of themselves, or by some other crooked affection. Therefore as they are corrupt by the very uncleanness of the heart, and by their beginning, they are no more to be reckoned among virtues, than those vices which are wont to deceive by their nearness and likeness of virtue. Finally, when we remember, that the end of that which is right, is that God may be always served: whatever tendeth to any other end, doth immediately and justly lose the name of right. Because they have no respect to the mark which the wisdom of God appointeth: though the actions they perform, seem good in the doing, yet by the wrong end they pursue it becomes sinful. He concludeth therefore that the Fabricii, Scipioes, and Catoes, in all those excellent actions of theirs, sinned in this manner, because wanting the light of faith, they did not apply them unto that end to which they ought to have directed them: and for this reason he concludes, that true righteousness was not in them: for as much as duties are not judged of by doing them, but by the end proposed.

Whatsoever is done by men unreconciled unto God is ill done.

4. Moreover if it be true which John saith: (1 John v. 12.) that there is no life without the Son of God: Those who have no part in Christ, what manner of men soever they be, whatever they do or go about, yet they run forward with their whole course into destruction, and the judgment of eternal death. After this reason, is that said of Augustine. *Lib. ad Boni. in cap.* 5. Our religion discerneth the righteous from the unrighteous, not by the law of works: but by the law of faith alone, without which, those actions which seem good are turned into sins. Wherefore the same Augustine saith very well in another place, *Præf. in Psal.* when he compareth the endeavours of such men, to running out of the way. For the faster a man runneth out of the way, so much further he is from the mark, and thereby is made so much the more miserable. Wherefore he affirmeth that it is better to halt in the way, that to run out of the road. Finally, it is certain that they are bad trees, because without the communication of Christ there is no sanctification; They may indeed bear fair fruit and beautiful to the eye, yea sweet to the taste, yet it will not be good fruit. Hereby we easily perceive that whatever man thinketh, purposeth, or doth, before he be reconciled to God by faith, is accursed, and not only of no value to righteousness, but rather most surely deserving condemnation. And why dispute we of this as a thing doubtful since it is already proved by the testimony of the apostle, (Heb. xi. 6.) that it is impossible for any man to please God without faith?

There is no more power in us to do good, till God in mercy renew us, than there is in a dead body to do any action of life.

5. But there will yet appear a plainer proof, if the grace of God be set directly in opposition to the natural state of man. For the scripture saith every where, that God finding nothing in man whereby he may be provoked to do him good, preventeth him with his own free goodness. What can a dead man do to attain life? But when he enlighteneth us with the knowlege of himself, he is said (John v. 25.) to raise us from death, and to make us new creatures. For we see that oftentimes, especially by the apostle Paul, the goodness of God is set forth unto us by this title, God (saith he, Eph. ii. 4, 5.) who is rich in mercy, for the great love wherewith he loved us, even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ, &c. In another place, (Rom. xi. 35.) where under the figure of Abraham he speaketh of the general calling of the faithful, he saith: it is God that giveth life to the dead, and calleth those things that are not, as though they were. If we are nothing, what (I pray you) can we do? Wherefore the Lord strongly beateth down this arrogance, in the history of Job, (Job xli. 11.) in these words: who hath prevented me, that I should repay him? whatsoever is under the whole heaven is mine. Which sentence Paul expounding, applyeth it to this, that we should not think that we bring any thing to the Lord but mere shame of want and emptiness. Wherefore in (Eph. ii. 10.) to

prove that we are called into the hope of ſalvation by his grace alone, not by works, he allegeth that we are his workmanſhip created in Chriſt Jeſus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we ſhould walk in them. As if he had ſaid: which of us can boaſt that he hath with his righteouſneſs provoked God, ſince our firſt power to do good proceedeth from regeneration? For as we are made by nature, oil ſhall ſooner be wrong out of a ſtone, that a good work out of us. Truly it is ſurpriſing that any man after being convicted with ſo great ſhame, dare yet ſay that there remaineth any good thing with him. Therefore let us confeſs with this noble inſtrment of God, the apoſtle Paul (2 Tim. i. 9.) that we are called of God with a holy calling, not according to our works, but according to his purpoſe and grace: and with the ſame apoſtle, (Tit. iii. 4, 5, 7.) that the kindneſs and love of God our Saviour toward us hath appeared, becauſe he hath ſaved us, not by works of righteouſneſs which we have done, but according to his own mercy: that being juſtified by his grace, we might be made the heirs of eternal life. By this confeſſion we deſpoil man of all righteouſneſs even to the leaſt little particle thereof, till he be by mercy alone regenerate into hope of eternal life: becauſe if the righteouſneſs of works bring any thing toward the juſtifying of us, it is falſly ſaid (Rom. xi. 6.) that we are juſtified by grace. Truly the apoſtle had not forgotten himſelf, when he affirmed juſtification to be of free gift, who in another place argueth that grace is not grace, if works avail us any thing. And what other thing doth our Lord mean, when he ſaith, (Matth. ix. 23.) that he came not to call the righteous but ſinners to repentance. And if only ſinners are received, why ſeek we an entry by a falſe and ſuppoſed righteouſneſs of our own?

God unſought unto by us, ſeeketh us of mere love, and doth not only propoſe a redemption which we by our own works may obtain in Chriſt, but by effectual calling ingraft us into Chriſt by whoſe blood being ſo in-

6. But this ſame thought now and then recurreth to my mind, that there is ſome danger leſt I ſhould wrong the mercy of God, while I labour ſo carefully to prove this as though it were doubtful or dark. But becauſe our envy is ſuch, that unleſs it be altogether thruſt out of place, it never yeildeth to God that which is his, I am compelled to to tarry ſomewhat the longer upon it. Yet as the ſcripture is clear enough in this matter, I will in combating this error, rather uſe the words thereof than my own. Iſaiah, when he hath deſcribed the univerſal deſtruction of mankind, doth immediately after very fitly adjoin the order of reſtoring. (Iſa. lxiii. 5.) The Lord looked, and there was none to help; and I wondered that there was none to uphold: therefore mine own arm brought ſalvation unto me, and my fury it upheld me. Where are our righteouſneſſes if it be true which the prophet ſaith; that there was no man that helped the Lord in recovering his ſalvation? So another prophet, (Hoſ. ii. 19.) bringeth in the Lord, diſcourſing of the reconciling of ſinners to himſelf, ſaith: I will eſpouſe thee unto me for ever, in righteouſneſs, in judgment, and in loving kindneſs, and in mercies. I will ſay to her that hath not obtained mercy, thou haſt obtained mercy. If ſuch covenant, which it is certain to be the firſt conjoining that we have with God, dependeth only upon the mercy of God, there is no foundation left for our own righteouſneſs. And I would fain learn of thoſe men who imagine that man meeteth God with ſome righteouſneſs of works, whether they think that there is any righteouſneſs at all, except that which is acceptable to God. If it be madneſs to think ſo, what acceptable thing to God can proceed from his enemies, whom he utterly abhorreth with all their actions? That all we, I ſay, are the deadly and profeſſed enemies of our God, the truth itſelf teſtifieth, (Rom. v. 10. and Coloſ. i. 2.) till being juſtified, we are received into friendſhip. If juſtification be the beginning of God's love, what righteouſneſs of works ſhall go before it? So John, (1 John iv. 10.) to ſilence that arrogant pride which is naturally in us, doth carefully put us in mind that we did not firſt love him. And the ſelf ſame thing the Lord had long before taught by the prophet: (Hoſ. xiv. 4.) I will love them ſaith he, with a free love, becauſe mine anger is turned away. Certainly his love is not provoked by works, if it hath of his own accord inclined itſelf unto us. But rude and ignorant people think it to be nothing elſe, but only that no man hath deſerved that Chriſt ſhould perform our redemption: yet that to the entring into the poſſeſſion of redemption, we are aſſiſted by our own works, but though we are redeemed of Chriſt, yet till we are by the calling of the Father graffed into the communion of him, we are both heirs of darkneſs and death, and enemies to God. For Paul teacheth (1 Cor. vi. 11.) that we are not cleanſed and waſhed from our impurity and filthineſs by the blood of Chriſt,

graffed we are redeemed.

until

until the holy Ghoſt work that cleanſing in us. Which ſame thing Peter intending to teach, declareth (1 Pet. i. 2:) that the ſanctifying of the Spirit availeth unto obedience and the ſprinkling of the blood of Chriſt. If we are by the Spirit ſprinkled with the blood of Chriſt unto cleanſing, let us not think that before ſuch waſhing we are any other than a ſinner is without Chriſt. Let this therefore remain certain, that the beginning of our ſalvation is as it were a certain reſurrection from death to life: Becauſe when for Chriſt's ſake it is given to us to believe in him, then we firſt begin to paſs from death into life.

The ſecond and third ſorts of men mentioned Sect. 1. not having faith, cannot have ſuch a righteouſneſs as will ſanctify them.

7. Under this ſort are comprehended they who have in the diviſion above made, been marked as the ſecond and third ſort of men. For the impurity of their conſciences proves that both of them are not yet regenerate by the Spirit of God. And again, as there is no regeneration in them, this proves their want of faith. Whereby it appeareth that they are not yet reconciled to God, nor juſtified in his ſight: foraſmuch as theſe good things are not attained to, but by faith. What can ſinners eſtranged from God bring forth, but that which is accurſed in his judgment? With this fooliſh confidence all wicked men are puffed up, and eſpecially hypocrites, becauſe though they know that their heart ſwarmeth with all kinds of corruptions, yet if they perform any works that have a ſhew of goodneſs, they think that God ſhould not deſpiſe them. Hence ariſeth that pernicious error, that being proved guilty of a wicked and miſchievous mind, yet they cannot be brought to confeſs themſelves void of righteouſneſs: and even when they acknowlege themſelves unrighteous, becauſe they cannot deny it, yet they arrogantly claim ſome righteouſneſs unto themſelves. This vanity the Lord excellently well confuteth by the prophet, (Hag. ii. 11, 12, 13.) aſk the prieſts ſaying: if a man carry ſanctified fleſh in the hem of his garments, and putteth to it bread or other meat, ſhall it be ſanctified? and the prieſts anſwered: No. And Haggai ſaid, If a defiled man in ſoul touch any of theſe things, ſhall it be defiled? The prieſts anſwered: it ſhall be defiled. Haggai ſaid, So is this people before my face, ſaith the Lord, and ſo is every work of their hands; and all things that they offer to me ſhall be defiled. I would to God that this ſaying might either get full credit with us, or be well ſettled in our remembrance. For there is no man, though he be in his whole life never ſo hainous a wicked doer, can endure to be perſuaded of that which the Lord here plainly pronounceth. The worſt man, ſo ſoon as he hath performed one or two doubtful deeds of the law, doubteth not that they are accounted to him for righteouſneſs. But the Lord declareth on the contrary, that there is no ſanctification gotten thereby, unleſs the heart be firſt well cleanſed. And not contented therewith, he affirmeth that all works whatſoever they be which proceed from ſinners, are defiled with the uncleanneſs of the heart. Therefore let the name of righteouſneſs be taken from theſe works which are by the Lord's own mouth condemned of filthineſs. And with how fit a ſimilitude doth he ſhew the ſame? For it might have been objected, that whatſoever the Lord had commanded, was inviolably holy. But he on the contrary ſide ſetteth againſt them, that it is no wonder, if thoſe things that are hallowed by the law of the Lord, are defiled with the filthineſs of naughty men: whereas an unclean hand profaneth a holy thing with touch in it.

The hearts of hypocrites not being purged, their works tho' in appearance fair, cannot be accepted graciouſly in the ſight of God.

8. The ſame matter he excellently well handleth in Iſaiah, (Iſa. i. 13.----16.) Offer not (ſaith he) ſacrifice in vain: incenſe is an abomination to me: my ſoul hateth your new moons and your appointed feaſts. They are become tedious to me, and I have been weary with bearing them: when you hold up your hands I will turn away mine eyes from you: when you ſhall multiply your prayers I will not hear: for your hands are full of blood. Be ye waſhed, be ye clean, put away the evil of your doings. What meaneth this that the Lord ſo lotheth the obeying of his own law? he here refuſeth nothing that floweth from the natural obſerving of the law, the beginning whereof he every where teacheth to be the unfeigned fear of his name. When that is not done, whatever things are offered to him are not only trifles, but ſtinking and abominable filthineſs. Now let the hypocrites go, and ſtill keeping their perverſeneſs wrapt up in their hearts, and endeavour to deſerve the favour of God with works. By this means, they will but more and more provoke him to wrath. For the ſacrifices of the wicked are an abomination to the Lord: but the prayer

of the upright is his delight. (Pſal. xv. 8.) Therefore we hold, that as a thing not to be doubted, which ought to be known by him, who is even but meanly exerciſed in the ſcriptures, that even thoſe works that glitter moſt gloriouſly in men not yet truly ſanctified, are ſo far from righteouſneſs in the ſight of the Lord, that they are judged ſins. And therefore they ſpeak very properly who have taught (*Aug. lib. de pœn. & Gre.*) that favour with God is not procured to any perſon by works: but on the contrary that works do then pleaſe, and never till then, when the perſon hath firſt found grace in the ſight of God. And this order is religiouſly to be kept, to which the ſcripture leadeth us by the hand. Moſes writeth (Gen. iv. 4.) that the Lord had reſpect to Abel and to his works. See you not how he declareth that God is favourable to the men, before he had a reſpect to their works? Wherefore the cleanſing of the heart muſt go before the works which we do can be graciouſly received of God: becauſe this ſaying of Jeremiah is always in force, (Jer. v. 3.) O Lord! are not thine eyes upon the truth? And that it is faith only which purifieth the hearts of men, the holy Ghoſt hath affirmed by the mouth of Peter: (Acts xv. 9.) whereby it is certain, that the firſt foundation is in true and lively faith.

From the fourth ſort of men, ſuch as are truly juſtified through Chriſt, there proceedeth not one good work in all points holy and perfect.

9. Now let us look what righteouſneſs they have, whom we have ſet in the fourth rank. We grant that when God by means of the righteouſneſs of Chriſt, reconcileth us to himſelf, and by giving us free forgiveneſs of ſins, accounteth us for righteous; and with this mercy, is alſo conjoined his beneficial working in us by his holy Spirit which dwelleth in us, by the power whereof the luſts of the fleſh are daily more and more mortified: but we are ſanctified, that is to ſay, hallowed to the Lord unto true purity of life, when our hearts are framed to the obedience of his law: that this may be our chief will, to keep his commandments, and by all means to advance only his glory. But even while we walk in the ways of the Lord, by the guiding of the holy Ghoſt, leſt we ſhould forget ourſelves and wax proud, there are left ſome remains of imperfection, to keep us ſtill humble. There is none righteous (ſaith the ſcripture, 1 Kings viii. 46.) that doth good and ſinneth not. What manner of righteouſneſs therefore will they get by their works? Firſt, I ſay, that the beſt work that can be brought forth by them, is always ſprinkled and corrupted with ſome uncleanneſs of the fleſh, and hath as it were ſome dregs mingled with it. I ſay, let a holy ſervant of God chooſe out of all his life the moſt excellent thing that he thinks he hath done in the whole courſe thereof, and let him well conſider all the parts of it, without doubt he will find ſomething in it ſavouring of the rottenneſs of the fleſh, becauſe to well-doing our chearful quickneſs is never ſuch as it ought to be, but in ſlackening our courſe our weakneſs is much. Although we ſee that there are ſome foul blots wherewith the works of believers are beſpotted, yea grant that they are but very ſmall, will they not offend the eyes of God, before whom even the ſtars are not clean? Thus have we ſhewed that there cometh not ſo much as one good work out of holy men, which if it be judged as it is in it ſelf deſerveth not ſhame.

If we could do any thing perfectly good, yet the evil which we do, would make it of no avail unto righteouſneſs, God judging us according to the rigour of the law which doth not require only ſome thing righteous, but forbiddeth every unrighteous thing under pain of death and condemnation.

10. Secondly, I ſay, though it were poſſible that we could have ſome thoroughly pure and perfect works, yet one ſin is enough to blot out and quench all remembrance of our former righteouſneſs, as the prophet ſaith, (Ezek. xviii. 24.) with whom alſo James agreeth: (Jam. ii. 10.) he that offendeth (ſaith he) in one point, is guilty of all. Now ſince this mortal life is never pure or free from ſin, whatever righteouſneſs we ſhould purchaſe, being corrupted, oppreſſed and loſt, by after ſins it could, not come into the ſight of God, nor be accounted to us for righteouſneſs. Finally, when the righteouſneſs of works is treated of, we muſt not have reſpect to the works of the law, but to the commandment. Therefore if we ſeek righteouſneſs by the law, we will in vain bring forth one or two good works, for a perpetual obedience of the law is neceſſary thereunto. Wherefore the Lord doth not only once (as many fooliſhly think) impute to us for righteouſneſs the forgiveneſs of ſins whereof we have ſpoken, that having once obtained pardon of our life paſt, we ſhould afterwards ſeek righteouſneſs by the law, becauſe he would only bring us into a falſe hope, and mock and laugh us to ſcorn. But as abſolute perfection is not attainable ſo long as we are cloth-

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ed with this flesh, and since the law threateneth death and judgment to all them who perform not a full righteousness of works, it will always have something whereof to accuse and condemn us, unless the mercy of God on the other side withstand it, to acquit us from time to time with continual forgiveness of sins. Wherefore this standeth alway certain which we said at the beginning, that if we are judged by our own worth, whatever we propose or go about, yet with all our labours and endeavours we are worthy of death and destruction.

11. Upon these two points we must stand fast: that there never was any work of a godly man, which if it be examined by the strict judgment of God, but will be condemned. Again, if there be any such shew of good works, (which is not possible for man) yet being corrupted and defiled with sin, wherewith it is certain that the doer is laden, it loseth its grace. And this is the chief point of the matter in dispute. For about the beginning of justification there is no difference between us and the sounder sort of schoolmen, and we agree with them that a sinner being freely delivered from damnation obtaineth righteousness, by the forgiveness of sins; except in this, that they under the word justification comprehend the renewing wherewith we are newly formed by the Spirit of God unto the obedience of the law, and thus they describe the righteousness of a regenerate man. That man being once reconciled to God by the faith of Christ, is judged righteous before God by his good works, and by their merits is accepted. But the Lord saith on the contrary (Rom. iv. 13.) that he imputed faith to Abraham for righteousness, not at the time when he yet served idols, but after he had many years excelled in holiness of life. Therefore Abraham had long worshipped God from a pure heart, and had performed that obedience of the law which can be performed by a mortal man, yet he hath righteousness reposed in faith. Whence we gather, according to the argument of Paul, (Rom. iv. 4.) that it was not of works. Likewise when it is said in the prophet: The just shall live by faith, it is not spoken of wicked and prophane men, whom the Lord justifieth by converting them to the faith, but the speech is directed to believers, and to them life is promised by faith. Paul also taketh away all doubt, when for confirming of that sentence, he taketh this verse of David: (Psal. xxxii. 2.) Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven. But it is certain, that David speaketh not of the wicked, but of believers, such as himself was: because he spake from the feeling of his own conscience. Therefore we must not have this blessedness once in our life, but maintain it through the whole course thereof. Last of all he testifieth (2Cor. v. 18.) that the embassy concerning the free reconciliation with God is not published for one day or two, but is perpetual in the church. Therefore believers have even to the end of their life no other righteousness than that which is there set forth. For Christ everlastingly remaineth a Mediator to reconcile the Father to us, and the efficacy of his death is everlasting: namely washing, satisfaction, expiation, and finally perfect obedience, wherewith all our iniquities are covered. Neither doth Paul to the Ephesians say, we derive the beginning of our salvation from grace, but that we are saved by grace, not of works, that no man should boast.

The shifts of the schoolmen in maintaining the righteousness of good works.

12. The lurking holes which the schoolmen here seek to escape by, will not deliver them. They say that good works are not by any inward worth in themselves of so great value, that they can be sufficient to purchase righteousness, but they say, that they are of so great value, through grace accepting of them. Then, because they are driven to confess that the righteousness of works in this life is always imperfect, they grant, that so long as we live, we need the forgiveness of sins, whereby the want of works is supplied: but that the sins which are committed, are recompenced with works of supererogation. But I answer, that accepting grace as they call it, is nothing else than the free goodness wherewith the Father embraceth us in Christ, when he clotheth us with the innocence of Christ, and accounteth it ours, that by the beneficial means thereof he may receive and accept us as holy, pure, and innocent. For, the righteousness of Christ (which as it is only perfect, so it only can abide the sight of God) must be set in our stead, and presented at the bar as our surety. And being furnished herewith we obtain the continual forgiveness of our sins through faith. With the purity whereof the impurity, and filthiness of our imperfections being covered they are not imputed unto us; but are hidden, as if they were buried, that they may not come into the judgment of God, until the hour come when the old man being slain and utterly destroyed in us, the goodness of God shall receive us into blessed peace with the second Adam, where let us look for the day of the Lord, in which receiving incorruptible bodies, we shall be

removed into the glory of his heavenly kingdom.

The imperfection of our works is not supplied either by works of supererogation or satisfaction.

13. If these things be true, then surely no works of ours can of themselves make us acceptable and pleasing to God: neither can our works themselves please, but in this respect that being covered with the righteousness of Christ, they please God, and obtain forgiveness of our sins. For God hath not promised the reward of eternal life to some certain works, but only faith (Levit. xviii. 5.) that he who doth these things shall live: denouncing a curse against all them that continue not in all things. Whereby the contrivance of a righteousness in part is fully confuted, since no other righteousness is admitted into heaven, but an observing of the whole law. And no sounder is that doctrine which they say is capable of supplying the want of works, by works of supererogation. For do they not still return to the same place from whence they are already shut out: that he who keepeth the law in part, is by works so far righteous. And shamefully take that for granted, which no man of sound judgment will allow them. The Lord often testifieth that he acknowlegeth no righteousness of works, but in the perfect observing of his law. What obstinacy then is it, that when we are destitute of that obedience, lest we should appeared divested of all glorying and to have given place altogether to God, we boast of I know not what, some small remnants of a few works, and go about by satisfactions to redeem what is wanting. Satisfactions have been already overthrown, and therefore we ought not so much as dream of them. Only this I say, that they who play the fool so, do not consider how detestable a thing sin is before God: for then they would understand that the whole righteousness of men being laid in a heap, is not sufficient to make recompence for one sin. And we see, (Gen. iii. 17.) that man was for one offence cast away and so utterly forsaken of God, that he lost all means to recover salvation: therefore the power of satisfaction is taken away, wherewith they flatter themselves, and it is a most certain truth that they will never satisfy God, to whom nothing is pleasant or acceptable which proceedeth from his enemies. And his enemies are all they to whom he purposeth to impute sin. Therefore our sins must be covered and forgiven, before the Lord can have respect to any work of ours. Whence it followeth that the forgiveness of sins is of free grace, which they wickedly blaspheme who trust in any satisfactions. Let us therefore, after the example of the apostle, (Phil. iii. 13. 14.) forgetting those things that are behind, and hasting forward to those things which are before, run on our race, endeavouring to obtain the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.

Works of supererogation are works which we cannot work.

14. But how doth the boasting of works of supererogation agree with that rule which is taught us, (Luke xvii. 10.) that when we have done all things which are commanded us, we should say that we are unprofitable servants, and that we have done no more than we ought? To say or confess before God, is not to feign or lie, but to determine with thy self, that which thou art assured of. The Lord therefore commanded us unfeignedly to think and consider with ourselves, that we do not any free and profitable actions unto him, but render due service. And very justly. For we are servants owing him so many services, that we are not able to discharge them, though all our thoughts and all our members, were turned into dutiful deeds of the law. And therefore that which he saith, when ye have done all things that are commanded you, &c. is as much in effect, as if the righteousness of one man were more than all the righteousness of men. How therefore can (we who are very far distant from this mark) be so bold as to boast that we have added a heap to the full measure? Neither is there any reason why any man may take exception and say, there is nothing which hindereth his endeavour to go beyond necessary duties, which in some measure supersedeth those that are necessary. For this we must hold fast and maintain that we can imagine nothing that availeth either to the worship or the love of God, which is not comprehended under the law of God. If it be a part of the law, let us not boast of a voluntary liberality, when we are bound by necessity.

We do no more unto God than we owe: if we do that which he requireth not, it is such as we cannot hope that ever he will reward.

15. And for this purpose that glorying of Paul, (2 Cor. vi. 1.) is alleged out of season. That among the Corinthians he did of his own will give up a part of his right, which otherwise he might have used if he had inclined so to do, and that he employed upon them, not only so much as he ought for duty to have done, but also gave them his free and voluntary labour beyond the bounds of his

his duty. But they ſhould have obſerved the reaſon there expreſſed, that he did this leſt he ſhould be an offence to the weak. For falſe and deceitful workmen boaſted of this alluring ſhew of liberality, that they might procure a favourable reception to their poiſonous doctrines, and raiſe up a hatred againſt the goſpel, ſo that Paul was neceſſitated either to bring the doctrine of Chriſt into danger, or to meet with ſuch craftineſs. Go to: if it be an indifferent thing to a Chriſtian to run into offence, when he may refrain it, then I grant that the apoſtle did ſomething of a ſupererogation for the Lord. But if this was required by right of a wiſe and prudent diſtributer of the grace of the goſpel, then I ſay that he did only what was his duty to do. Finally, although there appear no ſuch cauſe, yet this ſaying of Chryſoſtome is ſtill true, that all our good actions are in the ſame condition with the goods of ſlaves, which it is certain are their maſter's by the law. And Chriſt hath declared the ſame in the parable. (Luke xvii. 7.) For he aſks what thanks we will give a bond ſervant, when havingbeen all the day occupied in ſundry labours he returneth home to us in the evening. Yea it is poſſible, that he hath laboured with greater diligence than we durſt have required. Be it ſo: yet he hath done nothing but what he ought to have done by his ſtate of bondage, for he with his whole ability is ours. I ſpeak not of what kind their ſupererogations are, which theſe men will boaſt of to God: for they are ſuch trifles, as he neither hath at any time commanded, or approved, nor will he allow them when account ſhall be made before him. In this ſenſe only will we grant that they are works of ſupererogation, as it is expreſſed in the prophet, who hath required theſe things at your hands? But let them remember what is in another place ſpoken of theſe things: wherefore do ye ſpend your money for that which is not bread? and your labour for that which ſatisfieth not? It is not very hard indeed for theſe idle Rabbins to diſpute under the ſhadow in a ſoft chair: but when the ſovereign judge ſhall ſit in his judgment ſeat, ſuch windy decrees muſt neceſſarily vaniſh away. This only is to be ſought, what certain truſt of defence we may bring before his judgment ſeat, not what we may talk of in ſchools and corners.

We muſt beware of truſting unto, and of glorying in our works.

16. In this matter there are chiefly two plagues to be driven out of our minds: firſt, that we place no confidence in the righteouſneſs of works. And ſecondly, that we aſcribe no part of glory to them. The ſcriptures do every where drive us from all manner of confidence in them, when they teach that our righteouſneſſes ſtink in the ſight of God, unleſs they receive a good ſavour from the innocence of Chriſt; and that they provoke the vengeance of God, unleſs they be ſuſtained by the tenderneſs of his mercy. Moreover they leave us nothing, but that we ſhould crave the mercy of our judge, with that confeſſion of David, (Pſal. cxliii. 2.) that none ſhould be juſtified before him, if he require an account of his ſervants. But where Job ſaith: if I have done wickedly, wo unto me: but if I do righteouſly, yet I will not lift up my head: though he mean that moſt high righteouſneſs of God, whereunto the very angels anſwer not: yet he therewithal ſheweth that when they come to the judgment of God, there remaineth nothing for all men, but to hold their peace as dumb. For his meaning here is, that he had rather willingly yield, than dangerouſly ſtrive with the ſeverity of God: and alſo that he felt no other righteouſneſs in himſelf, but ſuch as at the firſt moment ſhould fall before the ſight of God. When truſt and confidence is driven away, all glorying muſt alſo neceſſarily depart. For who can give the praiſe of righteouſneſs to theſe works, the confidence whereof trembleth before the ſight of God? We muſt therefore come whither Iſaiah calleth us, (Iſa. xlvi. 13.) that all the ſeed of Iſrael may be praiſed and glory in God: becauſe it is moſt true which he ſaith in another place, (Iſa. lxi. 3.) that we are the planting of the glory of God. Our mind therefore ſhall then rightly be purged, when it ſhall neither in any manner reſt upon the confidence of works, nor rejoice in the glory of them. This error encouraged fooliſh men to the puffing up of this falſe and lying confidence, that they always place the cauſe of their ſalvation in works.

Works no way the cauſe of ſalvation.

17. But if we look to the four kinds of cauſes, which philoſophers deſire us to conſider in the effect of things, we will find that none of theſe cauſes agree with works in the ſecuring of our ſalvation. For the ſcripture every where reports that the procuring cauſe of eternal life to us, is the mercy of the heavenly Father and his free love toward us; the material cauſe is Chriſt with his obedience, by which he purchaſed righteouſneſs for us; and what ſhall we ſay is the formal or inſtrumental cauſe, but faith? And theſe three cauſes John comprehendeth together in one ſentence, when he

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faith, (John iii. 16.) God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that every one who believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. And the final cause the apostle testifieth to be the shewing forth of the righteousness of God and the praise of his goodness: where he mentions also the other three in express words. For he saith to the Romans: (Rom. iii. 23, 24.) all have sinned and come short of the glory of God: but they are justified freely by his grace. Here you have the head and first fountain, namely that God embraceth us with his free mercy. Then followeth: through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus. Here you have as it were the matter whereof righteousness is made for us, through faith in his blood. Here is shewed the instrumental cause, whereby the righteousness of Christ is applied to us. Last of all he joineth the end, when he saith, To declare his righteousness: that he may be just, and the justifier of him who believeth in Jesus. And (to touch by the way that this righteousness consists in reconciliation) he says expressly by name, that Christ was given to us for reconciliation. So in the first chapter also to the Ephesians he teacheth that we are received into the favour of God by mere mercy; and that the same is effected, by the intercession of of Christ; received by faith, and all for this purpose that the glory of the goodness of God may fully shine. Now when we see that all the parts of our salvation are without us, what cause is there that we should either have confidence or glory in works? Or can even the most inveterate enemies of the grace of God quarrel with us about the efficient or final cause, unless they will deny the whole scripture. On the material and formal cause they cast a false gloss, as if our works had a half place with faith and the righteousness of Christ. And this they teach tho' the scriptures cry out against them, which simply affirms both that Christ is to us for righteousness and life, and that this benefit of righteousness is possessed by faith only.

Why believers comfort themselves in a consciousness of their own uprightness.

18. But whereas believers do often strengthen and comfort themselves with the remembrance of their own innocency and uprightness, and sometimes also forbear not to speak of it with praise, this is done two ways: either that by comparing their good cause with the evil cause of the wicked, they may find an assured trust of victory, not so much to commend their own righteousness, as to condemn their adversaries: or that even without comparing themselves to others, while they record themselves before God, the purity of their consciences brings them both some comfort and trust. Of the first of these two ways, we shall speak hereafter: now let us briefly declare, how the latter agrees with what is said above, that in the judgment of God we must put no trust, in works nor glory upon an opinion of them. This is the agreement that believers, when it concerns the founding and stablishing of their salvation, do without any respect to works turn their eyes to the goodness of God only. And they not only look to it afore all things as the beginning of blessedness, but rest therein as in the fulfilling of it. A conscience so founded, raised and established, is also established with a consideration of works: namely so far as they witness God dwelling and reigning in us. Therefore seeing this trust in works hath no place, unless thou hast first placed the whole confidence of thy mind upon the mercy of God: it ought not to seem contrary to that whereupon it depends. When we exclude confidence or trust in works, we mean only this, that a Christian must not incline to the merit of works, as thinking them any way helpful to salvation, but should thoroughly rest in the free promise of righteousness. But we do not forbid him it to prop and strengthen this faith with the signs of the good will of God toward himself. For if all the good gifts which God hath bestowed upon us, when they are kept in remembrance, are as it were beams of the face of God, by which we are enlightned to behold that sovereign light of goodness: much more is the grace of good works, which sheweth that the Spirit of adoption is given us.

The comfort which good men conceive by a consciousness of their integrity is grounded upon the knowlege of righteousness without respect of works.

19. Therefore when believers by innocency of conscience confirm their faith, and gather matter of rejoicing, they do nothing but call to mind by the fruit of their calling, that they are adopted of the Lord into the place of children. This therefore which is taught by Solomon, (Prov. xiv. 26.) that in the fear of the Lord is strong confidence. And this that sometimes the holy ones use this protestation, to the intent that they may be heard of the Lord, that they have walked before his face in uprightness and simplicity: have no place in laying the foundation of stablishing of conscience: but are then only of value, if they be taken of the ensuing effect: because both that fear is no where which may establish a full assuredness, and the holy ones are privy in their conscience of such

such an uprightneſs, wherewith are yet mingled many remnants of the fleſh. But foraſmuch as of the fruits of regeneration they gather an argument of the holy Ghoſt dwelling in them, they do thereby not ſlenderly ſtrengthen themſelves to look for the help of God in all their neceſſities, when they by experience find him their Father in ſo great a matter. And even this alſo they cannot do, unleſs they have firſt conceived the goodneſs of God, ſealed with no other aſſuredneſs, than of the promiſe. For if they begin to weigh it by good works, nothing ſhall be more uncertain nor more weak: foraſmuch as if works be conſidered by themſelves, they ſhall no leſs by their imperfection ſhew proof of the wrath of God, than they do with howſoever imperfect pureneſs teſtify his good will. Finally they do ſo ſet out the benefits of God, that yet they turn not away from the free favour of God, in which Paul teſtifieth (Eph. iii. 18.) that there is the length, breadth, depth, and height of them: as if he ſhould ſay: whitherſoever the ſenſes of the godly do turn themſelves, how high ſoever they climb, how far and wide ſoever they extend them, yet they ought not to go out of the love of Chriſt, but hold themſelves wholly in the meditation thereof, becauſe it comprehendeth all kinds of meaſures in it. And therefore he ſaith that it excelleth and ſurmounteth above all knowlege: and that when we acknowlege how much Chriſt hath loved us, we are fulfilled into all the fulneſs of God. As in another place, when he glorieth that all the godly are vanquiſhers in battle, he by and by addeth a reaſon, (Rom. viii. 37.) becauſe of him that loved us.

If we do good it is God's doing and not ours, and with the good which is his, there is much evil of ours mingled.

20. We ſee now that there is not in the holy ones that affiance of works, which either giveth any thing to the merit of them (foraſmuch as they regard them no otherwiſe than as ſigns of their calling, whereby they may think upon their election) or which withdraweth not any thing from the free righteouſneſs which we obtain in Chriſt, foraſmuch as it hangeth upon it, and ſtandeth not without it. The ſame thing doth Auguſtine in few words, but very well ſet out where he writeth, I do not ſay to the Lord, deſpiſe not the works of my hands, or I have ſought the Lord with my hands and have not been deceived. But I do not commend the works of my hands: for I fear, leſt when you have looked upon them, you will find moe ſins than merits: only this I ſay, this I aſk, this I deſire, deſpiſe not the works of thy hands, behold in me thy work, not mine. For if thou beholdeſt mine, thou damneſt me, if thou beholdeſt thine, thou crowneſt me. For alſo whatever good works I have, they are of thee. He mentioneth two cauſes, why he dare not boaſt of his works to God, becauſe if he hath any good works, he ſeeth nothing of his own therein: ſecondly, becauſe the ſame is alſo overwhelmed with a multitude of ſins. Whereupon it comes to paſs that the conſcience feeleth thereby more fear and diſmay than aſſurance. Therefore he would have God no otherwiſe to look on his good actions, than that acknowleging in them the grace of his calling, he may make an end of the work which he hath begun.

In what ſenſe the good which we do, is termed a cauſe of that good which God doth unto them.

21. But furthermore whereas the ſcripture ſheweth that the good works of believers are cauſes why the Lord doth good to them, that is to be underſtood in ſuch a way as not to overturn the doctrine formerly taught, to wit, that the effect of our ſalvation conſiſteth in the love of God the Father: the matter, in the obedience of the Son: the inſtrument, in the enlightening of the holy Ghoſt, that is to ſay, in faith: that the end is the glory of this great kindneſs of God. Theſe things hinder not, but that the Lord may embrace works as inferior cauſes. But whence comes that? Namely they whom the Lord of his mercy hath appointed to the inheritance of eternal life, he with his ordinary diſpenſation by good works brings into the poſſeſſion thereof. That which goeth before in order of diſpenſation, he calleth the cauſe of that which followeth. After this manner, (Rom. viii. 30.) he ſometimes makes eternal life to flow from works: not becauſe it is to be aſcribed to them: but becauſe whom he hath choſen, them he juſtifies, that he may at length glorify them; he maketh the grace that goeth before which is a ſtep toward that which followeth, after a certain manner the cauſe of it. But as oft as he hath occaſion to aſſign the true cauſe, he commandeth us not to flee to works, but inſiſts upon us to think only upon the mercy of God. For what is this which he teacheth by the apoſtle. (Rom. vi. 23.) The reward of ſin is death: the the grace of the Lord, is life everlaſting? Why doth he not ſet righteouſneſs in oppoſition to ſin,

as he ſets life againſt death? Why doth he not make righteouſneſs the cauſe of life, as he maketh ſin the cauſe of death? For ſo ſhould the compariſon of contraries have ſtood well together, which is much broken by this turning. But the apoſtle meant by this compariſon to expreſs that which was truth, that death is due to the deſervings of men: that life is laid up only in the mercy of God. Finally in theſe forms of ſpeaking the order is rather expreſſed than the cauſe: becauſe God in heaping graces upon graces, taketh cauſe of the firſt to add the ſecond, that he may leave nothing undone to the enriching of his ſervants: and he ſo continually extendeth his liberality, that yet he would have us always look unto the free election which is the fountain and beginning of it. For though he love the gifts which he daily giveth, becauſe they ſpring out of that fountain: yet it is our part to hold faſt that free acceptation, which alone is able to ſupport our ſouls: and as for the gifts of his Spirit which he afterwards giveth us, we muſt join them in ſuch a manner to the firſt cauſe, that they ſhall not any way leſſen it.

CHAP. XV.

That thoſe things which are commonly boaſted concerning the merits of works, overthrow the praiſe of God in giving righteouſneſs, as alſo the aſſurance of ſalvation.

Whether works though not juſtifying may notwithſtanding merit.

WE have now ſhewed what is the chief point in this matter: that if righteouſneſs be upheld with works, it muſt immediately fall down in the ſight of God: it is contained in the mercy of God only, the communicating of Chriſt only, and therefore in faith only. But, let us carefully obſerve that this is the chief ſupport of the matter, leſt we be entangled in that general error, not only of the common people, but alſo of learned men. For ſo ſoon as the queſtion is propoſed concerning juſtification by faith or works, they flee to thoſe places which ſeem to attribute ſome merit to works, in the ſight of God: as though the juſtification of works were fully won, if it be once proved that they are of any value with God. But we have plainly ſhewed above that the righteouſneſs of works conſiſteth only in the perfect keeping of the law. Whereupon it followeth that no man is juſtified by works, but he who having attained to the height of perfection cannot be proved guilty of any offence be it never ſo little. Therefore it is another and a ſeparate queſtion, That though works are not ſufficient to juſtify a man, whether they do not deſerve favour with God?

The name of merit though uſed by the ancient fathers without prejudice to the truth might nevertheleſs have better been ſpared.

2. Firſt of the name of merit I muſt needs ſay this before hand, that whoever firſt applied it to the works of men compared to the judgment of God, he took very little care of the purity of faith. Truly for my part I would willingly drop any ſtrife about words but I could wiſh that this ſobriety had alway been obſerved among chriſtian writters, and that their hearts had not allowed them to uſe words foreign to the meaning of ſcripture, which produce much offence and no fruit. For to what purpoſe, I beſeech you, was it neceſſary to have the name of Merit brought in, when the price of good works might without offence, be properly expreſſed by another name? But what offence that word contains in it, is evident by the great hurt the world has ſuffered by it. And ſurely as it is a moſt arrogant expreſſion, it can do nothing but darken the grace of God, and fill men with pride. The old writers of the church, I grant have commonly uſed it, and I would to God they had not with the abuſing of one little word, given poſterity a foundation for an error. Although they themſelves in many places teſtify, that in no ways they meant to prejudice the truth. For thus ſaith Auguſtin in one place, *De prædeſt. Sanct.* Let the merits of men hold their peace, which have periſhed by Adam: and let the grace of God reign, by Jeſus Chriſt. Again, (Pſalm. cxxxix.) the ſaints attribute nothing to their own merits: they will give all to nothing elſe, but to thy mercy, O God. In another place, (Pſal lxxxviii.) When man ſees that whatever good he hath, he hath it not from himſelf, but from his God, he ſees that all which is praiſed in him, is not of his own merits, but of the mercy of God. You may here ſee, how by taking from men the power of doing well, he throws down the dignity and worth of merits. And Chryſoſtom ſaith, (*Hom.* 33. *in Gen.*) Our works, if there be any, which are conſequent to the free calling of God, are repayment and debt: but the gifs of God are grace, bounty,

bounty, and the height of liberality. But leaving the name, let us rather look upon the thing. I have before cited a ſentence out of Bernard, as it is a ſufficient merit, not to preſume on merits: ſo to want merits, is enough to condemn us. But by adding an explanation immediately, he ſufficiently ſoftens the harſhneſs of the expreſſion, where he ſaith: therefore take care to have merits: when thou haſt them, know that they are given thee as a hope of fruit, thou art to reap, even the mercy of God: and ſo thou haſt eſcaped all danger, of poverty, unthankfulneſs, and preſumption. Happy is the church which neither wanteth merits without preſumption, nor hath preſumption without merits. And he had a little before largely ſhewn, how godly a meaning he uſed. For of merits (ſaith he) why ſhould the church be careful, which hath a more ſtedfaſt and ſurer cauſe to glory in, even the purpoſe of God? God cannot deny himſelf, he will do that which he hath promiſed. If there be no cauſe why thou ſhouldſt aſk, by what merits we may hope for good things? eſpecially ſince you hear it ſaid, (Ezek. xxxvi. 22.) Not for your ſakes, but for my ſake: it is a ſufficient merit, to know that merits are not ſufficient.

Our works ſhall have reward, they deſerve none.

4. What our works deſerve, the ſcripture ſhews, when it ſaith that they cannot abide the ſight of God, becauſe they are full of uncleanneſs; then, what the perfect obſerving of the law (if any ſuch could be found) ſhall deſerve, when it teacheth (Luke xvii. 10.) that we ſhould think ourſelves unprofitable ſervants, when we have done all things that are commanded us? becauſe we have given nothing freely to the Lord, but only performed our due ſervices, to which there is no thanks to be given. But thoſe good works which he himſelf hath given us, the Lord both calleth ours and teſtifieth that they are not only acceptable to him, but alſo that they ſhall have a reward. It is our duty again on our part, to be encouraged with ſo great a promiſe, and to ſtrengthen our hearts, that we be not wearied with well doing, and to give ſincere and hearty thanks to the great bounty of God. It is certain that it flows from the grace of God, whatever there is in works that deſerves praiſe; and that there is not one drop, which we ought properly to aſcribe to ourſelves. If we truly and ſincerely acknowlege this, then vaniſhes away not only all confidence, but alſo all opinion of merit. We (I ſay) do not divide the praiſe of good works (as the Sophiſters do) between God and man: but we preſerve it whole, perfect, and undiminiſhed to the Lord. Only this we aſſign to man, that even the ſelf-ſame works that were good, he corrupts and defiles by his uncleanneſs. For nothing cometh out of man, how perfect ſoever he be, that is not defiled with ſome ſpot and ſtain. Therefore, let the Lord judge even theſe things that are beſt in the works of men, and he will ſoon ſee his own righteouſneſs in them, and mans diſhoneſty and ſhame. Good works therefore pleaſe God and are not unprofitable to the doers of them, becauſe they receive for a reward the moſt unlimited and ample benefits of God: not becauſe they deſerve it, but becauſe the goodneſs of God hath of itſelf ſet this price upon them. But what ſpitefulneſs is this, that men not contented with the liberality of God, which gives unmerited rewards to works that deſerve no ſuch thing, with a ſacrilegious ambition do ſtill endeavour what in them lies, to make that which flows wholly from the liberality of God, ſeem to be paid to the merits of men. I here appeal to the common opinion of every man; if any man who hath a liberty of taking a profit in a piece of ground by another mans liberal grant, ſhould alſo claim to himſelf the title of propriety: doth he not by ſuch unthankfulneſs deſerve to loſe the very poſſeſſion which he had? Likewiſe, if a ſlave made free by his maſter, hide the lowneſs of his condition as being a Libertine, and boaſt that he is a free-man born: does he not deſerve to be brought back into his former bondage? For this is the proper way of enjoying a benefit, if we neither claim to ourſelves more than what is given, nor defraud the author of the benefit of his praiſe: and rather behave ourſelves in ſuch a manner, that what he hath given from himſelf to us, may ſeem after a certain manner to remain with him. If this moderation ought to be obſerved towards men, let all men obſerve and conſider what kind of moderation is due to God.

A Libertine is he who is free by manumiſſion, not by birth.

4. I know that theſe wrangling diſputants abuſe certain places, to prove thereby that the name of merit toward God is found in the ſcriptures. They allege a ſentence out of Eccleſiaſticus, (Eccle. xvi. 14.) Make way for every work of mercy: for every man ſhall find according to his works. And out of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, for-

Teſtimonies abuſed for proof of merits: whereas the doctrine of ſcripture doth indeed teach the contrary that our good works deſerve nothing

at the hand of God, either in this life or in the life to come.

get not to do good and to communicate, for with ſuch ſacrifices God is well pleaſed. As for my power in reſiſting the authority of Eccleſiaſticus, I now quit it. Yet I deny that they faithfully quote that which Eccleſiaſticus, (what ever kind of writer he was) hath written. For the Greek copy is thus: πάσῃ ἐλεημοσύνῃ ποιήσει τοπον, ἑκαστος γὰρ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αυτοῦ ἐυρήσει. He ſhall make place to every mercy, and every man ſhall find according to his works. And that this is the true text, which is corrupted in the Latin tranſlation, appeareth both by the framing of theſe words, and by a longer joining together of the ſentence going before. In the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, (Heb. xiii. 16.) there is no cauſe why they ſhould inſnare us in one little word, when in the Greek words of the apoſtle nothing elſe is ſaid but that ſuch ſacrifices pleaſe and are acceptable to God. This alone ought fully to ſubdue and beat down the haughtineſs of our pride, and hinder us from arrogating any worth to works beyond the rule of ſcripture. Now the doctrine of the ſcripture is, that all our good works are continually beſprinkled with many filthy ſpots, wherewith God is very juſtly offended and angry with us; ſo far from being able to win him to us, or to provoke his liberality toward us: Yet becauſe out of his tender kindneſs he doth not examine themby the rigour of the law, he accepteth them as if they were moſt pure, and therefore though without merit, he rewardeth them with infinite benefits both of this preſent life and of the life to come. For I do not allow this diſtinction uſed by men otherwiſe learned and godly, that good works deſerve the graces that are given us in this life, and that eternal life is the reward of faith alone. For the Lord doth commonly always place the reward of labours and the crown of battle in heaven. Again, to ſay that the Lord heapeth us with graces upon graces, and to aſcribe this to the merit ofworks and take it away from his grace is againſt the doctrine of the ſcripture. For though Chriſt ſaith, (Matth. xxv. 21. and 23.) to him who hath, ſhall be given, and that the faithful and good ſervant who hath ſhewed himſelf faithful in few things, ſhall be ſet over many: yet he alſo ſheweth in another place, (Iſai. lv. 1.) that the increaſes of the faithful are the gifts of his free goodneſs. All ye that thirſt (ſaith he) come to the waters: and ye that have no money, come and buy milk and honey without money and without any price. Whatſoever therefore is now given to believers to promote their ſalvation, yea and bleſſedneſs itſelf, is the mere liberality of God: yet both in this and in thoſe he teſtifieth that he regards and reſpects works: becauſe to teſtify the greatneſs of his love toward us, he vouchſafeth to grant ſuch honour not only to us, but alſo to the gifts which he hath given us.

Chriſt is ſuch a foundation that being built upon him we cannot place any thing upon the worth of our own works.

5. If theſe things had in paſt ages been handled and diſpoſed in ſuch order as they ought to have been, there would never riſen ſo many troubles and diſſenſions. Paul ſaith, (1 Cor. iii. 11.) that in the building up of the chriſtian doctrine, we muſt keep ſtill that foundation which he had laid among the Corinthians, beſides which no other can be laid: and that the ſame foundation is Jeſus Chriſt. What kind of a foundation have we in Chriſt? Is it that he was to us the beginning of ſalvation: and that the completing thereof ſhould follow of ourſelves? and hath he but only opened the way, by which we ſhould go forward on our own ſtrength? No: but, as he ſaid a little before, when we acknowlege him, he is to us righteouſneſs. No man therefore is well founded in Chriſt, but he who hath a complete righteouſneſs in him: foraſmuch as the apoſtle ſaith (1 Cor. i. 30.) not that he was ſent to help us to obtain righteouſneſs, but that he himſelf might be our righteouſneſs. Namely, (Eph. i. 4.) that we are choſen in him from eternity before the making of the world, by no deſerving of ours, but according to the purpoſe of the good pleaſure of God: (Col. i. 14.) that by his death we have redemption, and are delivered from deſtruction: that in him we are adopted by our heavenly Father as children and heirs: that by his blood we are reconciled to the Father: (John x. 28.) that being given to him to be kept we are delivered from all danger of periſhing and being loſt: that being ingraffed in him, we are already after a certain manner partakers of eternal life, being entred into the kingdom of God by hope: and yet more, that having obtained ſuch a partaking of him, though we be fools in ourſelves, he is wiſdom for us before God: though we be ſinners, he is righteouſneſs for us: though we be impure, he is purity for us: though we be weak, unarmed and lying open in danger of Satan, yet ours is the power (Matth. xxviii. 18.) which is given him in heaven and earth, whereby he may tread down Satan for us, and break the

gates

gates of hell: though we ſtill carry about with us the body of death, yet he is life for us: briefly that all his things are ours, and we have all things in him, in ourſelves nothing. Upon this foundation, I ſay it is abſolutely neceſſary that we be built, if we will grow up into a holy temple to the Lord.

Being without Chriſt we can do no work that pleaſeth God: being in him we are not only endued with an ability to merit ſalvation for ourſelves but poſſeſt with that righteouſneſs and life which Chriſt hath merited for us.

6. But the world hath a long time been taught otherwiſe. For there hath been found out I know not what moral good works, by which men may be made acceptable to God before they be graffed into Chriſt. As if the ſcripture lieth, when it ſaith, (1 John v. 12.) that they are all in death who have not poſſeſſed the Son. If they be dead, how can they bring forth works unto life? As though it were of no weight now, which is ſaid in (Rom. xiv. 23.) that whatſoever is not of faith, is ſin: as though there could be good fruits of an evil tree. What have theſe moſt peſtilent and wrangling diſputants left to Chriſt wherein he may ſhew forth his power? They ſay he hath merited the firſt grace for us, namely the occaſion of deſerving: and that it is our part now not to neglect the opportunity offered. O deſperate ſhameleſſneſs of ungodlineſs. Who would have thought that men profeſſing the name of Chriſt, durſt have thus ſtripped him of his power, and in a manner tread him under foot? This teſtimony is every where ſpoken of him, that all are juſtified who believe in him: theſe men teach, that there ariſeth from him no other benefit, but this, that the way is opened to every man to juſtify himſelf. But I would to God they taſted what theſe ſayings mean: (1 John v. 12.) that all they have life who have the Son of God: (John v. 24.) that whoſoever believeth, is paſſed from death unto life: (Rom. iii. 24.) that we are juſtified by his grace, that we might be made heirs of eternal life: (1 John iv. 12.) that the faithful have Chriſt abiding in them, by whom they cleave faſt to God: (Eph. ii. 6.) that they who are partakers of his life, ſit with him in heavenly places: (Col. i. 13.) that they are tranſplanted into the kingdom of God, and have obtained ſalvation; and innumerable other ſuch paſſages. For they do not ſay, that by the faith of Chriſt there cometh nothing but the power to obtain righteouſneſs or ſalvation, but that they are both given to us. Therefore ſo ſoon as thou art by faith ingraffed into Chriſt, thou art already made the Son of God, an heir of heaven, a partaker of righteouſneſs, a poſſeſſor of life, and (that their lies may be better confuted) thou haſt not obtained a proper ability to deſerve, but even all the deſervings of Chriſt: for they are communicated to thee.

The ſchoolmen though for faſhion ſake granting righteouſneſs by faith in ſome ſort, nevertheleſs to eſtabliſh merits aſcribe unto man's free will, that whereby the grace and glory of God is much impaired, and mens conſciences bereaved of all truſt in the favourable acceptance of God.

7. So the ſchools of the Jeſuits, the mothers of all errors, have taken from us the juſtification of faith which is the ſum of all godlineſs. They grant indeed in words, that man is juſtified by formed faith: but this they afterward explain to be, becauſe good works ſo far partake of the nature of faith, that they contribute to righteouſneſs: ſo that they ſeem in a manner to name faith in a way of mockery and deriſion, ſince without great envy it could not be paſſed over in ſilence, ſeeing it is ſo oft repeated in the ſcripture. And not yet contented, they do in the praiſe of good works privily ſteal from God ſomething to give away to man. And becauſe they ſee that good works contribute little to advance man, and that they cannot be properly called merits, if they are reckoned the fruits of the grace of God: they pick them out of the ſtrength of free will. Oil forſooth out of a ſtone. And they deny not indeed that the principal cauſe of them is in grace: but they affirm that thereby free-will is not excluded, from all merit. And this not only the latter ſophiſters teach but alſo their Pythagoras, Lombard, whom if you compare with theſe men, you may ſay to be found witted and ſober. It was truly a point of ſtrange blindneſs, that when they had Auguſtine ſo oft in their mouth, they ſaw not with how great caution that man took care that no part of the glory of good works were it never ſo little, ſhould be conveyed to men. Here (*Lib.* 2. *diſt.* 28.) before where he had treated of free-will, we cited ſome teſtimonies of his to this purpoſe, and there are oftentimes found many expreſſions of the ſame kind in his writings, as when he forbids us on Pſal. cxliv. to boaſt of our merits, becauſe even they alſo are the gifts of God: and when he writes (*Epiſt.* 105.) that all our merit is only of grace, that it is not gotten by our ſufficiency,

ency, but is all made by grace, *&c.* It is no wonder that Lombard was blind at the light of the ſcripture, in which it appeareth that he was not well verſed. Yet nothing can be deſired more plain againſt him and his diſciples, than this word of the apoſtle. (Eph. ii. 10.) For when he forbids Chriſtians all glorying, he adds the reaſon why it is not lawful to glory; becauſe we are the workmanſhip of God, created in Chriſt Jeſus unto good works, that we ſhould walk in them. Since therefore there cometh out of us no good thing, but in ſo far as we are regenerate: and our regeneration is wholly of God without exception: there is no right why we ſhould claim to ourſelves the ſmalleſt degree of good works. Finally whereas they continually call upon good works, in the mean time they ſo inſtruct conſciences, that they never dare have any confidence or hope, that God is well pleaſed and favourable to their works. But we on the contrary, without making mention of any merit, do by our doctrine raiſe up the courage of believers with ſingular comfort, when we teach that in their works they pleaſe God, and are undoubtedly acceptable unto him. And alſo we require here that no man attempt or go about any work without faith, that is to ſay, unleſs we do firſt with aſſured confidence of mind determine that he ſhall pleaſe God.

The doctrine of free juſtification without reſpect of works an effectual ground to miniſter both courage in doing well, and comfort in ſuffering.

8. Wherefore let us not ſuffer our ſelves to be led ſo much as a hair breadth away from this only foundation: which being now laid, wiſe builders do afterward well and orderly build upon it. For if there be need of doctrine and exhortation, they put men in mind, (1 John iii. 8. 9.) that the Son of God hath appeared for this end, that he might deſtroy the works of the devil: that they who are of God ſhould not ſin. (1 Pet. iv. 3.) that the time paſt is enough for fulfilling the deſires of the Gentiles: (2 Tim. ii. 20.) that the elect of God are veſſels of mercy choſen unto honour, which ought to be cleanſed from all filthineſs. But all is ſaid at once, (Luke ix. 23.) when it is declared that Chriſt will have only ſuch diſciples, who forſaking themſelves, take up their croſs, and follow him. He who hath forſaken himſelf, hath cut off the root of all evils, that he may no more ſeek thoſe things that are his own. He who hath taken up his croſs, hath framed himſelf to all patience and mildneſs. But the example of Chriſt containeth both theſe and all other duties of godlineſs and holineſs. He ſhewed himſelf obedient to his Father, even to the death: he was wholly occupied in doing the works of God: he with his whole heart breathed out the glory of his Father: he gave his ſoul for his brethren: he both did and wiſhed good to his enemies. If we ſtand in need of comfort, theſe ſayings (2 Cor. iv. 8, 9, 10.) will afford us great conſolation, We are troubled on every ſide, yet not diſtreſſed; we are perplexed, but not in deſpair, perſecuted, but not forſaken, caſt down but not deſtroyed; always bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jeſus, that the life alſo of Jeſus might be made manifeſt in our body. (2 Tim. ii. 11, 12.) that if we be dead with him, we ſhall alſo live with him: if we ſuffer, we ſhall alſo reign with him: (Phil. iii. 10, 11.) That I may know him, and the power of his reſurrection, and the fellowſhip of his ſufferings, being made conformable unto his death: if by any means I might attain unto the reſurrection of the dead. (Rom. viii. 29, 38, 39.) Whom he did foreknow, he alſo did predeſtinate to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the firſt born among many brethren. For I am perſuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things preſent, nor things to come, ſhall be able to ſeparate us from the love of God which is in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord. But rather that all things ſhall turn to our good and eternal ſalvation. You ſee by this that we do not juſtify a man by works before God: but we ſay, that all they who are of God, are regenerate and made new creatures, that they may be tranſlated out of the kingdom of darkneſs into his marvellous light: that by this teſtimony they make their calling and election ſure, (2 Pet. i. 10.) and are judged of as trees are by their fruits.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

A confutation of thoſe ſlanders, whereby the Papiſts endeavour to bring this doctrine into contempt and hatred.

The doctrine of juſtification by Chriſt without works falſely accuſed as a mean to make men ſlack and careleſs in well-doing.

WITH this one word may the ſhamleſneſs of certain ungodly men be confuted, who ſlander us, ſaying that we deſtroy good works, and draw men away from following them, when we ſay that believers are not juſtified by works, nor do thereby merit ſalvation: and they ſay further, that we make too eaſy a road to righteouſneſs, when we teach that it lieth in the free forgiveneſs of ſins, and that by this enticement we allure men to ſin, who are of their own will too much inclined thereto already. Theſe ſlanders (I ſay) are with that one word ſufficiently confuted: yet I will briefly anſwer them both. They allege that by the juſtification of faith, good works are deſtroyed. I ſhall not ſay, what ſort of men theſe zealous lovers of good works are who thus backbite us. They ſhall have liberty to rail as freely as they licentiouſly infect the whole world with the filthineſs of their life. They pretend that they are grieved, that faith is ſo glorioufly advanced, and works are driven out of their place. But what will they ſay, if works are more raiſed up, and eſtabliſhed? For we neither dream of a faith void of good works, nor of a juſtification that is without them. This only is the difference, that when we confeſs that faith and good works are neceſſarily and inſeparably connected together, yet we place juſtification in faith not in works. For what reaſon we do ſo, we are ready to declare, if we do but turn to Chriſt unto whom our faith is directed, and from whom it receiveth its whole ſtrength. Why therefore are we juſtified by faith? becauſe by faith we take hold of the righteouſneſs of Chriſt, by which alone we are reconciled to God. But thou canſt not not take hold of this righteouſneſs, unleſs at the ſame time thou alſo take hold of ſanctification. For he was given unto us, for righteouſneſs, wiſdom, ſanctification, and redemption. (1 Cor. i. 30.) Therefore Chriſt juſtifieth none whom he doth not alſo ſanctify. For theſe benefits are coupled together by a perpetual and inſeparable union, that whom he enlighteneth with his wiſdom, them he redeemeth: whom he redeemeth he juſtfieth: whom he juſtifieth he ſanctifieth. But as our queſtion is only concerning righteouſneſs and ſanctification, let us ſtay upon theſe. We may put a difference between them, yet Chriſt contains them both inſeparably in himſelf. Would you obtain righteouſneſs in Chriſt? You muſt firſt poſſeſs Chriſt: and you cannot poſſeſs him, without being made a partaker of his ſanctification: becauſe he cannot be divided in pieces. Therefore ſince the Lord grants us theſe benefits to be enjoyed no otherwiſe than in giving himſelf, he gives them both together, and never the one without the other. Thus it appears how true it is, that we are juſtified not without works, and yet not by works: becauſe in the partaking of Chriſt, whereby we are juſtified, ſanctificatlon is no leſs contained than righteouſneſs.

Neither is an affection to well-doing hereby rooted out in men when they are taught that the good which they do, merits not the reward which they ſhall receive for doing: the ſcripture hath other motives than this when it provoketh unto good works.

2. That aſſertion alſo is moſt falſe, that the minds of men are withdrawn from an inclination to well-doing, when we take from them the opinion of meriting ſomething thereby. Here by the way the readers muſt be warned, that they reaſon fooliſhly from reward to merit, as I ſhall afterwards more plainly ſhew: namely, becauſe they know not this principle, that God is no leſs liberal when he aſſigneth a reward to works than when he giveth power to do well. But this I had rather defer to the place fit for it. Now it will be enough to touch how weak their objection is: which ſhall be done two ways. For firſt whereas they ſay that there will be no care to frame our life aright, but when the hope of reward is ſet before us: but they err very far from the truth. For if this only be intended when men ſerve God, that they look to reward or let out to hire or ſell their labours to him, they prevail little: for God will be freely worſhipped, freely loved: he (I ſay) alloweth that worſhipper, who when all hope of receiving reward is cut off, yet ceaſes not to worſhip him. Moreover, if men be to be driven forward,

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no man can put ſharper ſpurs unto them, than thoſe that are taken from the end of our redemption and calling; ſuch as the word of God ſpurreth men on with, when it teaches, (1 John iii. 10.) that it is the moſt wicked unthankfulneſs, not mutually to love him who firſt loved us. (Heb. ix. 14.) That by the blood of Chriſt our conſciences are cleanſed from dead works to ſerve the living God: (Heb. x. 29.) that it is a hainous ſacrilege, if being once cleanſed, we defile ourſelves with new filthineſs, and tread under foot the Son of God, and count the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was ſanctified, an unholy thing. (Luke i. 74.) that we are delivered from the hands of our enemies, that we may without fear ſerve him in holineſs and righteouſneſs all the days of our life: (Rom. vi. 18.) that we are freed from ſin, that we may become the ſervants of righteouſneſs: (Rom. vi. 6.) that our old man is crucified, that we may riſe again to newneſs of life: again, (Col. iii. 1.) that if we be dead with Chriſt (as becomes his members) we muſt ſeek thoſe things which are above, and muſt be in the world like wayfaring men from home, that we may long after heaven where our treaſure is: (Tit. ii. 11, 12, 13.) that the grace of God hath appeared for this end, that forſaking all ungodlineſs and worldly luſts, we may live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly in this world, looking for the bleſſed hope and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt: (1 Theſ. v. 9.) that we are not appointed to wrath, but to obtain ſalvation by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: (1 Cor. iii. 16. 2 Cor. vi. 17.) that we are the temples of the holy Ghoſt, which it is not lawful to defile: (Eph. v. 8.) that we are not darkneſs but light in the Lord, who muſt walk as children of light. (1 Theſ. iv. 7.) that we are not called to uncleanneſs, but to holineſs: (1 Theſſ. iv. 3.) becauſe this is the will of God, even our ſanctification, that we abſtain from unlawful deſires: (2 Tim. i. 9.) that our calling is holy, that the ſame is not fulfilled but with pureneſs of life: (Rom. vi. 18.) that we are freed from ſin, that we might become the ſervants of righteouſneſs. Can we be ſtirred up or excited to charity with a more powerful argument than that of John, (John xiii. 34.) that we ſhould mutually love one another as God hath loved us, that herein his children differ from the children of the devil, the children of light from the children of darkneſs, becauſe they abide in love? And again with that argument of Paul, (1 Cor. vi. 17, and xii. 12.) that we if cleave to Chriſt, we are members of one body, which it is neceſſary to help one another with mutual duties? Can we be more ſtrongly provoked to holineſs than when we hear John again ſaying, (1 John iii. 3.) that all they who have this hope, ſanctify themſelves, becauſe their God is holy? Again out of the mouth of Paul: (2 Cor. vii. 1.) that having the promiſe of adoption, we ſhould cleanſe ourſelves from all filthineſs of the fleſh and Spirit? then when we hear Chriſt ſetting forth himſelf for an example unto us that we ſhould follow his ſteps.

3. And theſe few things, I have given you as a ſpecimen: for if I intended to go through all, I ſhould be forced to make a large volume. The apoſtles are all full of encouragements, exhortations and reproofs, whereby they may inſtruct the man of God to every good work, and that without any mention of merit. And they draw their principal exhortations from this, that our ſalvation depends upon the mercy of God only and not upon any merit of ours. As Paul, after that he hath in a whole Epiſtle diſcourſed that there is no hope of life for us but in the righteouſneſs of Chriſt, when he cometh to moral exhortations, he beſeecheth (Rom. xii. 1.) them by the mercy of God which he hath vouchſafed to intend to us. And truly this one cauſe ought to have been ſufficient, that God may be glorified in us. But if any be not ſo vehemently moved with the glory of God, yet the remembrance of his benefits ought to have been ſufficient to ſtir up ſuch men to do well. But theſe men, who perhaps by thruſting in merits perform ſome ſervile and conſtrained obediences of the law, falſely ſay that we have nothing whereby we can exhort men to good works, becauſe we go not the ſame way to work. As though God were much delighted with ſuch obediences, who hath declared that he loveth a chearful giver, and forbiddeth any thing to be given as it were by conſtraint or of neceſſity. Neither do I mention this becauſe I either refuſe or deſpiſe that kind of exhortation, which the ſcripture often uſeth, that it may leave no method unattempted to ſtir up our minds. For it declareth the reward which God will render to every man according to his works. But I deny that this is the only thing, yea or the chief among many. And I do

The apoſtles in pricking men forward unto godlineſs, draw their exhortations principally from the greatneſs of God's mercies, and though they mention the rewards promiſed unto good works yet they are far from eſtabliſhing merits.

do not grant that we ought to begin thereat. Moreover I affirm that it contributes nothing to the advancing of ſuch merits as theſe men boaſt of, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. Laſt of all I ſay that it is for no profitable uſe, unleſs this doctrine firſt take place, that we are juſtified only by the merit of Chriſt, which is conceived by faith, but by no merit of our works, becauſe none are fit to endeavour after holineſs, unleſs they have firſt digeſted this doctrine. Which thing alſo the prophet very well expreſſeth when he thus ſpeaketh to God: with thee is mercy that thou mayeſt be feared. For he ſheweth that there is no worſhipping of God, but when his mercy is acknowleged, upon which alone it is both founded and eſtabliſhed. Which is well worth our notice, that we may know not only that the beginning of worſhipping God aright is on the confidence of his mercy, but alſo that the fear of God (which the Papiſts will have to be meritorious) cannot have the name of merit, becauſe it is grounded upon the pardon and forgiveneſs of ſins.

To teach that God freely pardons ſinners is no allurement to ſin,

4. But it is a moſt vain and empty ſlander, to aſſert that men are allured to ſin, when we affirm that righteouſneſs conſiſteth in the free forgiveneſs of ſins. For we ſay that it is of ſo great value, that it can be recompenſed with no good works of ours, and therefore that it would never be obtained, unleſs it were freely given; moreover, that it is indeed freely given to us, but not ſo to Chriſt who bought it ſo dearly, namely with his own moſt holy blood, beſide which there was no price of value enough that might be paid to the judgment of God. When men are taught theſe things, they are put in mind that it is no thanks to them that the ſame moſt holy blood is not ſhed ſo oft as they ſin. Further we teach, that our filthineſs is ſuch as is never waſhed away but with the fountain of this moſt pure blood. Ought not they who hear theſe things, to conceive a greater horror of ſin, than if it were ſaid that it is wiped away with the ſprinkling of good works? And if they have any thing of God in them, muſt they not be afraid, being once cleanſed, to wallow themſelves again in the mire, and thereby as much as lieth in them to trouble and infect the purity of this fountain? I have waſhed my feet, (ſaith the faithful ſoul in Solomon Cant. v. 3.) how ſhall I again defile them? Now it is evident, which of us do moſt abaſe the forgiveneſs of ſins, and vilify the dignity of righteouſneſs. They boaſtingly ſay that God is appeaſed with their trifling ſatisfactions, that is, their dung: we affirm that the guilt of ſin is of a more heinous nature than can be purged away with ſo light trifles: that the diſpleaſure of God is more heavy than can be removed with ſatisfactions of no value, and therefore that this is the prerogative of the blood of Chriſt only. They ſay that righteouſneſs (if it fail at any time) is reſtored and repaired by ſatisfactory works: we think it more precious than that it can be matched with any recompence of works, and therefore that to reſtore it we muſt fly to the mercy of God only. As for the reſt of thoſe things that belong to the forgiveneſs of ſins. They will be found in the next chapter.

CHAP. XVII.

The agreement of the promiſes of the law and the goſpel.

Juſtification by faith alone doth not make the promiſes of the law fruitleſs.

NOW let us alſo go thro' the other arguments wherewith Satan by his emiſſaries goes about either to overthrow or weaken juſtification by faith. This I think we have already wreſted out of the hands of theſe ſlanderers, that they can no more charge us as enemies to good works. For, juſtification is taken away from good works, not that good works ſhould not be done, or that thoſe which are done ſhould be denied to be good; but that we ſhould place no truſt or confidence in them, nor glory in them, nor aſcribe ſalvation unto them. For this is our confidence, this is our glory, and the only foundation, of our ſalvation that Chriſt the Son of God is ours, and likewiſe that we are the Sons of God in him, and heirs of the heavenly kingdom, being called by the goodneſs of God, not by our own worth, unto the hope of eternal bleſſedneſs. But becauſe they attack us, as we have ſaid, with other engines, let us go forward in beating down theſe alſo. Firſt they have recourſe to the promiſes of the law, which the Lord ſet forth to the keepers thereof: and they aſk whether we will have them to be utterly void or

no man can put ſharper ſpurs unto them, than thoſe that are taken from the end of our redemption and calling; ſuch as the word of God ſpurreth men on with, when it teaches, (1 John iii. 10.) that it is the moſt wicked unthankfulneſs, not mutually to love him who firſt loved us. (Heb. ix. 14.) That by the blood of Chriſt our conſciences are cleanſed from dead works to ſerve the living God: (Heb. x. 29.) that it is a hainous ſacrilege, if being once cleanſed, we defile ourſelves with new filthineſs, and tread under foot the Son of God, and count the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was ſanctified, an unholy thing. (Luke i. 74.) that we are delivered from the hands of our enemies, that we may without fear ſerve him in holineſs and righteouſneſs all the days of our life: (Rom. vi. 18.) that we are freed from ſin, that we may become the ſervants of righteouſneſs: (Rom. vi. 6.) that our old man is crucified, that we may riſe again to newneſs of life: again, (Col. iii. 1.) that if we be dead with Chriſt (as becomes his members) we muſt ſeek thoſe things which are above, and muſt be in the world like wayfaring men from home, that we may long after heaven where our treaſure is: (Tit. ii. 11, 12, 13.) that the grace of God hath appeared for this end, that forſaking all ungodlineſs and worldly luſts, we may live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly in this world, looking for the bleſſed hope and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt: (1 Theſ. v. 9.) that we are not appointed to wrath, but to obtain ſalvation by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: (1 Cor. iii. 16. 2 Cor. vi. 17.) that we are the temples of the holy Ghoſt, which it is not lawful to defile: (Eph. v. 8.) that we are not darkneſs but light in the Lord, who muſt walk as children of light. (1 Theſ. iv. 7.) that we are not called to uncleanneſs, but to holineſs: (1 Theſſ. iv. 3.) becauſe this is the will of God, even our ſanctification, that we abſtain from unlawful deſires: (2 Tim. i. 9.) that our calling is holy, that the ſame is not fulfilled but with pureneſs of life: (Rom. vi. 18.) that we are freed from ſin, that we might become the ſervants of righteouſneſs. Can we be ſtirred up or excited to charity with a more powerful argument than that of John, (John xiii. 34.) that we ſhould mutually love one another as God hath loved us, that herein his children differ from the children of the devil, the children of light from the children of darkneſs, becauſe they abide in love? And again with that argument of Paul, (1 Cor. vi. 17, and xii. 12.) that we if cleave to Chriſt, we are members of one body, which it is neceſſary to help one another with mutual duties? Can we be more ſtrongly provoked to holineſs than when we hear John again ſaying, (1 John iii. 3.) that all they who have this hope, ſanctify themſelves, becauſe their God is holy? Again out of the mouth of Paul: (2 Cor. vii. 1.) that having the promiſe of adoption, we ſhould cleanſe ourſelves from all filthineſs of the fleſh and Spirit? then when we hear Chriſt ſetting forth himſelf for an example unto us that we ſhould follow his ſteps.

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do not grant that we ought to begin thereat. Moreover I affirm that it contributes nothing to the advancing of such merits as these men boast of, as we shall see hereafter. Last of all I say that it is for no profitable use, unless this doctrine first take place, that we are justified only by the merit of Christ, which is conceived by faith, but by no merit of our works, because none are fit to endeavour after holiness, unless they have first digested this doctrine. Which thing also the prophet very well expresseth when he thus speaketh to God: with thee is mercy that thou mayest be feared. For he sheweth that there is no worshipping of God, but when his mercy is acknowleged, upon which alone it is both founded and established. Which is well worth our notice, that we may know not only that the beginning of worshipping God aright is on the confidence of his mercy, but also that the fear of God (which the Papists will have to be meritorious) cannot have the name of merit, because it is grounded upon the pardon and forgiveness of sins.

To teach that God freely pardons sinners is no allurement to sin,

4. But it is a most vain and empty slander, to assert that men are allured to sin, when we affirm that righteousness consisteth in the free forgiveness of sins. For we say that it is of so great value, that it can be recompensed with no good works of ours, and therefore that it would never be obtained, unless it were freely given; moreover, that it is indeed freely given to us, but not so to Christ who bought it so dearly, namely with his own most holy blood, beside which there was no price of value enough that might be paid to the judgment of God. When men are taught these things, they are put in mind that it is no thanks to them that the same most holy blood is not shed so oft as they sin. Further we teach, that our filthiness is such as is never washed away but with the fountain of this most pure blood. Ought not they who hear these things, to conceive a greater horror of sin, than if it were said that it is wiped away with the sprinkling of good works? And if they have any thing of God in them, must they not be afraid, being once cleansed, to wallow themselves again in the mire, and thereby as much as lieth in them to trouble and infect the purity of this fountain? I have washed my feet, (saith the faithful soul in Solomon Cant. v. 3.) how shall I again defile them? Now it is evident, which of us do most abuse the forgiveness of sins, and vilify the dignity of righteousness. They boastingly say that God is appeased with their trifling satisfactions, that is, their dung: we affirm that the guilt of sin is of a more heinous nature than can be purged away with so light trifles: that the displeasure of God is more heavy than can be removed with satisfactions of no value, and therefore that this is the prerogative of the blood of Christ only. They say that righteousness (if it fail at any time) is restored and repaired by satisfactory works: we think it more precious than that it can be matched with any recompence of works, and therefore that to restore it we must fly to the mercy of God only. As for the rest of those things that belong to the forgiveness of sins. They will be found in the next chapter.

CHAP. XVII.

The agreement of the promises of the law and the gospel.

Justification by faith alone doth not make the promises of the law fruitless.

NOW let us also go thro' the other arguments wherewith Satan by his emissaries goes about either to overthrow or weaken justification by faith. This I think we have already wrested out of the hands of these slanderers, that they can no more charge us as enemies to good works. For, justification is taken away from good works, not that good works should not be done, or that those which are done should be denied to be good; but that we should place no trust or confidence in them, nor glory in them, nor ascribe salvation unto them. For this is our confidence, this is our glory, and the only foundation, of our salvation that Christ the Son of God is ours, and likewise that we are the Sons of God in him, and heirs of the heavenly kingdom, being called by the goodness of God, not by our own worth, unto the hope of eternal blessedness. But because they attack us, as we have said, with other engines, let us go forward in beating down these also. First they have recourse to the promises of the law, which the Lord set forth to the keepers thereof: and they ask whether we will have them to be utterly void or

effectual. And becauſe it would be an abſurdity, and ought to be deſpiſed to ſay that they are void and of no effect, and they take it then for granted that they are of ſome effect. Hence they reaſon that we are not juſtified by faith only. For thus ſaith the Lord: (Deut. vii. 12, 13.) and it ſhall be, if thou ſhalt hear theſe commandments and judgments, and ſhalt keep them and do them, the Lord alſo ſhall keep with thee his covenant and mercy which he hath ſworn to thy fathers, he ſhall love thee and multiply thee, and bleſs thee, &c. Again, (Jer. vii. 5. and 23.) if ye ſhall direct your ways and your endeavours aright, if ye walk not after ſtrange gods, if ye do judgment between man and man, I will walk in the midſt of you. I will not cite a thouſand paſſages of the ſame ſort, which as they differ nothing in the ſenſe, ſhall be declared by the explanation of theſe. In ſhort, Moſes teſtifieth, (Deut. xi. 26.) that in the law is ſet forth the bleſſing and the curſe, death and life. Thus therefore they reaſon, that either this bleſſing is made idle and fruitleſs, or that juſtification is not of faith alone. We have before ſhewed, that if we ſtick faſt to the law, we can expect nothing but the curſe which is threatened to all tranſgreſſors, as we are deſtitute of every thing which might entitle us to its bleſſing. For the Lord promiſeth nothing but to the perfect obſervers of his law, and ſuch cannot be found. This therefore remains, that all mankind is accuſed by the law, and ſubject to the curſe and wrath of God; from which that they may be looſed, they muſt of neceſſity get out of the power of the law, and be as it were brought into liberty from the bondage thereof: not that carnal liberty which would withdraw us from the keeping of the law, leſt it ſhould tempt us to think all things lawful, and to ſuffer our luſts, as it were with an unbridled licence to run into all kinds of riot and exceſs: but that ſpiritual liberty, which may comfort and raiſe up a diſmayed and caſt down conſcience, ſhewing it to be free from the curſe and condemnation wherewith the law held it bound down and faſt tied. This deliverance from the ſubjection of the law, and manumiſſion (as I may call it) we obtain when by faith we take hold of the mercy of God in Chriſt, whereby we are certified and aſſured of the remiſſion of ſins, with the ſenſe whereof the law did vex and torture us.

The promiſes offered in the law would be ineffectual if Chriſt had not fulfilled that righteouſneſs whereupon the promiſes depend.

2. By this reaſon even the promiſes that were offered us in the law would be ineffectual and void, unleſs the goodneſs of God by the goſpel did help. For, this condition that we keep the whole law, upon which the promiſes depend, and whereby alone they are to be performed, will never be fulfilled. And the Lord doth not help us, by placing a part of righteouſneſs in our works, and ſupplying a part by his merciful bearing with us, but only when he giveth us Chriſt alone for the fulfilling of righteouſneſs. For the apoſtle, (Gal. ii. 16.) when he had before ſaid that he and other Jews believed in Jeſus Chriſt, knowing that a man is not juſtified by the works of the law, he adds a reaſon, That we might be juſtified by the faith of Jeſus Chriſt, and not by the works of the law. If believers go from the law and take ſhelter in faith, that they may find a righteouſneſs in faith which they ſee is not to be found in the law: truly they forſake the righteouſneſs of the law. Therefore now let him who pleaſes, extol the rewards which are ſaid to be prepared for the keepers of the law, provided he at the ſame time conſider, that this comes to paſs by our diſobedience, that we reap no benefit thereby till we have obtained another righteouſneſs of faith. So David (Pſal. xix. 12.) when he had mentioned the reward which the Lord hath prepared for his ſervants, he immediately acknowleges his ſins, whereby that reward is made void. Alſo in the xix. Pſalm, he glorioufly ſets forth the benefits of the law, but he by and by cries out: who can underſtand his errors? Lord cleanſe me from my ſecret faults? This place agreeth with (Pſal. xxv. 10.) where when he had ſaid that all the paths of the Lord are mercy and truth to them that fear him, he addeth ver. 11. For thy names ſake O Lord, pardon mine iniquity: for it is great. We ought alſo to acknowlege, that the good will of isGod ſet forthunto us in the law, if we could deſerve it by works, but that we never attain it by the deſerving of works.

The imperfect works of believers rewarded with that which is promiſed unto the perfect obſervers of the law: whereof there are three cauſes.

3. How then? are good works given that they ſhould vaniſh away without fruit? I have even now already proteſted that is not my meaning. I ſay verily that they are of no effect to us, ſo long as they have reſpect to the merit of works, and that if they are conſidered in themſelves, they are after a certain manner aboliſhed. If the apoſtle teacheth (Rom. x. 5.) that this noble

noble promiſe: (Levit. xviii. 5.) I have given you commandments, which if a man do he ſhall live in them, is of no value if we continue in it, and ſhall not profit a whit more than if it had not been given at all: becauſe it belongeth not even to the moſt holy ſervants of God, who are far from the fulfilling of the law, but are compaſſed about with many tranſgreſſions. But when the promiſes of the goſpel are put in place of them, which offer free forgiveneſs of ſins, they bring it about not only that we ourſelves are acceptable to God, but that our works alſo have their thanks: and not only this that the Lord accepteth them, but alſo extendeth the bleſſings to them which by covenant were due to the keeping of the law. I grant therefore, that thoſe things which the Lord hath promiſed in his law, to the followers of righteouſneſs and holineſs, are given to the works of believers: but in this giving, the cauſe is always to be conſidered that poureth grace to works. Now we ſee that there are three cauſes. The firſt is, that God turning away his ſight from the works of his ſervants, which always rather deſerve reproach than praiſe, embraceth them in Chriſt, and by the mean of faith only reconcileth them to himſelf without the mean of works. The ſecond, that of his Fatherly kindneſs and tender mercy, he raiſeth up works to ſo great honour, not weighing the worth of them, as if he accounted them of ſome value. The third, that he receiveth theſe very ſame works with pardon, not imputing their imperfections, wherewith they being defiled, ſhould otherwiſe without his pardon, rather be reckoned among our ſins than virtues. And hereby it appears how much the ſophiſters have been deceived, who thought they had pretty well eſcaped all abſurdities, when they ſaid that works do not of their own inward goodneſs avail to deſerve ſalvation, but only by the form of the covenant, becauſe the Lord of his goodneſs hath ſo much eſteemed them. But in the mean time they conſidered not, how far thoſe works which they would have to be meritorious, were from the condition of the promiſes, unleſs there went before, both juſtification grounded upon faith only and the forgiveneſs of ſins, by which even theſe good works themſelves have need to be wiped from ſpots. Therefore of the three cauſes of God's liberality, by which it is brought to paſs that the works of believers are acceptable, they noted but one, and ſuppreſſed two, yea and thoſe the principal.

The teſtimony of Peter and example of Cornelius perverſly quoted to prove that the mercy of God towards men is procured by ſome worthineſs of their own.

4. They allege the ſaying of Peter, which Luke rehearſeth in Acts x. 34, 35. I find in truth that God is no accepter of perſons: but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteouſneſs is acceptable to him. And hence they conclude what ſeems undoubted, that if a man do by right endeavours obtain the favour of God, it is not by the beneficial gift of God alone that he obtaineth ſalvation: yea that God doth of his mercy help a ſinner in ſuch a manner, that he is by works inclined to mercy. But you can in no ways make the ſcriptures agree together, unleſs you obſerve a double accepting of man with God. For as man is by nature, God findeth nothing in him whereby he may be inclined to mercy, but only miſery. If therefore it be certain that man is naked and in want of all goodneſs, and on the other hand ſtuffed full and laden with all kinds of evils, when God firſt receiveth him: for what quality, I pray, ſhall we ſay that he is worthy of the heavenly calling? Away therefore with the vain imagination of merits, where God ſo evidently ſetteth out his free mercy. For, that which in the ſame place is ſaid by the voice of the angel to Cornelius, that his prayers and alms had aſcended into the ſight of God, is by theſe men moſt wickedly wreſted to prove that man by an endeavour after good works is prepared to receive the grace of God. For it muſt needs be that Cornelius was already enlightened with the Spirit of wiſdom, ſince he was endued with true wiſdom, namely with the fear of God: that he was ſanctified with the ſame Spirit, ſince he was a follower of righteouſneſs, which the apoſtle teacheth to be a moſt certain fruit thereof: all theſe things therefore which are ſaid to have pleaſed God in him, he had of his grace, ſo far is it from it that he did by his own endeavour prepare himſelf to receive it. Truly there cannot one ſyllable of the ſcripture be brought forth, that agreeth not with this truth, that there is no other cauſe for God to accept man but becauſe he ſeeth that man ſhould be every way loſt, if he be left to himſelf: and becauſe he will not have him loſt, he uſeth his own mercy in delivering him. Now we ſee how this accepting hath not regard to the righteouſneſs of man, but is a mere token of the goodneſs of God toward men being miſerable and moſt unworthy of ſo great a benefit.

The good works of believers are

5. But after that the Lord hath brought man out of the

acceptable to God not because they are worthy to be accepted, but because the mercy of God loving their persons, embraceth their works notwithstanding their unworthiness.

bottomless pit of destruction and separated and set him apart to himself by the grace of adoption: because he hath begotten him again and formed him into a new life, he now embraces him, as a new creature with the gifts of his Spirit. This is that accepting whereof Peter makes mention, by which believers are after their vocation allured of God even in respect also of works: for the Lord cannot but love those good things which he works in them by his Spirit. But this is always to be remembered, that they are no otherwise acceptable to God as good works, but in so far as for their cause and for their sakes, whatever good works he hath given them by increasing his liberality, he also vouchsafes to accept. For whence have they good works? only because the Lord, as he hath chosen them for vessels unto honour, so he will garnish them with true godliness? Whereby also are they accounted good? as tho' there were nothing wanting in them: only because their kind Father tenderly pardons those deformities and spots that cleave to them. And to sum up all he means nothing else in this place, but that to God his children are acceptable and lovely in whom he seeth the marks and features of his own face. For we have in another place taught that regeneration is a repairing and renewing of the image of God in us. For as much as whereever the Lord beholds his own face, he both loves and honours it: it is not said without cause, that the life of believers being framed to holiness and righteousness pleaseth him, but because the saints being clothed with flesh, are yet sinners, and their good works are but begun, and yet savour of the frailties of the flesh: he cannot be favourable neither to those nor these: unless he rather embrace them in Christ than in themselves. After this manner are those places to be taken, which testify that God is kind and merciful to the followers of righteousness. Moses said to the Israelites, (Deut. vii. 9.) The Lord thy God keepeth covenant, to a thousand generations: which sentence was afterward used by the people as a common manner of speech. So Solomon in his solemn prayer (1 Kings viii. 23.) saith, Lord God of Israel, who keepeth covenant and mercy to thy servants that walk before thee with all their heart. The same words are also repeated by Nehemiah chap. i. 5. For, as in all the covenants of his mercy, (Deut. xxix. 18.) the Lord likewise on their part requires of his servants uprightness and holiness of life, that his goodness should not be mocked, and that no man puffed up with vain rejoicing upon account of God's goodness should bless his own soul, walking in the mean time in the frowardness of his own heart: so his will is by this method to keep in their duty those who are admitted into the communion of the covenant: yet nevertheless the covenant itself is both made free at the beginning, and perpetually remaineth so. After this manner David when he boasteth that there was rendered to him a reward for the cleanness of his hands, yet he omits not that fountain which I have spoken of, that he was drawn out of the womb, because God loved him: when he sets out the goodness of his cause, he takes nothing from that free mercy which goes before all gifts, and whereof it is the beginning.

6. And here by the way it will be useful to observe how these forms of speaking differ from the promises of the law. I call promises of the law, not only those which are every where commonly written in the books of Moses: (for in them also are found many promises of the gospel) but those which properly belong to the dispensation of the law. Such promises, by what name soever you please to call them, declare that there is a reward ready, upon condition you do that which is commanded. But when it is said, that the Lord keepeth the covenant of his mercy to them who love him, therein is rather shewed what manner of men his servants are who have faithfully received his covenant, than the cause expressed why the Lord should do good to them. Now this is the manner of shewing it. As the Lord vouchsafeth to grant us the grace of eternal life, that he should be loved, feared, and honoured by us: so whatever promises there are in the scriptures of his mercy, they are by right directed to this end, that we should reverence and worship the author of these benefits. So often therefore as we hear that he doth good to them that keep his law, let us remember that the children of God are there signified and pointed out by the duty which ought to be continual in them; that we are adopted for this cause, that we should honour him as our Father. Therefore lest we should disinherit ourselves from the right adoption, we must always endeavour after

The virtuous actions of believers are assurances of their rewards, and tokens that they are in the favour of God, but not causes for the worth whereof God should favour them.

after this whereto our calling tends. But let us ſtill keep this in mind, that the accompliſhment of the mercy of God depends not upon the works of believers: but that he fulfills the promiſe of ſalvation to them who anſwer to their calling in uprightneſs of life, for this reaſon, becauſe in them he acknowlegeth the natural marks of his children who are ruled with his Spirit unto good. Hereunto let that be referred which is ſpoken in the xv pſalm of the citizens of the church, Lord who ſhall abide in thy tabernacle, and who ſhall dwell in thy holy hill? He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteouſneſs, and ſpeaketh the truth in his heart. *&c.* Again in Iſaiah, (Iſa. xxxiii. 14.) who ſhall dwell with devouring fire? He that doth righteouſneſs, he that ſpeaketh uprightly, *&c.* For in theſe places is not deſcribed the ſtay whereupon the faithful may ſtand before the Lord, but the manner whereby the moſt merciful Father bringeth them into his fellowſhip, and defendeth and ſtrengtheneth them therein. For, becauſe he abhorreth ſin, he loveth righteouſneſs, and whom he joineth to himſelf, them he cleanſeth with his Spirit, that he may faſhion them like himſelf and his kingdom. Therefore if the queſtion be of the firſt cauſe, whereby the entry is opened to the ſaints into the kingdom of God? whence they have that ſupport by which they may ſtand faſt and abide in it? we have this anſwer ready, becauſe the Lord by his mercy hath both adopted, and perpetually defendeth them. But if the queſtion be of the manner, then we muſt come to regeneration and the fruits thereof, which are recited in the xv. pſalm.

In what ſenſe the commandments of God are called righteouſneſs.

7. But there ſeems to be much more difficulty in theſe places, which adorn good works with the title of righteouſneſs, and affirm that man is juſtified by them. Of the firſt kind there are very many places where the obſerving of the commandments are called juſtifications or righteouſneſſes. Of the other ſort, that is an example which is in (Deut. vi. 25.) This ſhall be our righteouſneſs, if we keep all theſe commandments. And if you take exception and ſay, that this is a promiſe of the law, which being joined to a condition impoſſible, proves nothing. There are others to which you cannot make the ſame anſwer, as this: (Deut. xxiv. 13.) And that ſhall be to thee for righteouſneſs before the Lord to deliver to the poor man his pledge, *&c.* Again, that which the prophet ſaith, (Pſal. cvi. 30, 31.) that the zeal in revenging the ſhame of Iſrael, was imputed to Phineas for righteouſneſs. Therefore the Phariſees of our time think they have here a great matter to triumph upon. For when we ſay, that when the righteouſneſs of faith is exalted, the juſtification of works gives place, by the ſame right they make this an argument, if righteouſneſs be of works, then it is falſe that we are juſtified by faith only. Though I grant that the commandments of the law are called righteouſneſſes, it is no wonder: for they are ſo indeed. Howbeit we muſt warn our readers that the Grecians have not properly tranſlated the Hebrew word *Hucmi*, *Dikaiomata*, righteouſneſſes for commandments. For the word I willingly give up the diſpute. Neither do we deny that the law of God containeth perfect righteouſneſs. For we are debtors of all the things that it commandeth, therefore even when we have performed full obedience thereto, we are unprofitable ſervants: yet becauſe the Lord vouchſafeth to grant it the honour of righteouſneſs, we take not away that which he hath given. Therefore we willingly confeſs that the full obedience of the law is righteouſneſs, that the keeping of every commandment, is a part of righteouſneſs, if ſo be that the whole ſum of righteouſneſs were in the other parts alſo. But we deny that there is any where ſuch a form of righteouſneſs. And therefore we take away the righteouſneſs of the law, not becauſe it is maimed and imperfect of it ſelf, but that by reaſon of the weakneſs of our fleſh it is no where ſeen. But the ſcripture not only calleth ſimply the commandments of the Lord righteouſneſſes: but alſo gives this name to the works of believers. As when it reports (Luke i. 6.) that Zacharias and his wife walked in the righteouſneſſes of the Lord: truly when it ſpeaks thus, it conſiders works rather by the nature of the law, than by their own proper ſtate. Yet here again it is to be obſerved what I juſt now ſaid, that a law or rule is not to be made by the negligence of the Greek tranſlator. But as Luke would alter nothing in the received tranſlation, ſo I will not ſtrive about it. For God hath commanded theſe things that are in the law to men for righteouſneſs: but this righteouſneſs we do not perform but in keeping the whole law: for by every tranſgreſſion it is broken. Whereas therefore the law doth nothing but preſcribe righteouſneſs; if we have reſpect to it, all the ſeveral commandments thereof are righteouſneſs: if we have reſpect to men by whom they are done, they do not obtain the

praiſe

praiſe of righteouſneſs by one work, being treſpaſſers in many, nor by that ſame work which is always faulty in ſome degree, by reaſon of our imperfection.

In what ſenſe man is ſaid to be juſt by works and the act of Phineas to have been imputed unto him for righteouſneſs.

8. But now I come to the ſecond kind, in which the chief difficulty lies. Paul hath nothing more ſtrong to prove the righteouſneſs of faith, than that which is written of Abraham, (Rom. iv. 3.) that his faith was imputed to him for righteouſneſs. Since therefore it is ſaid that the act done by Phineas (Pſal. cvi. 31.) was imputed to him for righteouſneſs: what Paul affirms of faith, the ſame we may alſo conclude of works. Whereupon our adverſaries, as though they had won the victory, conclude that we are not juſtified without faith, but alſo that we are not juſtified by it alone, and that works accompliſh our righteouſneſs. Therefore I beſeech the godly, if they know that the true rule of righteouſneſs is to be taken out of the ſcripture only, that they will religiouſly and earneſtly conſider with me, how the ſcripture may without any wrangling be made to agree with itſelf. As Paul knew that the juſtification of faith is the refuge of them who are deſtitute of a righteouſneſs of their own, he boldly concludes that all they who are juſtified by faith, are excluded from the righteouſneſs of works. But ſince it is certain that the juſtification of faith is common to all the faithful, he doth with like boldneſs conclude that no man is juſtified by works, but on the contrary that men are juſtified without any help of works. But it is one thing to diſpute of what value works are by themſelves, and another thing, what account is to be made of them after the eſtabliſhing of the righteouſneſs of faith. If we would ſet a price upon works according to their worth, we ſay that they are unworthy to come into the ſight of God: and therefore that a man hath no works whereof he may glory before God: and, that being ſpoiled of all help of works he is juſtified by faith only. Now we define righteouſneſs thus, that a ſinner being received into the communion of Chriſt is by his grace reconciled to God, when being cleanſed with his blood he obtaineth forgiveneſs of ſins, and being cloathed with his righteouſneſs as with his own, he ſtandeth aſſured before the heavenly judgment ſeat. When the forgiveneſs of ſins is ſet before, the good works which follow have now another value than their own deſerving; becauſe whatever is imperfect in them, is covered with the perfection of Chriſt: whatever ſpots or filthineſs there is, it is wiped away with his cleanneſs, that it may not come into examination at the judgment of God. Therefore when the guilt of all treſpaſſes is blotted out, whereby men are hindered to bring forth any thing acceptable to God, and when the fault of imperfection is buried, which is wont alſo to defile good works; the good works which believers do are counted righteous, or (which is all one) are imputed for righteouſneſs.

It flows from the righteouſneſs which is by faith without works, that the works of believers are accounted righteous.

9. Now if any man object this againſt me to attack the righteouſneſs of faith, I will aſk firſt whether a man be counted righteous for one or two holy works? being in the reſt of the works of his life a tranſgreſſor of the law. This is more than an abſurdity. Then I will aſk if he be counted righteous for many good works, if he be in any part found guilty? This alſo he will not be ſo bold as to affirm, when the penal threatning of the law crieth out againſt it, (Deut. xxvii. 26.) and proclaimeth all them accurſed who have not fulfilled all the commandments of the law to the uttermoſt. Moreover, I will go further and aſk, whether there is any work that cannot be accuſed of uncleanneſs or imperfection? And how there can be any ſuch before thoſe eyes, to whom even the ſtars are not clean, nor the angels righteous enough? (Job iv. 18.) And he will be compelled to grant that there is no good work which is not ſo defiled with tranſgreſſions joined with it, and with the corruptneſs of it ſelf, that it cannot have the honour of righteouſneſs. Now if it be certain that it proceedeth from the righteouſneſs of faith that works which are otherwiſe impure, unclean, and but half works, not worthy of the ſight of God, much leſs of his love, are imputed for righteouſneſs, why do they by boaſting of the righteouſneſs of works deſtroy the juſtification of faith, whereas if this juſtification were not, they would boaſt of that righteouſneſs in vain? Will they make a vipers birth? For thereto tend the ſayings of theſe ungodly men. They cannot deny that the juſtification of faith is the beginning, foundation, cauſe, matter, and ſubſtance of the righteouſneſs of works: yet they conclude that man is not juſtified by faith, becauſe good works alſo are accounted for righteouſneſs. Therefore let us paſs theſe follies and confeſs the truth, that if the righteouſneſs

neſs of works of what ſort ſoever it be accounted, depends upon the juſtification of faith, it is by this not only undiminiſhed but rather confirmed, namely whereby the ſtrength thereof appeareth more mighty. Neither let us think that works are ſo commended after free juſtification, that they afterwards come into the place of juſtifying a man, or any way divide the office between them and faith. For unleſs juſtification remain always whole, the pollution of works will be uncovered. And it is no abſurdity to ſay that a man is juſtified by faith, in ſuch a manner that not only he himſelf is righteous, but alſo that his works are eſteemed righteous beyond their worth.

Not only we, but our works alſo juſtified by faith in Chriſt: and therefore the righteouſneſs of works a thing both under and after the righteouſneſs of faith.

10. After this manner we will grant in works not only a righteouſneſs in part, (as our adverſaries themſelves would have) but alſo that it is allowed of God as if it were a perfect and full righteouſneſs. But if we remember upon what foundation it is upheld, all the difficulty will be removed. For then and not till then it begins to be an acceptable work, when it is received with pardon. Now whence cometh pardon, but becauſe God beholdeth both us and all our things in Chriſt? Therefore as we, when graffed into Chriſt, appear righteous before God, becauſe our wickedneſſes are covered with his innocence, ſo our works are righteous and accepted as ſuch, becauſe whatever faults are otherwiſe in them, being buried in the purity of Chriſt, they are not imputed. So we may lawfully ſay, that by faith alone, not only we, but alſo our works are juſtified. Now if this righteouſneſs of works of what kind ſoever it be, depends upon faith and free juſtification, and is made of it: it ought to be included, and ſet under it, as the effect under the cauſe thereof, as I may call it: ſo far is it off that it ought to be raiſed up either to deſtroy or darken it. Thus Paul (Rom. iv. 7.) to oblige men to confeſs that our bleſſedneſs conſiſts in the mercy of God, not in works, chiefly enforceth that ſaying of David (Pſal. xxxii. 1.) Bleſſed are they whoſe iniquities are forgiven, and whoſe ſins are covered. Bleſſed is he to whom the Lord hath not imputed ſin. If any man thruſt into the contrary innumerable ſayings where bleſſedneſs ſeems to be aſcribed to works, ſuch as theſe: (Pſal. cxiii. 1.) bleſſed is the man who feareth the Lord, (Pſal. xli. 1.) who hath pity on the poor, (Pſal. i. 1.) who hath not walked in the counſel of the wicked, (Lam. i. 12.) which beareth temptation: (Pſal. cvi. 3.) bleſſed are they who keep judgment, (Pſal. cxix. 1.) the undefiled (Matth. v. 3.) the poor in ſpirit, the meek, the merciful, *&c.* They will not make any thing againſt our doctrine, but it will be true which Paul ſaith, for becauſe thoſe things that are there commended are never ſo in any man, that he is therefore allowed of God, it followeth that man is alway miſerable, unleſs he be delivered from miſery by the forgiveneſs of ſins. Foraſmuch as therefore all the kinds of bleſſedneſs which are extolled in the ſcriptures, fall down empty and void, ſo that man reapeth the fruit of none of them, till he hath obtained bleſſedneſs by forgiveneſs of ſins, which may afterward make place for them: it follows that this is not only the higheſt, and chief, but alſo the only bleſſedneſs: unleſs perhaps you will plead that it is weakened by thoſe who confide in it alone. Now there is much leſs reaſon why the calling of men righteous ſhould trouble us, which is commonly given to believers. I grant verily that they are called righteous as to holineſs of life; but as they rather endeavour to follow righteouſneſs, than fulfil righteouſneſs it ſelf, it is proper that this righteouſneſs ſuch as it is, give place to juſtification by faith, from whence it hath that which it is.

James maketh nothing againſt juſtification by faith alone without works. For he ſpeaketh not of ſuch a faith as is meant by Paul in delivering this doctrine.

11. But they ſay we have yet more buſineſs with James, who with open voice fights againſt us. For he teaches both that Abraham was juſtified by works, and alſo that we are all juſtified by works, not by faith only. What then? will they make Paul to fight with James? If they hold James for a miniſter of Chriſt, his ſaying muſt be ſo taken, that it diſagree not from Chriſt ſpeaking by the mouth of Paul, The holy Ghoſt affirms by the mouth of Paul, that Abraham obtained righteouſneſs by faith, not by works: and we alſo teach that all are juſtified by faith, without the works of the law. The holy Ghoſt teaches by James that both Abraham's righteouſneſs and ours conſiſts of works, not of faith only. It is certain that the holy Ghoſt fighteth not with himſelf. What agreement will there be therefore of theſe two? It is enough for the adverſaries, if they can pluck up the righteouſneſs of faith, which we would have faſtened with the deepeſt roots: but to give quiet to the conſcience, they have

have no great care. Whereby you may ſee that they worm out the juſtification of faith, but in the mean time appoint no mark of righteouſneſs where conſciences may reſt. Therefore let them triumph as they pleaſe, if they can boaſt of no other victory, than that they have taken away all certainty of righteouſneſs. And this wretched victory they will obtain, where the light of truth being quenched, the Lord will ſuffer them to overſpread it with the darkneſs of lies. But whereſoever the truth of God ſhall ſtand, they will not prevail. I deny therefore that the ſaying of James which they ſtill continually hold up againſt us, as it were the ſhield of Achilles, doth make any thing at all for them. That this may be made plain, firſt we muſt look to the mark the apoſtle aimeth at: and then we muſt obſerve where they are deceived. Becauſe there were then many (which miſchief ſtill continues in the church) who openly betrayed their infidelity, in neglecting and omitting all the proper works of believers, and yet ceaſed not to boaſt of the falſe name of faith; James doth here mock the fooliſh boldneſs of ſuch men. Therefore it is not his purpoſe in any point to diminiſh the force of true faith, but to ſhew how fooliſhly thoſe triflers challenged ſo much the vain image of it, that being contented herewith they careleſly ran diſſolutely into all the licentiouſneſs of vice. This ground being underſtood, it will be eaſy to perceive where our adverſaries fail. For they fall into two errors in the word, the one in the name of faith, the other in the word juſtifying. Where the apoſtle calleth faith, a vain opinion far diſtant from the truth of faith, it is ſpoken by way of conceſſion, which is no way derogatory to the matter: which he ſheweth at the beginning in theſe words. What profiteth it, my brethren, if any man ſay that he hath faith and hath not works? He doth not ſay, if any man have faith without works, but, if any man boaſt. Alſo he ſpeaks more plainly a little after, where in deriſion of ſuch a faith, he makes it worſe than the devils knowlege: laſt of all, when he calls it dead. But by the definition you may eaſily perceive what he means. Thou believeſt (ſaith he) that there is a God. Truly if nothing be contained in this faith but to believe that there is a God, it is now no wonder if it do not juſtify. And when this is taken from it, let us not think that any thing is deducted from the chriſtian faith, the nature whereof is far otherwiſe. For after what manner doth true faith juſtify us, but when it conjoins us with Chriſt, that being made one with him we may enjoy the partaking of righteouſneſs? It doth not therefore juſtify us by this that it conceiveth a knowlege of the being of God, but by this that it reſteth upon the aſſurance of the mercy of God.

Neither doth James uſe the word juſtification, as Paul doth, but in a meaning far different: Paul meaning thereby the imputation of righteouſneſs, and James the declaration of that righteouſneſs by works, which without works was imputed.

12. We have not yet the work, unleſs we examine alſo the other deceit in the word, as James places part of juſtification in works. If you will make James agree both with the reſt of the ſcriptures, and with himſelf, you muſt of neceſſity take the word juſtifying in another ſenſe than it is taken in Paul. For Paul ſaith that we are juſtified, when the remembrance of our unrighteouſneſs being blotted out, we are accounted righteous. If James had meant of that taking, he had wrongfully quoted that out of Moſes: Abraham believed God, &c. For he thus framed it together. Abraham obtained righteouſneſs by works, becauſe at the commandment of God he did not heſitate, to offer up his ſon. And ſo the ſcripture was fulfilled, which ſaith, that he believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteouſneſs. If it be an abſurdity, that the effect is before the cauſe, either Moſes doth in that place falſely teſtify, that faith, was imputed to Abraham for righteouſneſs; or he deſerved not righteouſneſs by that obedience which he ſhewed in offering up Iſaac. Abraham was juſtified by his faith, when Iſhmael was not yet conceived; who was now grown paſt childhood before that Iſaac was born. How therefore ſhall we ſay, that he obtained a righteouſneſs by an obedience which followed long afterward? Wherefore either James wrongouſly inverted the order (which it is a wickedneſs to think) or he meant not to ſay that he was juſtified, as though he deſerved to be accounted righteous. How then? Truly it appears that he ſpeaketh of the declaration of righteouſneſs and not the imputation: as if he had ſaid: Thoſe who are righteous by true faith, prove their righteouſneſs by obedience and good works, not with a bare and image like maſk of faith. In ſhort, he diſputes not by what mean we are juſtified, but he requires of believers an active, working righteouſneſs. And as Paul affirms that men are juſtified without the help of works: ſo James here ſuffers them not to be accounted righteous who want good works. The conſidering of this end, will deliver us out of all doubt.

For

For our adverſaries are hereby chiefly deceived, thinking that Jamesdefines the manner of juſtifying, whereas he labours about nothing but to overthrow their perverſe careleſſneſs, who vainly pretended faith, to excuſe their deſpiſing of good works. Therefore how many ways ſoever they wreſt the words of James, they will force out nothing but two ſentences: that a vain empty ſhew of faith doth not juſtify, and that a believer, not contented with ſuch an imaginative ſhew, declares his righteouſneſs by good works.

That the doers of the law are juſtified and not the bare hearers, helpeth nothing to overthrow juſtification by faith alone.

Rom. ii. 23.

13. As for what they quote out of Paul, meaning, that the doers of the law, not the hearers are, juſtified, it helpeth them nothing. I will not ſeek to get off with the ſolution of Ambroſe, that it is ſpoken becauſe the fulfilling of the law is faith in Chriſt. For I ſee that it is but a meer ſtarting hole, which I want not when there is a broad way open. There the apoſtle throws down the Jews from a fooliſh confidence, who boaſted themſelves of the only knowlege of the law, when in the mean time they were the greateſt deſpiſers of it. Therefore that they might not truſt ſo much in their own conceit for the bare knowlege of the law, he warneth them, that if righteouſneſs be ſought out of the law, not the knowlege but the obſerving of it is required. We make no doubt of this, that the righteouſneſs of the law conſiſts in works; nor yet of this alſo that righteouſneſs conſiſts in the worth and merit, of works. But it is not yet proved, that we are juſtified by works unleſs they bring forth ſome man who hath fulfilled the law. And that Paul meant no otherwiſe, the connexion of the text will be a ſufficient teſtimony. After he had generally condemned the gentiles and the Jews of unrighteouſneſs, then he deſcended to the particular ſhewing of it, and ſaith, that they who ſinned without the law, periſh without the law: which is ſpoken of the Gentiles, but they who have ſinned in the law, are judged by the law: which pertains to the Jews. Now becauſe they winking at their own tranſgreſſions proudly gloried of the only law: he adjoins what moſt fitly agreed, that the law was not given that men might be righteous by only hearing of the voice thereof: but then and not till then when they obeyed: as if he ſhould ſay Seekeſt thou righteouſneſs in the law: alledge not the hearing of it, which of itſelf is of ſmall importance, but bring works, by which thou mayeſt declare that the law was not given in vain. And becauſe they were all deſtitute, of theſe works it followed, that they were ſpoiled of glorying of the law. Therefore we muſt from the meaning of Paul rather frame a contrary argument. The righteouſneſs of the law conſiſts in the perfection of works. No man can boaſt that he hath by works ſatisfied the law. Therefore there is no righteouſneſs by the law.

The proteſtations which believers make of their innocency in the ſight of God, are no arguments that they ſuppoſed themſelves thereby juſtified before him.

14. They allege theſe places, where believers boldly offer their righteouſneſs to the judgment of God to be examined, and require that ſentence be given of them according to it. Of which ſort are theſe: Pſal. vii. 8. Judge me O Lord according to my righteouſneſs, and according to mine integrity which is in me. Again, Pſal. xvii. 1. Hear my righteouſneſs, O God: thou haſt proved my heart, and haſt viſited it in the night, and there was no wickedneſs found in me. Again, Pſal. xviii. 20. 21. The Lord ſhall render to me according to my righteouſneſs, and he ſhall recompence me according to the cleanneſs of my hands. Becauſe I have kept the ways of the Lord, and have not wickedly departed from my God. And I ſhall be unſpotted, and ſhall keep me from my iniquity. Again, Pſal. xxvi 1. Judge me, Lord, becauſe I have walked in mine integrity. I have not ſit with lying men: I will not enter in with them that do wicked things. Deſtroy not my ſoul with the ungodly, my life with men of blood, in whoſe hands are iniquities: whoſe right hand is filled with gifts. But I have walked innocently. I have above ſpoken of the confidence which the ſaints ſeem ſimply to take to themſelves of works. As for theſe teſtimonies that we have here alledged, they will not much encumber us if they be underſtood according to their compaſs, or (as they commonly call it) their circumſtance. Now this is twofold. For neither would they have themſelves to be wholly examined that they ſhould be either condemned or acquitted according to the continual courſe of their whole life: but they bring into judgment a ſpecial cauſe to be debated. Neither do they claim to themſelves righteouſneſs in reſpect of the perfection of God, but by a compariſon of naughty and wicked men. Firſt when the juſtifying of man is treated of, it is not only required that he have a good cauſe in ſome particular matter,

but a certain perpetual agreement of righteouſneſs in his whole life. But the ſaints, when they call upon the judgment of God to approve their integrity, do not offer themſelves as free from all guilt and in every reſpect faultleſs: but verily when they have faſtened their hope and truſt of ſalvation in his goodneſs only, yet truſting that he is the revenger of the poor who are oppreſſed contrary to right and equity, they commend to him the cauſe wherein the innocent are oppreſſed. But when they ſet their adverſaries with them before the judgment ſeat of God, they boaſt not of ſuch an innocence as ſhall correſpond with the purity of God if it be ſtrictly ſearched, but becauſe in compariſon of the malice, obſtinacy, ſubtlety, and wickedneſs of their adverſaries, they know that their plainneſs, righteouſneſs, ſimplicity, and cleanneſs is known and pleaſing to God: they fear not to call upon him to be judge between themſelves and them. So when David ſaid to Saul, 1 Sam. xxvi. 23. The Lord render to every man according to his righteouſneſs and truth: he meant not that the Lord ſhould examine and reward every man by himſelf according to his deſervings, but he took the Lord to witneſs, how great his innocence was in compariſon of the wickedneſs of Saul. And Paul himſelf, 2. Cor. i. 12. when he boaſts that his rejoicing is this the teſtimony of his conſcience, that in ſimplicity and godly ſincerity, not with fleſhly wiſdom, but by his grace we have had our converſation in the world, and more abundantly to you-wards, means not that he reſts upon ſuch glorying before God, but being compelled by the ſlanders of the wicked, he defends his faithful and honeſt dealing, which he knew to be pleaſing to the merciful kindneſs of God, againſt all evil ſpeaking of men, whatever it be. For we ſee what he ſayeth in another place, that he knoweth no thing by himſelf, yet that he is not thereby juſtified, becauſe he knew that the judgment of God far ſurmounteth the blear-eyed ſight of men. However therefore the godly defend their innocence againſt the hypocriſy of the ungodly, by the witneſſing and judgment of God: yet when they have to do with God alone, they all cry out with one mouth: Pſal. cxxx. 3. If thou Lord ſhouldſt mark iniquity, Lord, who ſhall ſtand? and cxliii. 2. Enter not into judgment with thy ſervant: in thy ſight ſhall no man living be juſtified: and diſtruſting their own works, they gladly ſing. Pſal. lxiii. 4. Thy loving kindneſs is better than life.

To mens righteouſneſs life is not vainly promiſed if we underſtand it given thereunto, not for merit but of mercy: neither is perfection falſly attributed to ſaints if a part thereof be the ſerious acknowlegement of their imperfection.

15 There are alſo other places not unlike theſe before, in which a man may yet tarry. Solomon ſaith, Prov. xx. 7. that he who walketh in his uprightneſs, is righteous. Again, Prov. xii 28. That in the path of righteouſneſs is life, and thatin the ſame is no death. After which manner Ezekiel reporteth, ch. xviii. 9. and xxxiii. 15. that he ſhall live that doth judgment and righteouſneſs. None of theſe we either deny or darken. But let there come forth one of the ſons of Adam with ſuch an uprightneſs. If there be none, either they muſt periſh at the ſight of God, or flee to the ſanctuary of mercy. Neither do we in the mean time deny but that to believers their uprightneſs, though it be but half and imperfect, is a ſtep toward immortality. But whence cometh that but becauſe whom the Lord hath taken into the covenant of grace, he examineth not their works according to their deſervings, but kiſſeth them with fatherly kindneſs? Whereby we not only underſtand what the ſchoolmen teach that works have their value of the accepting grace. For they mean that works which are otherwiſe inſufficient to purchaſe righteouſneſs by the covenant of the law, are by the accepting of God advanced to the value of equality, But I ſay, that being defiled both with other tranſgreſſions and their own ſpots, are of no other value at all, but in ſo far as the Lord tenderly granteth pardon to both: that is to ſay, giveth free righteouſneſs to man. Neither are thoſe prayers of the Apoſtle Epheſ i. 4. and 1 Theſ. iii 13. ſeaſonably brought in here, where he wiſhs ſo great perfection to the faithful, that they may be faultleſs and unblameable in the day of the Lord, theſe words indeed the Celeſtines did formerly wreſt, to affirm a perfection of righteouſneſs in this life. But we think it ſufficient, to anſwer briefly after Auguſtine, that all the godly ought indeed to endeavour toward this mark, that they may one day appear ſpotleſs and faultleſs before the face of God: but becauſe the beſt and moſt excellent manner of this life is nothing but a going forward, we ſhall then and not till then attain to this mark, when being unclothed of this body of ſin we ſhall fully cleave to the Lord. Yet will I not ſtiffly ſtrive with him who will give the title of perfection to the ſaints, provided he alſo limit the ſame with the words of Auguſtine himſelf: When (ſaith he) *Lib. ad Boni. iii. cap.* vii. we will call the virtue of the ſaints, perfect: to the ſame perfection alſo belongeth the acknowlegeing of imperfection both in truth and humility.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

That of the reward the righteousness of works is ill gathered.

When rewards are promised to men according to their works, it is not to shew that good works are the cause, but the way to salvation.

NOW let us proceed to those expressions which affirm, Matth. xvi. 27. that God will render to every man according to his works: of which sort are these. 2 Cor. v. 10. Every man shall bear away that which he hath done in the body, either good or evil. Rom. ii. 9, 10. Glory honour and peace to him that worketh good: trouble and distress upon every soul of man that worketh evil. John v. 29. And they which have done good shall come forth unto the resurrection of life; and they who have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation. Matth. xxv. 34. Come ye blessed of my father: I was hungry, and and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink, &c. And with them let us also join these sayings, which call eternal life the reward of works. Of which sort are these. Prov. xii. 14. The recompence of the hands of a man shall be rendered to him. Prov. xiii. 13. He that feareth the commandment shall be rewarded. Mat. v. 12. Luk. vi. 13. Be glad and rejoice, for your reward is in heaven. 1 Cor. iii. 14. and 8, 30. Every man shall receive reward according to his labour. Where it is said that God shall render to every man according to his works, that difficulty is easily solved. For that manner of speaking rather shews the order of following, than the cause. But it cannot be doubted, that the Lord accomplishes our salvation by these degrees of his mercy, when those whom he hath chosen he calleth to him: those whom he hath called, he justifieth: those whom he hath justified he glorifieth. Although therefore he do by his mercy alone receive them that are his into life, yet because he brings them into the possession thereof by the race of good works, that he may fulfil his work in them by such an order as he hath appointed: it is no wonder if it be said that they are crowned according to their works, by which without doubt they are prepared to receive the crown of immortality. Yea and after this manner it is fitly said that they work their own salvation, when in applying themselves to good works, they practise themselves toward eternal life: namely as in another place they are commanded to work for the meat which perisheth not, when by believing in Christ they get to themselves life, John vi. 27. and yet it is by and by afterward added, Which the son of man shall give you. Whereby it appeareth, that the word Working is not set as contrary to grace, but is referred to endeavours; and therefore it followeth not, that either the faithful are themselves the authors of their own salvation, or that the same proceedeth from their works. How then? So soon as they are taken into the fellowship of Christ, by the knowlege of the gospel, and the enlightening of the holy Ghost, eternal life is begun in them. Now the same good which God hath begun in them, must also be made perfect until the day of the Lord Jesus, Phil. i. 6. And it is made perfect, when resembling the heavenly Father in righteousness and holiness, they prove themselves to be his children not swerved out of kind.

2. There is no reason why we should of the name of reward gather an argument that our works are the cause of salvation. First let us be determined, in this that the kingdom of heaven is not a reward of servants, but an inheritance of children, which they only shall enjoy, that are adopted of the Lord to be his children; and for no other cause, but for this adoption, Eph. i. 18. For the son of the bond-woman shall not be heir, but the son of the free-woman, Gal. iv. 30. And in the very same places in which the holy Ghost promiseth to works eternal glory for reward, in expressing the inheritance by name he sheweth that it cometh from elsewhere. So Christ rehearseth works, which he recompenseth with the reward of heaven, when he calleth the elect to the possession thereof; but he therewithal adjoineth, that it must be possessed by right of inheritance, Matth. xxv. 33. So Paul biddeth servants, which do their duty faithfully, to hope for reward of the Lord; but he addeth, of the inheritance. We see how they do as it were by express words prove, that we ought not to impute eternal blessedness to works, but to the adoption of God, Col. iii. 23. Why therefore do they likewise make mention of works? This question shall be made plain with one example of scripture; before the birth of Isaac there was promised to Abraham a seed in whom all the nations of the earth should be blessed; and a multiplying of his seed, which should match the stars of the sky, and the sands of the sea, and other like, Gen. xv. 5. and

xvii. 1. In many years afterward, Abraham, as he was commanded by the oracle, prepared himſelf to offer up his ſon in ſacrifice. When he had performed this obedience, he received a promiſe; 'I have ſworn by myſelf (ſaith the Lord) becauſe thou haſt done this thing, and haſt not withheld thy ſon, thine only ſon,; that in bleſſing I will bleſs thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy ſeed as the ſtars of heaven, and as the ſand which is by the ſea ſhore; and thy ſeed ſhall poſſeſs the gate of his enemies: and in thy ſeed ſhall all the nations of the earth be bleſſed: becauſe thou haſt obeyed my voice. Gen. xxii. 3. 16, 17, 18. What hear we? Hath Abraham by his obedience deſerved the bleſſing, the promiſe whereof he had received before the commandment was given? Here verily we have it without circumſtances ſhewed, that the Lord rewardeth the works of the faithful with thoſe benefits which he had already given them before that the works were thought of, having yet no cauſe why he ſhould do good to them but his own mercy.

3. Yet doth the Lord not deceive nor mock us, when he ſaith that he rendereth for reward to works the ſame thing which he had before works freely given. For becauſe he will have us to be exerciſed with good works, to think upon the delivery or enjoying (as I may ſo call it) of theſe things which he hath promiſed, and to run through them to the bleſſed hope ſet before us in heaven, the fruit of the promiſes is alſo rightly aſſigned to them, to the ripeneſs whereof they do not bring us. The Apoſtle very fitly expreſſed both theſe points, when he ſaid that the Coloſſians apply themſelves to the duties of charity, for the hope which is laid up for them in heaven, of which they had heard before in the word of the truth of the goſpel, Col. i. 4. For when he ſaith that they knew by the goſpel, that there was hope laid up for them in heaven, he declareth that the ſame is by Chriſt only, not ſupported by any works. Wherewith agreeth that ſaying of Peter, that the godly are kept by the power of God through faith unto ſalvation, ready to be revealed in the laſt time. 1 Pet. i. v. When he ſayeth that they labour for it, he ſignifieth that the faithful muſt run all the time of their life, that they may attain to it. But leſt we ſhould think that the reward which the Lord promiſeth us is not reduced to the meaſure of merit, he did put forth a parable, in which he made himſelf a houſholder, which ſent all them that he met to the trimming of his vineyard, ſome at the firſt hour of the day, ſome at the ſecond, ſome at the third, yea and ſome alſo at the eleventh. At evening he payed to every one equal wages. Matth. xx. 9. The expoſition of which parable, that ſame old writer, whoſoever he was, whoſe book is carried abroad under the name of Ambroſe, of the the calling of the Gentiles, hath briefly and truly ſet out. I will rather uſe his words than my own. (*Lib.* i. *cap.* iii.) The Lord (ſaith he) by the rule of this compariſon, hath ſtabliſhed the diverſity of manifold calling, belonging to one grace: where without doubt they which being let in into the vineyard at the eleventh hour, are made equal with them that had wrought the whole day, do repreſent the eſtate of them, whom for the advancing of the excellency of grace, the tender kindneſs of the Lord hath rewarded at the evening of the day, and at the ending of their life; not paying wages for their labour, but pouring out the riches of his goodneſs upon them whom he hath choſen without works, that even they alſo which have ſwet in great labour, and have received no more than the laſt, may underſtand that they have received a gift of grace, not a reward of works. Laſt of all, this alſo is worthy to be noted in theſe places, where eternal life is called a reward of works, that it is not ſimply taken for that participation which we have with God in bleſſed immortality, when he embraceth us with fatherly goodwill in Chriſt: but for the poſſeſſing or enjoying (as they call it) of bleſſedneſs, as alſo the very words of Chriſt do ſound, In time to come life everlaſting. Matth. x. 30. And in another place, Come and poſſeſs the kingdom, &c. Matth. xxv. 35. After this manner Paul calleth adoption, the revealing of the adoption which ſhall be made in the reſurrection: and afterward expoundeth it the redemption of our body, Rom. viii. 23. Otherwiſe as eſtranging from God is eternal death, ſo when man is received of God into favour, that he may enjoy the participation of him and be made one with him, he is received from death to life: which is done by the beneficial mean of adoption only. And if, as they are wont, they ſtiffly enforce the reward of works, we may turn againſt them that ſaying of Peter, that eternal life is the reward of faith, 1 Pet. i. 9.

4. Therefore let us not think, that the holy Ghoſt doth with ſuch promiſes ſet forth the worthineſs of our works, as if they deſerved ſuch reward. For the ſcripture leaveth nothing to us, whereby we may be advanced in the ſight of God. But rather it wholly endeavoureth to beat down our arrogance, to humble us, to throw us down, and altogether to break us in pieces. But our weakneſs is ſo ſuc-

coured,

coured, which otherwiſe would by and by ſlip and fall down, unleſs it did ſuſtain itſelf with this expectation, and mitigate her tedious griefs with comfort. Firſt, how hard it is for a man to forſake and deny not only all his things, but alſo himſelf, let every man conſider for himſelf. And yet with this introduction Chriſt traineth his ſcholars, that is, all the godly. Then throughout all their life, he ſo inſtructeth them under the diſcipline of the croſs, that they may not ſet their heart either to deſire or conſide in preſent good things. Briefly, he ſo handleth them for the moſt part, that which way ſoever they turn their eyes, throughout the whole wideneſs of the world, they have on every ſide nothing but deſperation preſent before them: ſo that Paul ſaith, If only in this life we have hope, we are of all men moſt miſerable, 1 Cor. xv. 19. That they ſhould not faint in theſe ſo great diſtreſſes, the Lord is preſent with them, which putteth them in mind to lift up their heads higher, to caſt their eyes further, ſo they find with him the bleſſedneſs which they ſee not in the world. This bleſſedneſs he calleth reward, wages, recompence, not weighing the merit of works, but ſignifying that it is a recompence to their troubles, ſuffering, ſlanders, &c. Wherefore there is no reaſon, but that we may after the example of ſcripture, call eternal life a rewarding, becauſe in it the Lord receiveth his from labours into reſt, from affliction into a proſperous and happy ſtate, from ſorrow into gladneſs, from poverty into flowing wealth, from ſhame into glory, and changeth all the evils which they have ſuffered for greater good things. So it ſhall alſo be no inconvenience, if we think holineſs of life to be the way, not which openeth an entry into the glory of the heavenly kingdom, but whereby the elect are led by their God unto the diſcloſing of it: forſmuch as this is his good-will to glorify them whom he hath ſanctified, Rom. viii. 30. Only let us not imagine a cavil of merit and reward, wherein the ſophiſters do fondly ſtick faſt, becauſe they conſider not this end which we ſet forth. But how diſorderly is it, when the Lord calleth us to one end, for us to look to another? Nothing is more evident than that it is to ſupport the weakneſs of our fleſh with ſome comfort, and not to puff up our minds with vain-glory. Whoſoever therefore doth thence argue the merit of good works, or doth in one balance weigh work with reward, he erreth far from the aim of God.

5. Wherefore when the ſcripture ſaith, that God the righteous judge will one day render to his a crown of righteouſneſs, 2 Tim. iv. 8. I do not only take exception with Auguſtine, and ſay, To whom ſhould he being a juſt judge, render a crown, if he had not being a merciful father given grace? and how ſhould there be righteouſneſs, unleſs grace went before which juſtifieth the unrighteous? How ſhould theſe due things be rendered, unleſs theſe undue things were firſt given? (*Aug. ad Valent. de gr. et lib. arb.*) But alſo I add another thing. How ſhould he impute righteouſneſs to our works, unleſs his tender mercifulneſs did hid the unrighteouſneſs that is in them? How ſhould he judge them worthy of reward, unleſs he did by unmeaſurable bountifulneſs take away that which is worthy of puniſhment? for he is wont to call eternal life, grace; becauſe it is rendered to the free gifts of God when it is repaid to works. But the ſcripture doth further humble us, and therewithal raiſe us up. For beſide this, that it forbiddeth us to glory in works, becauſe they are the free gifts of God, it therewithal teacheth that they are always defiled with ſome dregs, that they cannot ſatisfy God, if they be examined by the rule of his judgment: but leſt our courage ſhould faint, it teacheth that they pleaſe only by pardon. But although Auguſtine ſpeaketh ſomewhat otherwiſe than we do: yet that he doth not ſo diſagree in the matter, ſhall appear by his words in his third book to Boniface. (*cap.* 5.) Where when he had compared two men together, the one of a life even miraculouſly holy and perfect, the other honeſt in deed and of uncorrupt manners, but not ſo perfect but that much wanteth in him: at the laſt he concludeth thus; Even this man which in manners ſeemeth much inferior, by reaſon of the true faith of God whereby he liveth, and according to which he accuſeth himſelf in all his offences, in all his good works praiſeth God, giving to himſelf the ſhame, and to him the glory, and taking from himſelf both the pardon of ſins, and the love of well-doing, when he is to be delivered out of this life, he paſſeth into the fellowſhip of Chriſt. Wherefore, but becauſe of faith? Which although it ſave no man without works (for it is it which worketh by love, not a reprobate faith) yet by it alſo ſins are releaſed, becauſe the righteous man liveth by faith, Hab. ii. 4. but without it even the ſame which ſeemeth good works, are turned into ſins. Here verily he doth plainly confeſs, that which we ſo much labour to prove, that the righteouſneſs of good works dependeth hereupon, that they are by pardon allured of God.

6. A very near ſenſe to the places abovementioned, have theſe; Luke xvi. 9. Make to yourſelves friends of the Mammon of unrighteouſneſs, that

when you ſhall fail, they may receive you into everlaſting habitations. 1 Tim. vi. 17. Charge the rich men of this world, not to be high-minded, nor to truſt in uncertain riches, but in the living God; to do well, to become rich in good works, to lay up in ſtore for themſelves a good foundation againſt the time to come, that they may obtain eternal life. For good works are compared to the riches, which we may enjoy in the bleſſedneſs of eternal life. I anſwer, that we ſhall never come to the underſtanding of them, unleſs we turn our eyes to the mark whereunto the holy Ghoſt directeth his words. If it be true which Chriſt ſaith, that our heart abideth there where our treaſure is, as the children of the world are wont to be earneſtly bent to the getting of thoſe things which ſerve for the delights of this preſent life; ſo the faithful muſt look, ſince they have learned that this life ſhall by and by vaniſh away, that they ſend thoſe things which they would enjoy, thither, where they ſhall have perfect life. We muſt therefore do as they do who purpoſe to remove into any place, where they have choſen to reſt their whole life. They ſend their goods before, and do not diſcontentedly want them for a time: becauſe they think themſelves ſo much more happy, how much more goods they have where they ſhall tarry long. If we believe that heaven is our country, it behoveth us rather to ſend away our riches thither, than to keep them here where we muſt loſe them with by a ſudden removal. But how ſhall we ſend them thither? If we communicate to the neceſſities of the poor: to whom whatſoever is given, the Lord accounteth it given to himſelf. Matth. xxv. 11. Whereupon cometh that notable promiſe; He that giveth to the poor, lendeth for gain to the Lord, Prov. 19. 17. Again, he that ſoweth liberally, ſhall reap liberally, 2 Cor. ix. 6. For thoſe things are delivered into the hand of the Lord to keep, which are beſtowed upon our brethren by the duty of charity. He, as he is a faithful keeper of that which is committed to him, will one day reſtore it with plentiful gain. Are then our dutiful doings of ſo great value with God, that they are as riches laid up in ſtore for us in his hand? Who ſhall fear ſo to ſay, when the ſcripture doth ſo oft and plainly witneſs it? But if any man will leap from the mere goodneſs of God to the merit of work, he ſhall not be aſſiſted by theſe teſtimonies to eſtabliſh his error. For you can gather nothing rightly thereof, but the mere inclination of God's tenderneſs toward us: in order to encourage us to well-doing, although the ſervices which we do to him, are not worthy of ſo much as his only looking upon them, yet he ſuffereth none of them to be loſt.

7. But they chiefly inſiſt upon the words of the apoſtle, 2 Theſſ. i. 5. who, when he comforteth the Theſſalonians in troubles, teacheth that the ſame are ſent to them that they may be accounted worthy of the kingdom of God for which they ſuffer. For (ſaith he) it is righteous with God, to render trouble to them that trouble you; but to you reſt with us, when the Lord Jeſus ſhall be revealed from heaven. But the author of the epiſtle to the Hebrews ſaith, (Heb. vi. 10.) God is not unrighteous, that he ſhould forget your work and labour of love, which ye have ſhewed to his name, in that ye have miniſtered to the ſaints, and do miniſter. To the firſt place I anſwer, that there is no worthineſs of merit ſpoken of; but becauſe God the Father willeth that we whom he hath choſen to be his children, ſhould be made like to Chriſt his firſt begotten Son, Rom. viii. 29. as it behoved that he ſhould firſt ſuffer, and then enter into the glory appointed for him, (Luke xxviii. 26.) ſo muſt we alſo through many tribulations enter into the kingdom of God, Acts xiv. 22. Therefore when we ſuffer tribulation for the name of Chriſt, there are as it were certain marks printed upon us, wherewith God uſeth to mark the ſheep of his flock. After this manner therefore we are accounted worthy of the kingdom of God, becauſe we bear in our body the marks of our Lord and maſter, which are the ſigns of the children of God, Gal. vi. 17. To this purpoſe are theſe ſayings. That we bear about in our body the dying of the Lord Jeſus, that the life alſo of Jeſus might be made manifeſt in our body, 2 Cor. iv. 10. That we may be faſhioned like unto his ſufferings, that we may come to the likeneſs of his reſurrection from the dead. The reaſon which is adjoined ſerveth not to prove any worthineſs, but to confirm the hope of the kingdom of God. As if he had ſaid, As it agreeth with the juſt judgment of God, to take vengeance on your enemies for the vexations that they have done to you: ſo agreeth it alſo to give to you releaſe and reſt from vexations. The other place which teacheth, that it ſo becometh the righteouſneſs of God not to forget the obedience of them that are his, that it declareth it to be in a manner unrighteous if he ſhould forget them, hath this meaning: God, to quicken our ſlothfulneſs, hath given us aſſurance, that the labour ſhall not be in vain which we ſhall take for his glory. Let us always remember, that this promiſe, as all others, will bring us no profit, unleſs the free covenant of mercy went before, whereupon the whole aſſured-

assuredness of our salvation should rest. But standing upon that covenant, we ought assuredly to trust, we shall also not want reward of the liberality of God to our works however they be unworthy. The apostle, to confirm us in that expectation, affirmeth that God is not unrighteous, but will stand to his promise once made. Therefore this righteousness is rather referred to the truth of God's promise, that to his justice in rendering due. According to which meaning there is a notable saying of Augustine, which as the holy man sticketh not to rehearse often as notable, so I think it not unworthy that we should continually remember it. The Lord (saith he) is faithful, who hath made himself debtor to us, not by receiving any thing of us, but by promising all things to us. *In Psal.* xxxii. & cix.

3. There are also alledged these sayings of Paul, 1 Cor. xiii. If I have all faith, so that I can remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing. Again, Now abideth hope, faith and charity, these three, but the greatest of these is charity. Again, (Col. iii. 14.) Above all things have charity, which is the bond of perfection. By the first two places our Pharisees affirm, that we are rather justified by charity than faith, namely by that more excellent virtue, as they say. But this foolish argument is easily wiped away; for we have in another place already declared, that those things which are spoken in the first place pertain nothing to true faith. The other place we also expound of true faith, than which he saith that charity is greater: not that it is more meritorious, but because it is more fruitful, because it extendeth further, because it serveth more, because it remaineth always in force, whereas the use of faith continueth but for a time. If we have regard to excellence, the love of God should worthily have the chief place, of which Paul here speaketh not. For he enforceth this thing only, that we should with mutual charity edify one another in the Lord. But let us imagine that charity doth every way excel faith: yet what man of sound judgment, yea or of sound brain, will gather thereof that it doth more justify? The power of justifying which faith hath, consisteth not in the worthiness of the work: but justification standeth only upon the mercy of God and the merits of Christ, which justification when faith taketh hold of, it is said to justify. Now, if you ask our adversaries in what sense they assign justification to charity, they will answer, that because it is a dutiful doing acceptable to God, therefore by the deserving thereof righteousness is imputed to us by the acceptation of the goodness of God. Here you see how well the argument proceedeth. We say that faith justifieth, not because by the worthiness of itself it deserveth righteousness to us, but because it is an instrument by which we freely obtain the righteousness of Christ. These men, omitting the mercy of God, and overlooking Christ (where the sum of righteousness standeth) do affirm that we are justified by the benefit of charity because it is more excellent than faith: even as if a man would argue, that a king is fitter to make a shoe than a shoemaker, because he is by far more excellent. This only argument is a plain example that all the Sorbonical schools do not so much as taste with the uttermost part of their lips what the justification of faith is. But if any wrangler do yet carp and ask, why in so small distance of place do we take the word faith in Paul so diversly? I have a weighty cause for this exposition. For since those gifts which Paul rehearseth are after a certain manner under faith and hope, because they pertain to the knowlege of God, he contemneth them all by way of recapitulation under the name of faith and hope: as if he should say by the prophecy, and the grace and knowlege of interpretation tend to this mark to lead us to the knowlege of God. And we know God in this life no otherwise but by hope and faith. Therefore when I name faith and hope, I comprehend all these things together. And so there remaineth these three hope, faith and charity; that is to say, how great diversity of gifts soever there be, they are all referred to these. Among these the greatest is charity, &c. Out of the third place they gather, If charity be the bond of perfection, then it is also the bond of righteousness which is nothing else but perfection. First, to speak nothing how Paul there calleth perfection, when the members of the church well set in order, do cleave together, and to grant that we are by charity made perfect before God: yet what new thing bring they forth? For I will alway on the contrary side take exception, and say, that we never come to this perfection, unless we fulfil all the parts of charity; and thereupon I will gather, that since all men are very far from the fulfilling of charity, therefore all hope of perfection is cut off from them.

9. I will not go through all the testimonies which at this day the foolish Sorbonists rashly snatch out of the scriptures, as they first come to hand, and do throw them against us. For, some of them are so worthy of ridicule, that I myself cannot rehearse them, without being justly accounted foolish. Therefore I will conclude, when I shall have declared the saying of Christ, wherewith they marvel-

marvelouſly pleaſe themſelves. For, to the lawyer which aſked him what was neceſſary to ſalvation, he anſwered: If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments. Mat. xix. xvii. What would we more (ſay they) when we are commanded by the author of grace himſelf to get the kingdom of God by the keeping of his commandments. As though forſooth it were not certain, that Chriſt tempered his anſwers to them with whom he ſaw that he had to do. Here a doctor of the law aſketh of the mean to obtain bleſſedneſs, and not the only, but with doing of what thing men may attain unto it. Both the perſon of him that ſpake and the queſtion it ſelf led the Lord ſo to anſwer. The lawyer being filled with the perſwaſion of the righteouſneſs of the law, was blind in conſcience of works. Again, he ſought nothing elſe but what were the works of righteouſneſs, by which ſalvation is gotten. Therefore he is worthily ſent to the law, in which there is a perfect mirror of righteouſneſs. We alſo do with a loud voice pronounce the commandments muſt be kept, if life be ſought in works. And this doctrine is neceſſary to be known of Chriſtians. For how ſhould they fly to Chriſt if they did not acknowlege that they are fallen from the way of life into the headlong downfal of death: But how ſhould they underſtand how far they have ſtrayed from the way of life, unleſs they firſt underſtand what is taht way of life. For then they are taught that the ſanctuary to recover ſalvation, is in Chriſt, when they ſee how great difference there is between their life and the righteouſneſs of God which is contained in the keeping of the law. The ſum is this, that if ſalvation be ſought in works, we muſt keep the commandments by which we are inſtructed to perfect righteouſneſs. But we muſt not ſtick faſt here, unleſs we will faint in our mid courſe: for none of us is able to keep the commandments. Sith therefore we are excluded from the righteouſneſs of the law, we muſt of neceſſity reſort to another help, namely to the faith of Chriſt. Wherefore as here the Lord calleth back the doctor of the law whom he knew to ſwell with vain confidence of works, to the law whereby he may learn that he is a ſinner ſubject to the dreadful judgment of eternal death: ſo in other places without making mention of the law, he comforteth others that are already humbled with ſuch knowlege, with promiſe of grace: as, Come to me. all ye that labour and are heaven laden, and I will refreſh you, and ye ſhall find reſt unto your ſouls, Matth. xi. 39.

10. At the laſt when they are weary with wreſting the ſcripture, they fall to ſubtleties and ſophiſtical arguments. They cavil upon this, that faith is in ſome places called a work, and thereupon they gather, that we do wrongfully ſet faith as contrary to works, John vi. 29. As though, forſooth, faith, in that it is an obeying of the will of God, doth with her own deſerving procure unto us righteouſneſs, and not rather becauſe by embracing the mercy of God, it ſealeth in our hearts the righteouſneſs of Chriſt, offered to us in the preaching of the goſpel. The readers ſhall pardon me if I do not tarry upon confuting of ſuch follies, for they themſelves, without any aſſault of others, are ſufficiently overthrown with their own feebleneſs. But I will by the way confute one objection which ſeemeth to have ſome ſhew of reaſon, leſt it ſhould trouble ſome that are not ſo well practiſed. Since common reaſon teacheth that of contraries is all one rule, and all particular ſins are imputed to us for unrighteouſneſs, they ſay it is meet, that to all particular good works be given the praiſe of righteouſneſs. They do not ſatisfy me, which anſwer, That the damnation of men properly proceedeth from unbelief, not from particular ſins. I do indeed agree with them, that unbelief is the fountain and root of all evils. For it is the firſt departing from God, after which do follow the particular traſpaſſings againſt the law, But whereas they ſeem to ſet one ſelf ſame reaſon of good and evil works in weighing of righteouſneſs or unrighteouſneſs, therein I am compelled to diſagree with them. For the righteouſneſs of works is the perfect obedience of the law. Therefore thou canſt not be righteous by works, unleſs thou do follow it as a ſtreight line in the whole continual courſe of thy life. From it ſo ſoon as thou haſt ſwerved, thou art fallen into unrighteouſneſs. Hereby appeareth that righteouſneſs cometh not of one or a few works, but of a ſtedfaſt and unwearied obſerving of the will of God. But the rule of judging unrighteouſneſs is moſt contrary. For he that hath committed fornication, or hath ſtolen, is by one offence guilty of death, becauſe he hath offended againſt the majeſty of God. Therefore theſe our ſubtle arguers do ſtumble, for that they mark not this ſaying of James, that he who ſinneth in one, is made guilty of all, becauſe he that hath forbidden to kill, hath alſo forbidden to ſteal, &c. Therefore it ought to ſeem no abſurdity, when we ſay that death is the juſt reward of every ſin; becauſe they are every one worthy of the juſt diſpleaſure and vengeance of God. But thou ſhalt reaſon fooliſhly, if on the contrary thou conclude that by one good work man may be reconciled to God, who with many ſins deſerveth his wrath.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Christian liberty.

The necessity of handling the question that concerneth christian liberty.

NOW we must treat of Christian liberty: the declaration whereof he must not omit whose purpose is to comprehend in an abridgment the sum of the doctrine of the gospel. For it is a thing principally necessary, and without the knowlege whereof consciences dare in a manner enterprise nothing without doubting, they stumble and start back in many things, they always stagger and tremble: but especially it is an appendage of justification, and availeth not a little to the understanding of the strength thereof. Yea they that earnestly fear God, shall hereby receive an incomparable fruit of that doctrine which the wicked and Lucinianical men do pleasantly taunt with their scoffs, because in the spiritual darkness wherewith they are taken, every wanton railing is lawful for them. Wherefore it shall now come forth in fit season: and it was profitable to defer to this place the plainer discoursing of it (for we have already in diverse places lightly touched it) because so soon as any mention is brought in of Christian liberty, then either filthy lusts boil, or mad motions rise, unless these wanton wits be timely met withal, who do otherwise most naughtily corrupt the best things. For, some men by pretence of this liberty, shake off all obedience to God, and break forth into an unbridled licentiousness: and some men disdain it, thinking that by it all moderation, order and choice of things is taken away. What should we do here, being compassed in such narrow straits? shall we bid Christian liberty farewel, and so cut off all fit occasion for such perils? But, as we have said, unless that be fast holden, neither Christ, nor the truth of the gospel, nor the inward peace of the soul is rightly known. We must rather endeavour that so necessary a part of doctrine be not suppressed, and yet that in the mean time those foolish objections may be met withal which are wont to rise thereupon.

The first part of Christian liberty, the freedom from the bondage and tyranny of the law.

2. Christian liberty (as I think) consists in three parts. The first, that the consciences of the faithful, when the affiance of their justification before God is to be sought, may raise and advance themselves above the law, and forget the whole righteousness of the law. For since the law (as we have already in another place declared) leaveth no man righteous: either we are excluded from all hope of justification, or we must be loosed from the law, and no regard at all had to works. For whoso thinketh that he must bring somewhat, be it never so little of good works to obtain righteousness, he cannot appoint any end or measure of them, but maketh himself a debtor to the law. Therefore taking away all mention of the law, and laying aside all thinking upon works, we must embrace the mercy of God only, when we treat of justification: and turning away our sight from our selves, we must behold Christ alone. For there the question is not how we are righteous: but how although we be unrighteous and unworthy, we be taken for worthy. Of which thing if consciences will attain any certainty, they must give no place to the law. Neither can any man hereby gather that the law is superfluous to the faithful, whom it doth not therefore cease to teach, and exhort, and prick forward to goodness, although before the judgment seat of God it hath no place in their consciences. For these two things, as they are very different, so must they be well and diligently distinguished by us. The whole life of Christians ought to be a certain meditation of godliness, because they are called unto sanctification. Eph. i. 4. 1 Thes. iv. 5. Herein standeth the office of the law, that by putting them in mind of their duty, it should stir them up to the endeavour of holiness and innocence. But when consciences are careful how they may have God merciful, what they shall answer, and upon what affiance they shall stand if they be called to his judgment, there is not to be reckoned what the law requireth, but only Christ must be set forth for righteousness, which passeth all perfection of the law.

The liberty disputed of in the Epistle to the Galatians.

3. Upon this point depends almost all the argument of the epistle to the Galatians. For, that they are foolish expositors who teach that Paul there contendeth only for the liberty of ceremonies, may be proved by the places of the arguments. Of which sort are these. Gal. iii. 13. That Christ was made a curse for us, that he might redeem us from the curse of the law. Again, v. 1. Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free, and

be not again entangled with the yoke of bondage. Behold, I Paul ſay, if ye be circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall profit you nothing. And he who is circumciſed is debtor to the whole law. Chriſt is made idle to you whoſoever ye be that are juſtified by the law: ye are fallen away from grace. Wherein truly is contained ſome higher thing than the liberty of ceremonies. I grant indeed that Paul there treats of ceremonies, becauſe he contendeth with the falſe apoſtles, who went about to bring again into the Chriſtian church the old ſhadows of the law which were aboliſhed by the coming of Chriſt. But for the diſcuſſing of this queſtion, there were higher places to be diſputed, in which the wole controverſy ſtood. Firſt, becauſe by thoſe Jewiſh ſhadows the brightneſs of the goſpel was darkned, he ſheweth that in Chriſt we have a full giving in deed of all thoſe things which were ſhadowed by the ceremonies of Moſes. Secondly, becauſe theſe deceivers filled the people with a moſt naughty opinion, namely that this obedience availed to deſerve the favour of God: here he ſtands much upon this point, that the faithful ſhould not think that they can by any works of the law, much leſs by thoſe little principles, obtain righteouſneſs before God. And alſo he teacheth, that they are by the croſs of Chriſt free from the damnation of the law, which otherwiſe hangeth over all men, that they ſhould with full aſſurance reſt in Chriſt alone. which place properly pertains to this purpoſe. Laſt of all he maintains to the conſciences of the faithful their liberty, that they ſhould not be bound with any religion in things not neceſſary.

The ſecond part of Chriſtian liberty free and by the law unconſtrained obedience.

4 The ſecond part, which depends upon the former, is that conſciences obey the law, not as compelled by the neceſſity of the law: but being free from the yoke of the law it ſelf, of their own accord they obey the will of God. For becauſe they abide in perpetual terror, ſo long as they are under the dominion of the law, they ſhall never be with cheerful readineſs framed to the obedience of God, unleſs they firſt have this liberty given them. By an example we ſhall both more briefly, and more plainly perceive what theſe things mean. The commandment of the law is, Deut. vi. 5. that we love God with all our heart, with all our ſoul, and with all our ſtrength. That this may be done, our ſoul muſt firſt be made void of all other ſenſe and thought, our heart muſt be cleanſed of all deſires, all our ſtrength muſt be gathered up and drawn together to this only purpoſe. They who have gone fartheſt before others in the way of the Lord, are yet very far from this mark. For though they love God with their mind, and with ſincere affection of heart, yet they have ſtill a great part of their heart and ſoul poſſeſſed with the deſires of the fleſh, by which they are drawn back and hindered from going forward with haſty courſe to God. They do indeed travel forward with great endeavour: but the fleſh partly enfeebles their ſtrength, and partly draws them to it ſelf. What ſhall they do here, when they feel that they do nothing leſs than perform the law? They will, they covet, they endeavour, but nothing with ſuch perfection as ought to be. If they look upon the law, they ſee that whatſoever work they attempt or purpoſe, is accurſed. Neither is there any cauſe why any man ſhould deceive himſelf by concluding that the work is therefore not altogether evil, becauſe it is imperfect: and therefore that God doth nevertheleſs accept that good which is in it. For, the law requiring perfect love, condemneth all imperfection, unleſs the rigour of it be mitigated. Therefore his works ſhould fall to nought which he would have to ſeem partly good: and he ſhall find that it is a tranſgreſſion of the law, even in this becauſe it is imperfect.

Men freed from the exactions of the law are as children ſweetly won unto cheerful obedience by the fatherly gentleneſs wherewith they know that God hath promiſed to treat them.

5 Behold how all our works are ſubject to the curſe of the law if they be meaſured by the rule of the law. But how then ſhould unhappy ſouls cheerfully apply themſelves to work, for which they might not truſt that they could get any thing but the curſe? On the other ſide, if being delivered from this ſevere exacting of the law, or rather from the whole rigour of the law, they hear that they are called of God with fatherly gentleneſs: they will merrily and with great cheerfulneſs anſwer his calling and follow his guiding. In ſum, they who are bound to the yoke of the law, are like bond ſervants, to whom by their lords are appointed certain taſks of work for every day. Theſe ſervants think that they have done nothing, nor dare come in the ſight of their lords, unleſs they have performed that full taſk of works. But children, who are more liberally and more freemen-like handled by their fathers, ſtick not to preſent to them their begun and imperfect works, yea and thoſe having ſome fault, truſting that they will accept their obedience and willingneſs of mind, although they have not exactly done ſo much as their good will was to do. So muſt we be that we may have ſure affiance, that our

our obedience ſhall be allowed of our moſt kind father, how little ſoever, and how rude and imperfect ſoever they be. As he alſo aſſureth us by the prophet: Mal. iii. 17. I will ſpare them (ſaith he) as a father is wont to ſpare his ſon that ſerveth him. Where this word ſpare, is ſet for to bear with, or gently to wink at faults, for he alſo makes mention of ſervice. And this affiance is not a little neceſſary for us, without which we ſhall go about all things in vain. For God accounteth himſelf to be worſhipped with no work of ours but which is truly done by us for the worſhipping of him. But how can that be done among theſe terrors, where it is doubted whether God be offended or worſhipped without our work.

The liberty which we have in the ſtate of grace a ſpecial encouragement to ſtrive that we be not over-ruled with ſin.

6. And that this is the cauſe why the author of the epiſtle to the Hebrews, refers all the good works which are read of in the holy fathers, to faith, and weigheth them only by faith. Touching this liberty, there is a place in the epiſtle to the Romans, chap. xi. 2. where Paul reaſoneth that ſin ought not to have dominion over us, becauſe we are not under the law, but under grace. For when he had exhorted the faithful Rom. vi. 12. that ſin ſhould not reign in their mortal bodies, and that they ſhould not give their members to be weapons of wickedneſs to ſin, but ſhould dedicate themſelves to God, as they that are alive from the dead, and their members, weapons of righteouſneſs to God: and whereas they might on the other ſide object that they do yet carry with them the fleſh full of luſts, and that ſin dwelleth in them, he adjoineth that comfort by the liberty of the law, as if he ſhould ſay. Though they do not yet thoroughly feel ſin deſtroyed, and that righteouſneſs liveth not yet in them, yet there is no cauſe why they ſhould fear and be diſcouraged as though he had been alway diſpleaſed with them for the remnants of ſin, foraſmuch as they are by grace made free from the law, that their works ſhould not be examined by the rules of the law. As for them that conclude that we may ſin becauſe we are not under the law, let them know that this liberty pertaineth not to them, the end whereof isto encourage us to good.

The third part of Chriſtian liberty is freedom of conſcience touching the uſe of indifferent things, as cloth, meat, drink, wherein it is unneceſſary to know how much is permitted us, leaſt too much ſtraitneſs drive us to inconveniency.

7. The third part is, that we are bound with no conſcience before God of outward things which are in themſelves indifferent, but that we may indifferently ſometimes uſe them, and ſometimes leave them unuſed. And the knowlege of this liberty alſo is very neceſſary for us, for if it ſhall be abſent, there will be no quiet to our conſciences, no end of ſuperſtitions. Many at this day think us fooliſh to move diſputation about the free eating of fleſh, about the free uſe of days, and garments, and ſuch other ſmall trifles as they indeed think them: but there is more weight in them than is commonly thought. For when conſciences have once caſt themſelves into the ſnare, they enter into a long and cumberſome way, from whence they can afterward find no eaſy way to get out. If a man begin to doubt whether he may occupy linen in ſheets, ſhirts, handkerchiefs, and napkins, neither will he be out of doubt whether he may uſe hemp, and at the laſt he will alſo fall in doubt of matters, for he will weigh with himſelf whether he cannot ſup without napkins, whether he may not be without handkerchiefs. If any man think dainty meat unlawful, at length he will not with quietneſs before the Lord eat either brown bread or common meats, when he remembreth that he may yet ſuſtain his body with baſer food. If he doubt of pleaſant wine, afterward he will not drink dead wine with good peace of conſcience, laſt of all he will not be ſo bold as touch ſweeter and cleaner water than other. Finally, at the length he will come to this point, to think it unlawful (as the common ſaying is) to tread upon a ſtraw lying acroſs. For here is begun no light ſtrife, but this is in queſtion, whether God will have us to uſe theſe or thoſe things, whoſe will ought to guide all our counſels and doings. Hereby ſome muſt needs be carried with deſperation into a devouring pit: ſome muſt, deſpiſing God, and caſting away his fear, make themſelves away through deſtruction when they have no ready way: for whoever is entangled with ſuch doubts, which way ſoever they turn themſelves, they ſee every where preſent offence of conſcience.

We cannot with thankfulneſs unto God enjoy the uſe of outward things, unleſs the knowlege of our liberty remove all ſcruple of conſcience and trou-

8. I know (ſaith Paul) Rom. xiv. 14. that nothing is common (meaning by common, unholy) but whoſo thinketh any thing common, to him it is common. In which words he maketh all outward things ſubject to our liberty, provided always that our minds have the aſſurance of the liber-

ble of mind from us.

liberty before God. But if any ſuperſtitious opinion caſt us into any doubt, thoſe things, which of their own nature were clean, are defiled to us. Wherefore he addeth: Bleſſed is he that judgeth not himſelf in that which he alloweth. But he that judgeth, if he eat, is condemned, becauſe he eateth not of faith. And that which is not of faith, is ſin. Among ſuch narrow ſtraits, whoſo nevertheleſs with careleſly venturing on all things ſhew themſelves bolder, do they not as much turn themſelves away from God? But they who are thoroughly pierced with ſome fear of God, when they themſelves alſo are compelled to do many things againſt their conſcience, are diſcouraged and fall down with fear. All that are ſuch, receive none of the gifts of God with thankſgiving, by which alone yet Paul teſtifieth that they all are ſanctified to our uſe: I mean the thankſgiving that proceedeth from a heart that acknowlegeth the liberality and goodneſs of God in his gifts. For many of them indeed underſtand that thoſe are the benefits of God which they uſe, and they praiſe God in his works: but ſince they are not perſuaded that they are given to them, how can they thank God as the giver of them? Thus we ſee whereto this liberty tendeth, namely, that we ſhould uſe the gifts of God to ſuch purpoſes as he hath given them unto us, without any ſcruple of conſcience, without any trouble of mind, by which confidence our ſouls may both have peace with him, and acknowlege his liberality toward us. For here are comprehended all ceremonies that are at liberty to be obſerved, that our conſciences ſhould not be bound with any neceſſity to keep them, but ſhould remember that the uſe of them is by God's benefit ſubject to themſelves unto edification.

The uſe and abuſe of the doctrine which concerneth Chriſtian liberty.

9. But it is diligently to be obſerved, that Chriſtian liberty is in all the parts of it a ſpiritual thing, the whole ſtrength whereof conſiſteth in appeaſing fearful conſciences before God, if they be either unquieted, or careful for the forgiveneſs of ſins, or if they be penſive whether our imperfect works, and defiled with the faults of our fleſh do pleaſe God, or if they be troubled about the uſe of indifferent things. Wherefore they expound it wrong, who either make it a cloak for their own deſires, that they may abuſe the gifts of God to their own luſt, or who think that there is no liberty but that which is uſed before men, and therefore in uſing it have no regard to weak brethren. In the firſt kind, men at this day much offend. There is almoſt no man which may by his ability of wealth be ſumptuous, who delighteth not in exceſſive gorgeouſneſs, in banquets, in apparel of body, in building of houſes, who hath not a will to excel others in all kinds of magnificence; who doth not marvellouſly flatter himſelf in his fineneſs. And all theſe things are defended under the pretence of Chriſtian liberty. They ſay, that they are things indifferent. I grant, if a man uſe them indifferently. But when they are too greedily coveted, when they are proudly boaſted of, when they are waſtefully ſpent, it is certain that thoſe things which were in themſelves lawful, are by theſe faults defiled. This ſaying of Paul, doth very well put a difference between things indifferent. All things are clean to the clean, but to the defiled and unbelieving nothing is clean, becauſe their mind and conſcience is defiled. For why are rich men accurſed, Tit. i. 15. Luke vi. 24. Amos vi. 1. and Iſa. v. 8. they who have their comfort, who are ſatisfied with meat, who now laugh, who ſleep in beds of ivory, who join land to land, whoſe banquets have lute, harp, tabor, and wine? Verily both ivory, gold and riches are the good creatures of God, permitted, yea and appointed by the providence of God for men to uſe. Neither is it any where forbidden either to laugh, or to be ſatisfied with meat, or to join new poſſeſſions to their own old poſſeſſions or of their anceſtors, or to be delighted with muſical melody, or to drink wine. This is true indeed. But when they have plenty of things, to wallow in delights, to glut themſelves, aud to make their wit and mind drunk with preſent pleaſures and always to gape for new, theſe doings are moſt far from the lawful uſe of the gifts of God. Therefore let them take away immeaſurable deſire, let them take away immeaſurable waſting, let them take away vanity and arrogance, that they may with a pure conſcience purely uſe the gifts of God. When the mind ſhall be framed to this ſobriety, they ſhall have a rule of the lawful uſe. On the other ſide let this moderation be wanting, even baſe and common delicates are too much. For this is truly ſaid, that oftentimes in freez and coarſe cloth dwelleth a purple heart, and ſometimes under ſilk and purple, lieth ſimple humility. Let every man in his degree ſo live, either poorly, or meanly, or plentifully, that they all remember that they are fed of God to live, not to be riotous: and let them think, that this is the law of Chriſtian liberty: if they have learned with Paul to be contented with thoſe things which they preſently have: Philip. iv. if they have ſkill both to be hum-

humble and to excel: if they be taught in all places and in all things to be both full and hungry, to have plenty and to ſuffer want.

Indiſcreet and unſeaſonable uſing of liberty

10. Herein alſo many men err, becauſe as though their liberty ſhould not be ſound and ſafe unleſs it had men witneſſes of it, they do indiſcreetly and unwiſely uſe it. By which unſeaſonable uſing they many times offended the weak brethren. You may ſee at this day ſome, who think that their liberty cannot ſtand, unleſs they take poſſeſſion of it by eating of fleſh on Friday. I blame not that they eat: but this falſe opinion muſt be driven out of their minds. For they ought to think, that by their liberty they obtain no new thing in the ſight of men but before God, and that it ſtandeth as well in abſtaining as in uſing. If they underſtand that it maketh no matter before God, whether they eat fleſh or eggs, whether they wear red or black garments, that is enough. The conſcience is now free, to which the benefit of ſuch liberty was due. Therefore altho' they do afterwards abſtain all their life long from fleſh, and wear always but one colour, yet they are no leſs free, Yea therefore becauſe they are free, they do with a free conſcience abſtain. But they do moſt hurtfully offend becauſe they nothing regard the weakneſs of their brethren, which we ought ſo to bear with, that we raſhly commit nothing to the offence of them. But ſometimes alſo it behoveth that our liberty be ſet forth before men. And this I grant. But there is a meaſure moſt heedfully to be kept, that we caſt not away the care of the weak of whom the Lord hath ſo earneſtly given us charge.

Of offences riſing unto others in the uſe of our liberty.

11. I will in this place therefore ſpeak ſomewhat of offences, in what difference they are to be taken, which are to be avoided, and which to be neglected: whereupon we may afterward determine what place there is for our liberty among men. I like well that common diviſion, which teacheth that there is of offences one ſort given, another taken: foraſmuch as it both hath a plain teſtimony of the ſcripture, and doth not unfitly expreſs that which it meaneth. If thou do any thing by unſeaſonable lightneſs, or wantonneſs, or raſhneſs, not in order, not in fit place, whereby the ignorant and weak are offended, that ſame may be called an offence given by thee: becauſe it came to paſs by thy fault that ſuch offence was given. And it is alway called an offence given in any thing, the fault whereof came from the doer of the thing itſelf. It is called an offence taken, when a thing which is otherwiſe not evilly done, nor out of time, is by ill will, or by ſome wrongful maliciouſneſs of mind drawn to occaſion an offence. For in this caſe offence was not given, but theſe wrongful conſtruers do without cauſe take one. With that firſt kind of offence none are offended but the weak: but with this ſecond, kind four natures and Phariſaical ſcornful heads are offended. Wherefore we ſhall call the one, the offence of the weak; the other of the Phariſees: and we ſhall ſo temper the uſe of our liberty, that it ought to give place to the ignorance of the weak brethren, but in no wiſe to the rigorouſneſs of the Phariſees. For what is to be yielded to weakneſs, Paul ſheweth in very many places. Bear (ſaith he) with the weak in faith. Rom. xiv. 1. and 13. Again, Let us not hereafter judge one another, but this rather, let there not be laid before our brother any offence or occaſion of falling: and many other ſayings to the ſame intent, which are more fit to be read in the place itſelf, than to be here rehearſed. The ſum is, that we which are ſtrong ſhould bear with the weakneſs of our brethren, and not pleaſe ourſelves, but every one of us pleaſe his neighbour unto good for edifying. 1 Cor. viii. 9. In another place, But ſee that your liberty be not in any wiſe an offence to them that are weak. Again, Eat ye all things that are ſold in the ſhambles, aſking no queſtions for conſcience ſake: of your conſcience (I ſay) not another man's. Finally, be ye ſuch that ye give no offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the Greeks, nor to the church of God. 1 Cor. x. 25. Alſo in another place, Ye are called, brethren, into liberty: only uſe not your liberty for an occaſion to the fleſh, but by charity ſerve ye one another, Gal. v. 13. Thus it is. Our liberty is not given towards our weak neighbours, whoſe ſervants charity maketh us in all things: but rather that having peace with God in our minds, we may alſo live peaceably among men. As for the offence of the Phariſees, how much it is to be regarded, we learn by the words of our Lord, whereby he biddeth them to be let alone, becauſe they are blind, and guides of the blind. Matth. xv. 14. The diſciples had warned him, that the Phariſees were offended with his ſayings: he anſwered that they were to be neglected, and the offending of them not to be cared for.

How far our liberty extendeth

12. But yet ſtill the matter hangeth doubtful, unleſs we know who are to be taken for weak,

in reſpect of others whom it may offend.

and who for Phariſees: which difference being taken away, I ſee not among offences what uſe at all of liberty remaineth, which might never be uſed without great danger. But it ſeemeth to me that Paul hath moſt plainly declared both by doctrine and by examples, how far our liberty is either to be tempered or to be defended though with offences. When he took Timothy into his company, he circumciſed him: but he could not be brought to circumciſe Titus. Act. xvi. 3. Galat. ii. 3. Here were divers doings, and no change of purpoſe or of mind: namely in circumciſing Timothy, when he was free from all men, he made himſelf a ſervant to all men: and he was made to the Jews, as a Jew, that he might win the Jews: to them that were under the law, as if he himſelf were under the law, that he might win them which were under the law: all things to all men, that he might ſave many, as he writeth in another place Cor. ix. 19. and 21. Thus we have a right moderation of liberty, if it may be indifferently reſtrained with ſome profit. What he had reſpect unto, when he ſtoutly refuſed to circumciſe Titus, he himſelf teſtifieth, writing thus: But neither Titus, who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumciſed, becauſe of the falſe brethren which were come in by the way, which had privily creep in to eſpy our liberty which we have in Chriſt Jeſus, that they might bring us into bondage, to whom we gave not place by ſubjection ſo much as for a time, that the truth of the goſpel might continue with you. Gal. ii. 4. There is alſo a time when we muſt of neceſſity defend our liberty, if the ſame be in weak conſciences endangered by the unjuſt exactings of falſe apoſtles. We muſt in every thing ſtudy to preſerve charity, and have regard to the edifying of our neighbour. All things (ſaith he) are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient: all things are lawful for me, but all things do not edify. 1. Cor. x. 23. Let no man ſeek that which is his own, but that which is anothers. There is nothing now plainer by this rule, than that we muſt uſe our liberty, if it may turn to the edifying of our neighbour: but if it be not ſo expedient for our neighbour, then we muſt forbear it. There be ſome which counterfeit the wiſdom of Paul in forbearing of liberty, while they do nothing leſs than apply the ſame to the duties of charity. For ſo that they may provide for their own quietneſs, they wiſh all mention of liberty to be buried, whereas it is no leſs neceſſary for our neighbours, ſometimes to uſe liberty for their benefit and edification, than in fit place to reſtrain it for their commodity. But it is the part of a godly man to think, that free power in outward things is therefore granted him, that he may be the freer to all duties of charity.

Intolerable halting covered with pretence of not offending the weak.

13 But whatſoever I have ſpoken of avoiding of offences, my meaning is that it be referred to mean and indifferent things. For thoſe things that are neceſſary to be done, are not to be left undone for fear of any offence. For as our liberty is to be ſubmitted to charity, ſo charity it ſelf likewiſe ought to be under the pureneſs of faith. Verily here alſo regard ought to be had to charity, but ſo far as to the altars, that is, that for our neighbours ſake we offend not God. Their intemperance is not to be allowed, who do nothing but with troubleſome turmoiling, and who had rather raſhly to rend all things, than leiſurely to rip them. Neither yet are they to be harkned to, which when they be leaders of men into a thouſand ſorts of ungodlineſs, yet do feign that they muſt behave themſelves ſo that they be none offence to their neighbours. As though they do not in the mean edify the conſciences of their neighbours to evil, ſpecially whereas they ſtick faſt in the ſame mire without any hope of getting out. And the pleaſant men forſooth, whither their neighbour be to be inſtructed with doctrine or example of life, ſay that he muſt be fed with milk, whom they fill with moſt evil and poiſonous opinions. Paul reporteth that he fed the Corinthians with drinking of milk. 1. Cor. iii. 2. But if popiſh maſs had then been among them, would he have ſacrificed to give them the drink of milk? No: for milk is not poiſon. Therefore they lie in ſaying that they feed them whom under a ſhew of flattering allurements they cruelly kill. But, granting that ſuch diſſembling is for a time to be allowed, how long yet will they feed their children with milk? For if they never grow bigger, that they may at the leaſt be able to bear ſome light meat, it is certain that they were never brought up with milk. There are two reaſons that move me why I do not now more ſharply contend with them: firſt, becauſe their folllies are ſcarcely worthy to be confuted, ſince they worthily ſeem filthy in the ſight of all men that have their ſound wit: ſecondly, becauſe I have ſufficiently done it in peculiar books, I will not now do a thing already done. Only let the readers remember this, that with whatſoever offences Satan and the world go about to turn us away from the ordinances of God or to ſtay us from following that which he appointeth, yet we muſt never-

nevertheleſs go earneſtly forward: and then, that whatſoever dangers hang upon it, yet it is not at our liberty to ſwerve one hair breadth from the commandment of the ſame God, neither is it lawful by any pretence to attempt any thing but that which he giveth us leave.

The conſciences of faithful men exempted from humant power.

14. Now therefore ſith faithful conſciences having received ſuch prerogative of liberty as we have above ſet forth, have by the benefit of Chriſt obtained this that they be not entangled with any ſnares of obſervations in thoſe things in which the Lord willed that they ſhould be at liberty: we conclude that they are exempt from all power of men. For it is unmeet, that either Chriſt ſhould loſe the thanks of his ſo great liberality, or conſciences their profit. Neither ought we to think it a ſlight matter, which we ſee to have coſt Chriſt ſo dear: namely which he valued not with gold or ſilver, but with his own blood: 1. Pet. i. 18. ſo that Paul ſticketh not to ſay, that his death is made void, if we yeeld our ſouls in ſubjection to men. For he travelleth about nothing elſe in certain chapters of the epiſtle to the Galatians, but to ſhew that Chriſt is darkned or rather deſtroyed to us, unleſs our conſciences ſtand faſt in their liberty, which verily they have loſt if they may at the will of men be ſnared with the bonds of laws and ordinances. Gal. v. 1. and 4. But as it is a thing moſt worthy to be known, ſo it needeth a longer and plainer declaration. For ſo ſoon as any word is ſpoken of the abrogating of the ordinances of men, by and by great troubles are raiſed up partly by ſeditious men, partly by ſlanders, as though the whole obedience of men were at once taken away and overthrown.

Chriſtians are not therefore according to the outward behaviour of their perſons privileged from ſubjection to the laws of men, becauſe their conſciences are at liberty before God.

15. Therefore that none of us may ſtumble at this ſtone, firſt let us conſider, that there are two ſorts of government in man: the one ſpiritual, whereby the conſcience is framed to godlineſs and to the worſhip of God: the other civil, whereby man is trained to the duties of humanity and civility which are to be kept among men. They are commonly by not unfit names called the ſpiritual and temporal juriſdiction, whereby is ſignified, that the firſt of the two forms of government pertaineth to the life of the ſoul, and the latter is occupied in the things of this preſent life: not only in feeding and clothing, but in ſetting forth of laws whereby a man may ſpend his life among men holily, honeſtly, and ſoberly. For, that firſt kind hath place in the inward mind, this latter kind ordereth only the outward behaviour. The one we may call the ſpiritual kingdom, the other the civil kingdom. But theſe two, as we have divided them, muſt be either of them alway ſeverally conſidered by themſelves, and when the one is in conſideration, we muſt withdraw and turn away our minds from thinking upon the other. For there are in man as it were two worlds, which both divers kings and divers laws may govern. By putting of this difference it ſhall come to paſs, that that which the goſpel teacheth of the ſpiritual liberty, we ſhall not wrongfully draw to the civil order, as though Chriſtians were according to the outward government leſs ſubject to the laws of men, becauſe their conſciences are at liberty before God: as though they were therefore exempt from all bondage of the fleſh, becauſe they are free according to the ſpirit. Again, becauſe even in thoſe ordinances which ſeem to pertain to the ſpiritual kingdom, there may be ſome error, we muſt alſo put a difference between theſe, which are to be taken for lawful as agreeable to the word of God, and on the other ſide which ought not to have place among the godly. Of the civil government there ſhall be elſewhere place to ſpeak. Alſo of the eccleſiaſtical laws I omit to ſpeak at this time, becauſe a more full treating of it ſhall be fit for the fourth book, where we ſhall ſpeak of the power of the church. But of this diſcourſe, let this be the concluſion, the queſtion being (as I have ſaid) of it ſelf not very dark or entangled, doth for this cauſe accumber many, becauſe they do not ſubtilly enough put difference between the outward court as they call it, and the court of conſcience. Moreover this increaſeth the difficulty, that Paul teacheth that the magiſtrate ought to be obeyed, not only for fear of puniſhment, but for conſcience. Rom. xiii. and 5. Whereupon followeth that conſciences are alſo bound by the civil laws. If it were ſo, all ſhould come to naught which we both have ſpoken and ſhall ſpeak of the ſpiritual government. For the looſing of this knot, firſt it is good to know what is conſcience. And the definition thereof is to be fetched from the derivation of the word. For, as when men do with mind and underſtanding conceive the knowlege of things, they are thereby ſaid (*Scire*) to know, whereupon alſo is derived the name of ſcience: knowlege: ſo when they have a feeling of the judgment of God, as a witneſs joined with them which doth not ſuffer them to hide their

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ſins but that they be drawn accuſed to the judgment ſeat of God, that ſame feeling is called conſcience. For it is a certain mean between God and man, becauſe it ſuffereth not man to ſuppreſs in himſelf that which he knoweth, but purſueth him ſo far till it bring him to guiltineſs. This is it which Paul meaneth, where he ſaith that conſcience doth together witneſs with men, when their thoughts do accuſe or acquit them in the judgment of God. Rom. ii. 15. A ſimple knowlege might remain as incloſed within man. Therefore this feeling which preſenteth man to the judgment of God, is as it were a keeper joined to man, to mark and eſpy all his ſecrets, that nothing may remain buried in darkneſs. Whereupon alſo cometh that old proverb, conſcience is a thouſand witneſſes. And for the ſame reaſon Peter hath ſet the examination of a good conſcience for the quietneſs of mind, when being perſuaded of the grace of Chriſt, we do without fear preſent our ſelves before God. 1. Pet. iii. 21. And the author of the epiſtle to the Hebrews, ſetteth to have no more conſcience of ſin, inſtead of, to be delivered or acquitted, that ſin may no more accuſe us. Heb. x. 2.

In what ſort the conſcience is bound or free.

16. Therefore as works have reſpect to men, ſo conſcience is referred to God, ſo that a good conſcience is nothing elſe but the inward pureneſs of the heart. In which ſenſe Paul writeth that charity is the fulfilling of the law out of a pure conſcience and faith not feigned. Tim. i. 5. Afterward alſo in the ſame chapter he ſheweth how much it differeth from underſtanding, ſaying that ſome had ſuffered ſhipwreck from the faith, becauſe they had forſaken a good conſcience. For in theſe words he ſignifieth it is a lively affection to worſhip God, and a ſincere endeavour to live holily and godly. Sometimes indeed it extendeth alſo to men, as in Luke where the ſame Paul proteſteth that he endeavoured himſelf to walk with a good conſcience toward God and men. Acts. xxiv. 16. But this was therefore ſaid, becauſe the fruits of a good conſcience do flow and come even to men. But in ſpeaking properly, it hath reſpect to God only, as I have already ſaid. Hereby it cometh to paſs that the law is ſaid to bind the conſcience, which ſimply bindeth a man without reſpect of men, or without having any conſideration of them. As for example: God commandeth not only to keep the mind chaſte and pure from all luſt, but alſo forbiddeth all manner of filthineſs of words and outward wantonneſs whatſoever it be. To the keeping of this law my conſcience is ſubject although there lived not one man in the world. So he that behaveth himſelf intemperately, not only ſinneth in this that he giveth an evil example to the brethren, but alſo hath his conſcience bound with guiltineſs before God. In things that are of themſelves mean, there is another conſideration. For we ought to abſtain from them if they breed any offence, but the conſcience ſtill being free. So Paul ſpeaketh of fleſh conſecrate to idols. 1. Cor. x. 28. If any (ſaith he) move any doubt, touch it not for conſcience ſake. I ſay for conſcience, not thine but the others. A faithful man would ſin, who being firſt warned ſhould nevertheleſs eat ſuch fleſh. But howſoever in reſpect of his brother, it is neceſſary for him to abſtain as it is preſcribed of God, yet he ceaſeth not to keep ſtill the liberty of conſcience. Thus we ſee how this law binding the outward work, leaveth the conſcience unbound.

CHAP. XX.

Of prayer, which is the chief exerciſe of faith, and whereby we daily receive the benefits of God.

Our own emptineſs and the fulneſs of all riches laid up in Chriſt ſhould allure us unto prayer.

OF theſe things that have been hitherto ſpoken, we plainly perceive how needy and void man is of all good things, and how he wanteth all helps of ſalvation. Wherefore if he ſeek for reliefs whereby he may ſuccour his needineſs, he muſt go out of himſelf and get them elſewhere. This is afterward declared unto us, that the Lord doth of his own free will and liberality give himſelf to us in his Chriſt, in whom he offereth us inſtead of our miſery all felicity, inſtead of our need wealthineſs, in whom he openeth to us the heavenly treaſures: that our whole faith ſhould behold his beloved ſon, that upon him our whole expectation ſhould hang, in him our whole hope ſhould ſtick and reſt. This verily is the ſecret and hidden philoſophy, which cannot be wrung out with logical arguments: but they learn it whoſe eyes God hath opened that they may ſee light in his light. But ſince that we are taught by faith to acknowlege that whatſoever we have need of, whatſoever wanteth in us, the ſame is in God and in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, namely in whom the

the Lord willed the whole fulneſs of his bounty to reſt, that from thence we ſhould all draw as out of a moſt plentiful fountain: now it remaineth that we ſeek in him, and with prayers crave of him that which we have learned to be in him. Otherwiſe to know God to be the Lord and giver of all good things, which allureth us to pray to him, and not to go to him and pray to him: ſhould ſo nothing profit us, that it ſhould be all one as if a man ſhould neglect a treaſure ſhewed him buried and digged in the ground. Therefore the apoſtle to ſhew that true faith cannot be idle from calling upon God, hath ſet this order: that as of the goſpel ſpringeth faith, ſo by it our hearts are framed to call upon the name of God, And this is the ſame thing which he had a little before ſaid, that the ſpirit of adoption, which ſcaleth in our hearts the witneſs of the goſpel, raiſeth up our ſpirits that they dare ſhew forth their deſires to God, ſtir up unſpeakable gronings, and cry with confidence Abba father. Rom. viii. 26. It is meet therefore that this laſt point, becauſe it was before but only ſpoken of by the way and as it were lightly touched, ſhould now be more largely treated of.

By prayer we are both enriched with grace, and in diſtreſs quieted.

2. This therefore we get by the benefit of prayer, that we attain to thoſe riches which are laid up for us with the heavenly father. For there is a certain communicating of men with God, whereby they entring into the ſanctuary of heaven, do in his own preſence call to him touching his promiſes: that the ſame thing which they believed him affirming only in word not to be vain, they may when need ſo requireth find in experience. Therefore we ſee that there is nothing ſet forth to us to be looked for at the hand of the Lord, which we are not alſo commanded to crave with prayers: ſo true it is that by prayer are digged up the treaſures, which our faith hath looked upon being ſhewed to it by the goſpel of the Lord. Now how neceſſary and how many ways profitable this exerciſe of prayer is, it can by no words be ſufficiently declared. Undoubtedly it is not without cauſe that the heavenly father teſtifyeth, that the only fortreſs of ſalvation is in the calling upon his name, namely whereby we call to us the preſence both of his providence, by which he watched to take care of our matters: and of his power, by which he ſuſtaineth us being weak and in a manner fainting: and of his goodneſs, by which he receiveth us into favour being miſerably loaden with ſins: finally, whereby we call him all whole, to give himſelf preſent to us. Hereby groweth ſingular reſt and quietneſs to our conſciences. For when we have diſcloſed to the Lord the neceſſity which diſtreſſed us, we largely reſt though it were but in this only that none of our evils is hidden from him, whom we are perſwaded both to be moſt well willing toward us, and moſt able to provide well for us.

It is not a needleſs thing to pray even for thoſe things which before we pray we know that God is purpoſed to beſtow.

3. But (will ſome man ſay) did not he know without any to put him in mind of it, both in what part we be diſtreſſed, and what is expedient for us: ſo that it may ſeem after a certain manner ſuperfluous, that he ſhould be troubled with our prayers, as though he winked or ſlept, until he were awaked with our voice? But they which ſo reaſon, mark not to what end the Lord hath inſtructed them that be his to pray: for he ordained it not ſo much for his own cauſe as rather for ours. He willeth indeed, as right it is, that his due be rendred to him, when they acknowlege to come from him whatſoever men require or do perceive to make for their profit, and do teſtify the ſame with wiſhings. But the profit alſo of this ſacrifice wherewith he is worſhipped, cometh to us. Therefore how much more boldly the holy fathers glorioufly talked both to themſelves and other of the benefits of God, ſo much the more ſharply they were pricked forward to pray. The only example of Elias ſhall be enough for us, which being ſure of the counſel of God, after that he not raſhly had promiſed rain to Achab, yet buſily prayeth between his knees, and ſendeth his ſervant ſeven times to eſpy it: 1. King. xviii. 42. not for that he did diſcredit the oracle of God, but becauſe he knew that it was his duty, leaſt his faith ſhould wax drowſy and ſluggiſh, to lay up his deſires with God. Wherefore although while we ly ſenſeleſs and ſo dull that we perceive not our own miſeries, he waketh and watcheth for us, and ſometime alſo helpeth us undeſired, yet it much behoveth us, that he be continually called upon of us, that our heart may be inflamed with earneſt and fervent deſire to ſeek, love, and worſhip him, while we accuſtom our ſelves in every neceſſity to flee to him as to our refuge. Again, that no deſire and no wiſh at all may enter into our mind, whereof we ſhould be aſhamed to make him witneſs, while we learn to preſent our wiſhes, yea and to pour out our whole heart before his eyes. Then that we may be framed to receive all his benefits with true

thankfulneſs of mind, yea and with outward thankſgiving, of which we are put in mind by our prayer that they come to us from his hand. Moreover, that when we have obtained that which we deſired, being perſuaded that he hath anſwered to our prayers, we may be thereby the more fervently carried to think upon his kindneſs, and therewithal embrace with greater pleaſure thoſe things which we acknowlege to have been obtained by prayer. Laſt of all, that very uſe and experience may according to the meaſure of our weakneſs aſſure our minds of his providence when we underſtand that he not only promiſeth that he will never fail us, and that he doth of his own accord open us the entry to call to him in the very point of neceſſity, but alſo hath his hand always ſtretched out to help them that are his, and that he doth not feed them with words, but defendeth them with preſent help. For theſe cauſes, the moſt kind father, although he never ſleepeth or is ſluggiſh, yet oftentimes maketh a ſhew as though he ſlept and were ſluggiſh, that ſo he may exerciſe us, which are otherwiſe ſlothful and ſluggiſh to come to him, to aſk of him, to require him to our own great benefit. Therefore they do too fooliſhly, who to call away the minds of men from prayer, babble that the providence of God, which maketh for the ſafekeeping of all things, is in vain wearied with callings upon him: whereas the Lord contrariwiſe not in vain teſtifyeth that he is nigh to all them that call upon his name in the truth. Pſal. cxlv. 18. And of none other ſort is that which others, do trifling ſay, that it is ſuperfluous to aſk thoſe things which the Lord is of his own will ready to give; whereas even the very ſame things which flow to us from his own free liberality, he will have us acknowlege to be granted to our prayers. Which thing that notable ſentence of the pſalm doth teſtify, wherewith many like ſayings do accord. The eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous, and his ears unto their prayers. Pſal. xxxiv. 16. Which ſaying ſo ſetteth out the providence of God bent of his own accord to provide for the ſafety of the godly, that yet he omitteth not the exerciſe of faith whereby ſlothfulneſs is wiped from the minds of men. The eyes of God therefore do wake, that he may ſuccour the neceſſity of the blind: but he will again on our behalfs hear our gronings, that he may the better prove his love toward us. And ſo both are true, that the watchman of Iſrael ſleepeth not, nor ſlumbereth, Pſal. cxxi. 8. and yet that he ſitteth ſtill as having forgotten us when he ſeeth us dull and dumb.

4. Now, to frame prayer rightly and well, let this be the firſt rule, that we be no otherwiſe framed in mind and heart, than becometh them that enter into talk with God. Which verily we ſhall attain as touching the mind, if the ſame being free from fleſhly cares and thoughts wherewith it may be called away or withdrawn from the right and pure beholding of God, do not only bend itſelf wholly to prayer, but alſo ſo much as is poſſible be lifted up and carried above itſelf. Neither do I here require a mind ſo at liberty, that it be pricked and nipped with no care, whereas contrariwiſe the ferventneſs of prayer muſt by ſuch carefulneſs be kindled in us (as we ſee that the holy ſervants of God do ſometime declare great torments, much more carefulneſs, when they ſay they cry unto the Lord out of the depths, and out of the midſt of the jaws of death.) But I ſay that all ſtrange and foreign cares muſt be driven away, wherewith the mind itſelf wandering hither and thither is carried about, and being drawn out of heaven is preſſed down to the earth. I mean by this that it muſt be lifted up above itſelf, that it may not bring into the ſight of God any of thoſe things which our blind and fooliſh reaſon is wont to imagine, nor may hold it ſelf bound within the compaſs of her own vanity, but riſe up to pureneſs worthy for God.

The firſt rule of framing rightly our prayers is to void our cogitations as much as may be from all fleſhly and earthly cares.

5. Both theſe things are ſpecially worthy to be noted, that whoſoever prepareth himſelf to pray, ſhould thereto apply all his ſenſes and endeavours, and not (as men are wont) be diverſly drawn with wandering thoughts: becauſe there is nothing more contrary to the reverence of God, than ſuch lightneſs which is a witneſs of too wanton licentiouſneſs and looſe from all fear. In which thing we muſt ſo much more earneſtly labour as we find it more hard. For no man can be bent ſo to pray, but that he ſhall feel many by thoughts to creep upon him, either to break off, or by ſome deviating or ſwervin to hinder the courſe of his prayer. But here let us call to mind how great an unworthineſs it is, when God receiveth us into familiar talk with him, to abuſe his ſo great condeſcention, by mingling holy and prophane things together, when the reverence of him holdeth not our minds faſt bound unto him: but as if we talked with

The preparation of the mind unto prayer is a thing both of great weight and difficulty.

with some mean man, we do in the midst of our prayer, forsaking him, leap hither and thither. Let us therefore know that none do rightly and well prepare themselves to prayer, but they whom the majesty of God pierceth, that they come to it unincumbered with earthly cares and affections. And that is meant by the ceremony of lifting up of hands, that men should remember that they be far distant from God unless they lift up their senses on high. As also it is said in the Psalms, Psal. xxv. 1. To thee have I lifted up my soul. And the scripture oftentimes useth this manner of speech, to lift up prayer: that they which desire to be heard of God, should not sit still in their dregs. Let this be the sum: that how much more liberally God dealeth with us, gently alluring us to unload our cares into his bosom, so much less excusable are we unless his so excellent and incomparable benefit do with us overweigh all other things, and draw us unto itself that we may earnestly apply our endeavours and senses to pray: which cannot be done unless our mind by strongly wrestling with the hinderances do rise up above them. Another point we have set forth, that we ask no more than God giveth leave. For though he biddeth us to pour out our hearts, yet he doth indifferently give loose reins to foolish and froward affections: and when he promiseth that he will do according to the will of the godly, he proceedeth not to so tender bearing with them that he submitteth himself to their will. But in both these points men do commonly much offend. For not only the most part of men presume without shame, without reverence, to speak to God for their follies, and shamelessly to present to his throne whatsoever liked them in their dream: but also so great foolishness or senseless dulness possesseth them, that they dare thrust into the hearing of God, even all their most filthy desires, whereof they would greatly be ashamed to make men privy. Some prophane men have laughed to scorn, yea and detested this boldness, yet the vice itself hath always reigned. And hereby it came to pass that ambitious men have chosen Jupiter to be their patron: covetous men, Mercury; the desirous of learning, Apollo and Minerva; warriors, Mars; and letcherous folk, Venus. Like as at this day (as I have even now touched) men do in prayers grant more licence to their unlawful desires, than when they sportingly talk with their equals. But God suffereth not his gentleness to be so mocked: but claiming to himself his right, maketh our prayers subject to his authority, and restraineth them with a bridle. Therefore we must keep fast this saying of John: 1 John v. 14. This is our confidence, that if we ask any thing according to his will, he heareth us. But forasmuch as our abilities are far from being sufficient to perform so great perfection, we must seek a remedy to help us. As we ought to bend the sight of our mind to God, so the affection of the heart ought also to follow to the same end. But both do stay far beneath it, yea rather do faint and fail or are carried a contrary way. Wherefore God to succour this weakness, in our prayers giveth the spirit to be our schoolmaster, to instruct us in what is right and to govern our affections. For because we know not what we should pray for as we ought, the Spirit cometh to our succour, and maketh intercession for us with unspeakable groanings, Rom. viii. not that it indeed either prayeth or groaneth, but stirreth up in us affiance, desires, and fightings, which the strength of nature were not able to conceive. And not without cause Paul calleth them unspeakable groanings which the faithful send so forth by the guiding of the Spirit, because they which are truly exercised in prayers, are not ignorant that they are so held in perplexity with blind cares, that they scarcely find what is profitable for them to speak: yea, while they go about to utter stammering words, they stick fast encumbered. Whereupon it followeth, that the gift of praying rightly is a singular gift. These things are not spoken to this purpose, that we favouring our own slothfulness should give over the charge of praying to the Spirit of God, and lie dull in that carelessness, to which we are too much inclined (as there are heard the wicked sayings of some, that we must lie negligently gaping to wait until he prevent our minds occupied elsewhere) but rather that we, loathing our own slothfulness and sluggishness, should crave such help of the Spirit. Neither doth Paul, when he biddeth us to pray in spirit, therefore cease to exhort us to wakefulness: 1 Cor. xiv. meaning that the instinct of the Spirit so useth his force to frame our prayers, that it nothing hindereth or slacketh our own endeavour: because God will in this behalf prove how effectually faith moveth our hearts.

A second rule for direction of prayer is the sense & feeling of our own want.

6. Let also another law be, that in praying we always feel our own want, and that earnestly thinking how we stand in need of those things that we ask, we join with our prayer an earnest yea fervent affection to obtain. For many do slightly for manners sake, recite prayers after a prescribed form, as though they rendered a certain

thankfulneſs of mind, yea and with outward thankſgiving, of which we are put in mind by our prayer that they come to us from his hand. Moreover, that when we have obtained that which we deſired, being perſuaded that he hath anſwered to our prayers, we may be thereby the more fervently carried to think upon his kindneſs, and therewithal embrace with greater pleaſure thoſe things which we acknowlege to have been obtained by prayer. Laſt of all, that very uſe and experience may according to the meaſure of our weakneſs aſſure our minds of his providence when we underſtand that he not only promiſeth that he will never fail us, and that he doth of his own accord open us the entry to call to him in the very point of neceſſity, but alſo hath his hand always ſtretched out to help them that are his, and that he doth not feed them with words, but defendeth them with preſent help. For theſe cauſes, the moſt kind father, although he never ſleepeth or is ſluggiſh, yet oftentimes maketh a ſhew as though he ſlept and were ſluggiſh, that ſo he may exerciſe us, which are otherwiſe ſlothful and ſluggiſh to come to him, to aſk of him, to require him to our own great benefit. Therefore they do too fooliſhly, who to call away the minds of men from prayer, babble that the providence of God, which maketh for the ſafekeeping of all things, is in vain wearied with callings upon him: whereas the Lord contrariwiſe not in vain teſtifyeth that he is nigh to all them that call upon his name in the truth. Pſal. cxlv. 18. And of none other ſort is that which others, do trifling ſay, that it is ſuperfluous to aſk thoſe things which the Lord is of his own will ready to give: whereas even the very ſame things which flow to us from his own free liberality, he will have us acknowlege to be granted to our prayers. Which thing that notable ſentence of the pſalm doth teſtify, wherewith many like ſayings do accord. The eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous, and his ears unto their prayers. Pſal. xxxiv. 16. Which ſaying ſo ſetteth out the providence of God bent of his own accord to provide for the ſafety of the godly, that yet he omitteth not the exerciſe of faith whereby ſlothfulneſs is wiped from the minds of men. The eyes of God therefore do wake, that he may ſuccour the neceſſity of the blind: but he will again on our behalfs hear our gronings, that he may the better prove his love toward us. And ſo both are true, that the watchman of Iſrael ſleepeth not, nor ſlumbereth, Pſal. cxxi. 8. and yet that he ſitteth ſtill as having forgotten us when he ſeeth us dull and dumb.

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A ſecond rule for direction of prayer is the ſenſe & feeling of our own want.

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taſk to God: and though they confeſs that this is a neceſſary remedy for their evils, becauſe it is to their deſtruction to be without the help of God which they crave; yet it appeareth that they do this duty for cuſtom, foraſmuch as in the mean time their minds are cold, and do not weigh what they aſk. The general and confuſe feeling indeed of their neceſſity leadeth them hereunto: but it doth not ſtir them as it were in a preſent caſe to aſk releaſe of their need. Now what think we is more hateful or more deteſtable to God than this feigning, when a man aſketh forgiveneſs of ſin, in the mean time either thinking that he is not a ſinner, or not thinking upon this, that he is a ſinner, even wherewith God himſelf is plainly mocked? But of ſuch perverſeneſs (as I have ſaid) mankind is full, that for manners ſake they oftentimes aſk many things of God, which they certainly judge that without his liberality to come to them from ſome other where, or that they have them already remaining with them. The fault of ſome other ſeemeth to be lighter and yet not tolerable, that they which have only conceived this principle, that we muſt ſacrifice to God with prayers, do mumble up prayers without any muſing of mind upon them. But the godly muſt principally take heed, that they never come into the preſence of God to aſk any thing, but becauſe they do both boil with earneſt affection of heart, and do therewithal deſire to obtain it of him. Yea, and alſo though in thoſe things which we aſk only to the glory of God, we ſeem not at the firſt ſight to provide for our own neceſſity, yet the ſame thing ought to be aſked with no leſs ferventneſs and vehemency of deſire. As when we pray that his name may be hallowed, we muſt, (as I may ſo ſpeak) fervently hunger and thirſt for that hallowing.

Although there be no time wherein prayer is not needful, yet at ſometimes we ſee a ſpecial neceſſity for it, but reap no benefit by it at any time without a lothing of our own filthineſs which cannot be in us but by repentance.

7. If any man object, that we are not always driven with the like neceſſity to pray; I grant the ſame indeed: and this difference is profitably taught us of James: Is any man heavy among you? Let him pray. Whoſo is merry, let him ſing, James v. 13. Therefore even common feeling teacheth us, that becauſe we are too ſlothful, therefore, as the matter requireth, we are the more ſharply pricked forward of God to pray earneſtly. And this David calleth the fit time, Pſalm xxxii. 6. becauſe (as he teacheth in many other places) how much more hardly troubles, diſcommodities, fears, and other kinds of temptations do preſs us, ſo much freer acceſs is open for us, as though God did call us unto him. But yet no leſs true is that ſaying of Paul, that we muſt pray at all times, Eph. vi. 18. Becauſe howſoever things proſperouſly flow according to our hearts deſire, and matter of mirth doth compaſs us on every ſide, yet there is no minute of time wherein our need doth not require us to pray. If a man have abundance of wine and wheat: yet ſince he cannot enjoy one morſel of bread but by the continual grace of God, whole cellers or barns full ſhall be no let why he ſhould not crave daily bread. Now if we call to mind how many dangers do every moment hang over us, the very fear itſelf will teach us, that we have no time free from prayer. But this we may better perceive in ſpiritual things. For, when ſhall ſo many ſins, whereof we know ourſelves guilty, ſuffer us to ſit ſtill without care and not in humble wiſe crave pardon both of the fault and the pain? When do temptations grant us truce, ſo that we need not to haſte unto help? Moreover the deſire of the kingdom and glory of God ought ſo to pluck us to itſelf, not by fits but continually, that it ſhould always be fit time for us. Therefore not without cauſe we are ſo oft commanded to pray continually. I do not yet ſpeak of perſeverance in prayer, whereof mention ſhall be made hereafter: but when the ſcripture warneth us, that we ought to pray continually, it accuſeth our ſlothfulneſs, becauſe we do not perceive how neceſſary this care and diligence is for us. By this rule all hypocriſy and craftineſs of lying to God, is debarred, yea driven far away from prayer. God promiſeth that he will be near to all that call upon him in truth, and he pronounceth that they ſhall find him who ſeek him with their whole heart. But they aſpire not thither who pleaſe themſelves in their own filthineſs. Therefore a right prayer requireth repentance. Whereupon this is commonly ſaid in the ſcriptures, that God heareth not wicked doers, and that their prayers are accurſed, like as their ſacrifices alſo are. becauſe it is juſt that they find the ears of God ſhut, who do lock up their hearts, and that they ſhould not find God flexible, who do with their own hardneſs provoke his ſtiffneſs. In Iſaiah xv. 15. he threatneth after this manner, When ye ſhall multiply your prayers, I will not hear you: for your hands are full of blood. Again, in Jeremiah xi. 7, and 11. I have cried, and they have refuſed to hear: they ſhall likewiſe cry, and I will not hear: becauſe he taketh it for a moſt high diſhonour, that wicked men

men ſhould boaſt of his covenant, who do in all their life defile his holy name. Wherefore in Iſaiah xxix. 9. he complaineth, that when the Jews drew near to him with their lips, their heart was far from him. He ſpeaketh not this only of prayers, but affirmeth that he abhorreth feigning in all the parts of worſhipping him. To which purpoſe maketh that ſaying of James, chap. iv. 3. Ye aſk, and receive not, becauſe ye aſk amiſs, that ye may conſume it upon your luſts. It is true indeed, (as we ſhall again ſhew a little hereafter) that the prayers of the godly, which they pour out, do not reſt upon their own worthineſs: yet is not that admonition of John ſuperfluous, if we aſk any thing we ſhall receive it of him, becauſe we keep his commandments: 1 John iii. 22. foraſmuch as an evil conſcience ſhutteth the gate againſt us. Whereupon followeth, that none do rightly pray, nor are heard, but the pure worſhippers of God. Therefore whoſoever prepareth himſelf to pray, let him lothe himſelf in his own eyes, and (which cannot be done without repentance) let him put on the perſon and mind of a beggar.

The third rule of prayer is the unfeigned humbling and abaſing of our ſelves.

8. Hereunto let the third rule be joined, that whoſoever preſenteth himſelf before God to pray, ſhould forſake all thinking of his own glory, put off all opinion of worthineſs, and finally give over all truſt of himſelf, giving in the abaſing of himſelf the glory wholly to God: leaſt if we take any thing be it never ſo little to our ſelves, we do with our own ſwelling fall away from his face. Of this ſubmiſſion which throweth down all height, we have often examples in the ſervants of God: among whom the holier that every one is, ſo much the more he is thrown down when he cometh into the ſight of the Lord. So Daniel, whom the Lord himſelf commended with ſo great title of praiſe, ſaid: we pour not out our prayers before thee in our righteouſneſs, but in thy great mercy. Hear us Lord, Lord be merciful to us: Hear us, and do thoſe things that we aſk, for thine own ſake: becauſe thy name is called upon over the people and over thy holy place. Dan. ix. 18. Neither doth he by a crooked figure (as men ſometime ſpeak) mingle himſelf with the multitude as one of the people, but rather ſeverally confeſſeth his own guiltineſs and humbly fleeth to the ſanctuary of forgiveneſs, as he expreſly ſaith: when I confeſſed my ſins and the ſins of my people. And this humbleneſs David alſo ſetteth out with his own example, when he ſaith, enter not into judgment with thy ſervant, becauſe in thy ſight every one that liveth ſhall not be juſtifyed. Pſal. cxliii. 2. In ſuch manner Eſay prayeth. Eſa. lxiv 5. Lo, thou art angry becauſe we have ſinned, the world is founded in thy ways, therefore we ſhall be ſaved: and we have been all filled with uncleanneſs, and all our righteouſneſs as a defiled cloth: and we have all withered away as a leaf, and our iniquities do ſcatter us abroad as the wind: and there is none that calleth upon thy name, that raiſeth up himſelf to take hold of thee: becauſe thou haſt hid thy face from us, and haſt made us to pine away in the hand of our wickedneſs. Now therefore O Lord, thou art our father, we are clay, thou art our faſhioner, and we are the work of thy hand. Be not angry O Lord, neither remember wickedneſs for ever Behold, look upon us, we are all thy people. Lo, how they ſtand upon no affiance at all, but upon this only, that thinking upon this that they are God's, they deſpair not that he will have care of them. Likewiſe Jeremiah. If our iniquities anſwer againſt us, deal thou for thy names ſake. Jer. xiv. 7. For it is both moſt truly and moſt holy written, of whomſoever it be, which being written by an unknown author is fathered upon the prophet Barak: a ſoul heavy and deſolate for the greatneſs of evil, crooked, and weak, a hungry ſoul, and fainting eyes give glory to thee O Lord. Not according to the righteouſneſſes of our fathers do we pour out prayers in thy ſight, and aſk mercy before thy face O Lord our God: but becauſe thou art merciful, have mercy upon us, becauſe we have ſinned before thee.

The preface of our prayer muſt be the humble acknowlegement of ſins.

9. Finally the beginning and alſo the preparing of praying rightly, is craving of pardon, with an humble and plain confeſſion of fault. For neither is it to be hoped, that even the holieſt man may obtain any thing of God, until he be freely reconciled to him: neither is it poſſible that God may be favourable to any but them whom he pardoneth. Wherefore it is no marvel if the faithful do with this key open to themſelves the door to pray. Which we learn out of many places of the pſalms. For David when he aſketh another thing, ſaith: remember not the ſins of my youth, remember me according to thy mercy for thy goodneſs ſake O Lord. Again, look upon my affliction, and my labour, and forgive all my ſins. Pſal. xxv. 6. and 18. Where we alſo ſee that it is not enough, if we every ſeveral day do call our ſelves to account for our new ſins, if we do

not alſo remember thoſe ſins which might ſeem to have been long ago forgotten. For, the ſame prophet in another place, having confeſſed one hainous offence by this occaſion returneth even to his mother's womb wherein he had gathered the infection Pſal. li. 7.: not to make the fault ſeem leſs by the corruption of nature, but that heaping together the ſins of his whole life, how much more rigorous he is in condemning himſelf, ſo much more eaſy he may find God to intreat. But although the ſaints do not alway in expreſs words aſk forgiveneſs of ſins, yet if we diligently weigh their prayers which the ſcripture rehearſeth, we ſhall eaſily find that which I ſay, that they gathered a mind to pray of the only mercy of God, and ſo always took their beginning at appeaſing him: becauſe if every man examine his own conſcience, ſo far is he from being bold to open his ears familiarly with God, that he trembleth at every coming toward him, except that he ſtandeth upon truſt of mercy and pardon. There is alſo another ſpecial confeſſion, where they aſk releaſe of pains, that they alſo pray to have their ſins forgiven: becauſe it were an abſurdity to will that the effect be taken away while the cauſe abideth. For we muſt beware that God be favourable unto us, before that he teſtify his favour with outward ſigns: becauſe both he himſelf will keep this order, and it ſhould little profit us to have him beneficial, unleſs our conſcience feeling him appeaſed ſhould throughly make him lovely unto us. Which we are alſo taught by the anſwer of Chriſt. For when he had decreed to heal the man ſick of the palſey, he ſaid, thy ſins are forgiven thee: Matth. ix. 1. lifting up our minds thereby to that which is chiefly to be wiſhed, that God doth firſt receive us into favour, and then ſhew forth the fruit of reconciliation in helping us. But beſide that ſpecial confeſſion of preſent guiltineſs, whereby the faithful make ſupplication to obtain pardon of every ſpecial fault and pain, that general preface, which procureth favour to prayers, is never to be omitted; unleſs they be grounded upon the free mercy of God. they ſhall never obtain any thing of God. Whereunto may be referred that ſaying of John: if we confeſs our ſins, he is faithful and righteous to forgive us and cleanſe us from all iniquity. 1 John. i. 9. For which cauſe it behoved prayers in the time of the law to be hallowed with expiation of blood, that they might be acceptable, and that ſo the people ſhould be put in mind that they are unworthy of ſo great a prerogative of honour, till being cleanſed from their defilings they ſhould of the only mercy of God conceive affiance to pray.

10. But whereas the ſaints ſeem ſometime for the entreating of God to allege the help of their own righteouſneſs (as when David ſaith:) keep my ſoul, becauſe I am good. Again Ezekiah: remember Lord I beſeech thee, that I have walked before thee in truth, and have done good in thine eyes, by ſuch forms of ſpeaking they mean nothing elſe than by their very regeneration to teſtify themſelves to be the ſervants and children of God, to whom he himſelf pronounceth that he will be merciful. He teacheth by the prophet (as we have already ſeen) that his eyes are upon the righteous, and his ears unto their prayers. Pſal. xxxiv. 16 Again by the apoſtle, that we ſhall obtain whatſoever we aſk, if we keep his commandments. 1 John. ii. 3. In which ſayings he doth not value prayer by the worthineſs of works: but his will is ſo to ſtabliſh their affiance, whoſe own conſcience well aſſureth them of an unfeigned uprightneſs and innocency, ſuch as all the faithful ought to be. For the ſame is taken out of the very truth of God, which the blind man that had his ſight reſtored, ſaith in John, that God heareth not ſinners: John. ix. 21. if we underſtand ſinners after the common uſe of the ſcripture, for ſuch as without all deſire of righteouſneſs do altogether ſleep and reſt upon their ſins: foraſmuch as no heart can ever break forth into unfeigned calling upon God which doth not alſo aſpire to godlineſs. Therefore with ſuch promiſes accord the prayers of the ſaints, wherein they make mention of their own pureneſs or innocency that they may feel that to be given them which is to be looked for of all the ſervants of God. Again it is then commonly found that they uſe this kind of prayer, when they do in the preſence of the Lord compare themſelves with their enemies, from whoſe unjuſt dealing they wiſhed themſelves to be delivered by his hand. In this compariſon it is no marvel if they brought forth their righteouſneſs, and ſimplicity of heart to move him the rather by the righteouſneſs of their cauſe to help them. This therefore we take not away from the godly heart of a good man, but that he may uſe the pureneſs of his conſcience before the Lord, to ſtrengthen himſelf

Prayer is fruitleſs where there is not an unfeigned aſpiring unto godlineſs, ſuch as David and Ezekiah mention in their praying as warranted thereby that they could not pray in vain.

ſelf in the promiſes wherewith the Lord comforteth and upholdeth his true worſhippers: but our meaning is, that the truſt of obtaining ſtand upon the only mercy of God, laying away all thinking of their own deſerving.

The fourth rule of prayer is courage grounded upon certain hope and truſt to obtain the thing we pray for.

11. The fourth rule is, that being ſo thrown down and ſubdued with true humility, we ſhould nevertheleſs with certain hope of obtaining be encouraged to pray. Theſe be things indeed contrary in ſhew to join with the feeling of the juſt vengeance of God, ſure affiance of favour: which things do yet very well agree together, if the only goodneſs of God raiſe us up being oppreſſed with our own evils. For as we have before taught that repentance and faith are knit as companions together with an unſeparable bond: of which yet the one affrighteth us, the other cheereth us: ſo in prayers they muſt mutually meet together. And this agreement David expreſſeth in few words: I (ſaith he) will in the multitude of thy goodneſs enter into thy houſe: I will worſhip in the temple of thy holineſs with fear. Pſal. v. 8. Under the goodneſs of God he comprehendeth faith, in the mean time not excluding fear: becauſe not only his majeſty driveth us to reverence, but alſo our own unworthineſs holdeth us in fear forgetting all pride and aſſuredneſs. But I mean not ſuch affiance, which ſhould ſhake the mind looſe from all feeling of carefulneſs with a ſweet and full quietneſs. For, to reſt ſo peaceable is the doing of them who having all things flowing as they would wiſh it, are touched with no care, are kindled with no deſire, do ſwell with no fear. And it is a very good ſpur to the ſaints to call upon God, when being diſtreſſed with their own neceſſity, they are vexed with moſt great unquietneſs, and are almoſt diſmaid in themſelves, till faith come in fit time to their ſuccours, becauſe in ſuch diſtreſſes the goodneſs of God ſo ſhineth to them, that they do indeed grone being wearied with weight of preſent evils, they are alſo in pain and grieved with fear of greater: yet being ſo upholden by it, they both relieve and comfort the hardneſs of bearing them, and do hope for eſcape and deliverance. Therefore the prayer of a goodly man muſt ariſe out of both affections, muſt alſo contain and ſhew both namely to grone for preſent evils, and to be carefully afraid of new, and yet therewithal to fly to God, not doubting that he is ready to reach his helping hand. For God is marvellouſly provoked to wrath by our diſtruſtfulneſs, if we aſk of him the benefits which we hope not to obtain. Therefore there is nothing more agreeable with the nature of prayers, than that this be preſcribed and appointed to them, that they break not forth raſhly, but follow faith going before them. To this principle Chriſt calleth us all with this ſaying: I ſay unto you, whatſoever things ye require, believe that ye ſhall receive them, and they ſhall happen to you. Mat. xi. 24. The ſame alſo he confirmeth in another place. Whatſoever ye aſk in prayer believing, ye ſhall receive. Mat. xxi. 22. Wherewith agreeth James's ſaying, If any man lack wiſdom, let him aſk it of him who giveth to all men liberally and upbraideth not: but let him aſk in faith not doubting. James v. 15. Wherein ſetting doubting as contrary to faith, he doth moſt properly expreſs the genuine nature of it. And no leſs is that to be noted which he addeth, that they obtain nothing which call upon God in wavering and doubt, and do not determine in their hearts whether they ſhall be heard or no. Whom he alſo compareth to waves which are diverſly toſſed and driven about of the wind. Whereupon in another place he calleth a right prayer, the prayer of faith. Again when God ſo oft affirmeth that he will give to every one according to his faith, he ſignifieth that we obtain nothing without faith. Finally it is faith that obtaineth whatſoever is granted by prayer. This is meant by that notable ſaying of Paul, which the fooliſh men do take no head unto. How ſhall any man call upon him, in whom he hath not believed, Rom. x. 14. But who ſhall believe, unleſs he hath heard? But faith cometh of hearing, and hearing of the word of God. For conveying by degrees the beginning of prayer from faith he plainly affirmeth that God cannot be ſincerely called upon of any other, than them to whom by the preaching of the goſpel his mercifulneſs and gentleneſs hath been made known, and familiarly declared.

It is a thing not abſurd but moſt neceſſary that they which call upon God have an aſſured confidence in his favour, and a ſtedfaſt feeling of his good will.

12. This neceſſity our adverſaries do not think upon. Therefore when we bid the faithful to hold with aſſured confidence of mind that God is favourable and beareth good will to them, they think that we ſpeak a moſt great abſurdity. But if they had any uſe of true prayer, they would truly underſtand that God cannot be rightly called upon without that ſtedfaſt feeling of God's good will.

will. Since no man can well perceive the force of faith, but he which by experience feeleth it in his heart: what may a man profit by diſputing with ſuch men which do openly ſhew, that they never had any thing but a vain imagination? For of what force, and how neceſſary is that aſſuredneſs which we require, is chiefly learned by invocation. Which whoſo ſeeth not, he bewrayeth that he hath a very dull conſcience. Let us therefore, leaving this kind of blind men, adhere cloſely to that ſaying of Paul, that God cannot be called upon of any other, but them that know his mercy by the goſpel, and are ſurely perſuaded that it is ready for them. For what manner of ſaying ſhould this be? O Lord, I am verily in doubt whether thou wilt hear me: but becauſe I am diſtreſſed with carefulneſs, I fly to thee, that thou mayeſt help me if I be worthy. This was not the wonted manner of the ſaints, whoſe prayers we read in the ſcriptures. Neither hath the holy Ghoſt thus taught us by the apoſtle which biddeth us to go to the heavenly throne with confidence, that we may obtain grace, Heb. iv. 16. and when in another place he teacheth that we have boldneſs and acceſs in confidence by the faith of Chriſt, Eph. iii. 11. We muſt therefore hold faſt with both hands this aſſuredneſs to obtain what we aſk (ſince both the Lord with his own voice ſo commandeth us, and all the ſaints teach it by their example) if we will pray with fruit. For, only that prayer is pleaſing to God which ſpringeth out of ſuch a preſumption of faith (as I may ſo call it) and is grounded upon a dreadleſs certainty of faith. He might have been content with the bare name of faith, but he not only added confidence, but alſo furniſhed the ſame with liberty or boldneſs, by this mark to put difference between us and unbelievers, which do indeed alſo pray to God as we do, but at adventure. For which reaſon the whole church prayeth in the pſalm: let thy mercy be upon us, as we put our truſt in thee. Pſal. xxxiii. The ſame condition is alſo ſpoken of in another place by the prophet: In what day I ſhall cry, this I know that God is with me. Pſal. lxvi. 10. Again, in the morning I will direct my ſelf to thee, and I will watch. Pſal. v. 15. For of theſe words we gather, that prayers are in vain caſt into the air, unleſs hope be adjoined, from whence as out of a watch tower we may quietly wait for the Lord. Wherewith agreeth the order of Paul's exhortation. For before that he move the faithful to pray in ſpirit at all times with wakefulneſs and diligence, he firſt of all biddeth them to take the ſhield of faith, the helmet of ſalvation, and the ſword of the ſpirit, which is the word of God. Eph. vi. Now let the readers here call to remembrance that which I have ſaid before, that faith is not overthrown where it is joined with acknowleging of our miſery, needineſs, and filthineſs. For with how heavy weight ſoever of evil doings the faithful feel themſelves to be overloaden or grieved, and that they be not only void of all things which may procure favour with God, but alſo that they be burdened with many offences which may worthily make him dreadful to them: yet they ceaſe not to preſent themſelves, neither doth this feeling make them ſo afraid but that they ſtill reſort to him, foraſmuch as there is no other way to come to him. For prayer was not ordained, whereby we ſhould arrogantly advance ourſelves before God, or eſteem at great value any thing of our own, but whereby confeſſing our guiltineſs, we would bewail our miſeries to him, as children do familiarly open their complaints to their parents. But rather the unmeaſurable heap of our evils ought to be full of ſpurs or pricks to prick us forward to pray. As alſo the prophet teacheth us by his example, ſaying, Heal my ſoul, becauſe I have ſinned againſt thee, Pſal. lxiv. 5. I grant indeed that in ſuch ſayings ſhould be deadly prickings unleſs God did help: but the moſt good Father of his incomparable tender kindneſs hath brought remedy in fit ſeaſon, whereby appeaſing all trouble, aſſwaging all cares, wiping away fears, he might gently allure us to him, yea, and taking away all doubts (much more all ſtops) he might make us an eaſy way.

Nothing ſhould withhold us from prayer, whereunto we are both by the authority of his commandment bound, and encouraged by the ſweet allurements of his promiſes to whom we pray.

13. And firſt when he commandeth us to pray, he doth by the very ſame commandment accuſe us of wicked obſtinacy, unleſs we obey him. Nothing could be more preciſely commanded, than that which is in the Pſalm l. 15. Call upon me in the day of trouble. But foraſmuch as among all the duties of godlineſs, the ſcripture commendeth none more often, I need not to tarry longer upon this point. Aſk (ſaith our maſter) and ye ſhall receive: knock, it ſhall be opened to you. Howbeit here is alſo with the commandment joined a promiſe as it is neceſſary. For though all men confeſs that the commandment ought to be obeyed, yet the moſt part would flee from God, when he calleth, unleſs he promiſed that he would be eaſy to be entreated, yea,

yea, and would offer himſelf. Theſe two things being eſtabliſhed, it is certain that whoſoever make delays that they come not ſtraight to God, are not only rebellious and diſobedient, but alſo are proved guilty of infidelity, becauſe they diſtruſt the promiſes. Which is ſo much more to be noted, becauſe hypocrites under the colour of humility and modeſty do as well proudly deſpiſe the commandment of God, as diſcredit his gentle calling, yea and defraud him of the chief part of his worſhip. For after that he hath refuſed ſacrifices, in which at that time all holineſs ſeemed to ſtand, he declareth that this is the chief thing and moſt precious to him above all other, to be called upon in the day of need. Therefore where he requireth his own, and encourageth us to chearfulneſs of obeying, there are none ſo gay colours of doubting that may excuſe us. Wherefore how many teſtimonies are commonly found in the ſcriptures whereby we are commanded to call upon God, ſo many ſtandards are ſet up before our eyes to put affiance into us. It were raſhneſs to ruſh into the ſight of God, unleſs he did prevent us with calling us. Therefore he openeth us the way with his own voice, ſaying: I will ſay to them, Ye are my people: and they ſhall ſay to me, thou art our God, Zech. xiii. 9. We ſee how he preventeth them that worſhip him, and willeth them to follow him, and therefore it is not to be feared that this ſhould not be a very ſweet melody which he tuneth. Specially let this notable title of God come in our mind, whereupon if we ſtay, we ſhall eaſily paſs over all ſtops. Thou God that heareſt prayer, even to thee ſhall all fleſh come. Pſ. lxv. 3. For what is more lovely or more alluring, than that God be garniſhed with this title which may aſcertain us, that nothing is more proper to his nature, than to grant the deſire of humble ſuitors? Hereby the prophet gathereth that the gate ſtandeth open not only to a few, but to all men: becauſe he ſpeaketh even to all in this ſaying: Call upon me in the day of trouble: I will deliver thee, and thou ſhalt glorify me, Pſal. l. 15. According to this rule David layeth for himſelf that a promiſe was given him that he may obtain what he aſketh: Thou haſt revealed into the ear of thy ſervant: therefore thy ſervant hath found in his heart to pray this prayer unto thee, 2 Sam. vii. 27. Whereupon we gather, that he was fearful, ſaying in ſo much as the promiſe had encouraged him. So in another ther place he armeth himſelf with this general doctrine he will fulfil the deſire of them that fear him. Pſal. cxlv. 19. Yea, and this we may note in the Pſalms, that as it were breaking his courſe of praying he paſſeth over ſometimes to the power of God, ſometimes to his goodneſs, ſometimes to the truth of his promiſes. It might ſeem that David by unſeaſonable thruſting in of theſe ſentences, made mangled prayers: but the faithful know by uſe and experience that ferventneſs fainteth unleſs they put new nouriſhments unto it, and therefore in praying the meditation both of the nature of God, and of his word, is not ſuperfluous. And ſo by the example of David, let it not grieve us to thruſt in ſuch things as may refreſh fainting hearts with new lively ſtrength.

Our ſluggiſhneſs notwithſtanding ſo many, ſo effectual motives unto this heavenly exerciſe.

14. And it is wonderful that with ſo great ſweetneſs of promiſes we are either but coldly or almoſt not at all moved, that a great part of men wandering about by compaſſes had rather, leaving the fountain of living waters, to dig for themſelves dry pits, than to embrace the liberality of God freely offered them. The name of the Lord (ſaith Solomon, Prov. xviii. 10) is a ſtrong tower, the righteous flee to it, and are ſaved. And Joel, after he had propheſied of that horrible deſtruction that was at hand, addeth this notable ſentence. Whoſoever calleth upon the name of the Lord ſhall be ſafe, Joel ii. 32. which ſentence we know to pertain properly to the courſe of the goſpel. Scarcely a man among a hundred is moved to go forward to meet God. He himſelf crieth by Iſaiah: Ye ſhall call upon me, and I will hear you, yea, before that ye cry, I will anſwer you. Iſa. lxv. 24. And the ſame honour alſo in another place he vouchſafeth to give in common to the whole church as it belongeth to all the members of Chriſt. He hath cried to me, I will hear him. I am in trouble with him, that I may deliver him. Pſal. xci. 15. Neither yet (as I have already ſaid) is it my purpoſe to reckon up all the places, but to chuſe out the chief, by which we may take a taſte how kindly God allureth us unto him, and with how ſtrait bonds our unthankfulneſs is bound, when among ſuch powerful motives our ſluggiſhneſs ſtill maketh delay. Wherefore let theſe ſayings always ſound in our ears: The Lord is nigh to all that call upon him, that call upon him in truth: Pſal. cxlv. Alſo theſe ſayings which we have alleged out of Iſaiah and Joel, by which God affirmeth that he is heedful to hear prayers, yea and is delighted as with a ſacrifice of ſweet ſavour, when we caſt our cares upon him. This ſingular fruit we receive of the promiſes of God, when we make our prayers not doubtingly and fearfully, but truſting upon his

word, whoſe majeſty would otherwiſe make us afraid, we dare call upon him by the name of Father, foraſmuch as he vouchſafeth to put this moſt ſavoury name into our mouths. It remaineth that we having ſuch allurements ſhould know that we have thereby matter enough to obtain our prayers: foraſmuch as our prayers ſtand upon no merit of our own, but all their worthineſs and hope of obtaining are grounded upon the promiſes of God, and depend upon them: ſo that it needeth no other foundation, nor looketh upward hither or thither Therefore we muſt determine in our minds, that although we excel not in like holineſs as is praiſed in the holy fathers, prophets, and apoſtles, yet becauſe the commandment of prayer is common to us, and faith is alſo common, if we reſt upon the word of God, in this right we are fellows with them. For God (as we have before ſhewed) promiſing that he will be gentle, and merciful to all, giveth cauſe of hope to all even the moſt miſerable, that they ſhall obtain what they aſk. And therefore the general forms are to be noted, from which no man (as they ſay) from the firſt to the laſt is excluded: only let there be preſent a pureneſs of heart, miſliking of ourſelves, humility, and faith: let not our hypocriſy unholily abuſe the name of God with deceitful calling upon it: the moſt good Father will not put back them, whom he not only exhorteth to come to him but alſo moveth them by all the means that he can. Hereupon cometh the manner of praying of David which I have even now rehearſed. Lo thou haſt promiſed, Lord, to thy ſervant: for this cauſe thy ſervant at this day gathereth courage, and hath found what prayer he might make before thee. Now therefore, O Lord God, thou art God, and thy words ſhall be true. Thou haſt ſpoken to thy ſervant of theſe benefits: begin therefore, and do them, 2 Sam. vii. 27. As alſo in another place, Perform to thy ſervant according to thy word, Pſal. cxix. 76. And all the Iſraelites together, ſo oft as they arm themſelves with remembrance of the covenant, do ſufficiently declare that we ſhould not pray fearfully, whereas the Lord ſo appointeth. And herein they followed the examples of the fathers, eſpecially of Jacob, Gen. xxxii. 10. who after he had confeſſed that he was unworthy of ſo many mercies which he had received at the hand of God, yet he ſaith that he is encouraged to require greater things, becauſe God had promiſed that he would do them. But whatſoever excuſe unbelievers do pretend, when they flee not to God ſo oft as neceſſity preſſeth them, when they ſeek not to him nor crave his help, they do as much defraud him of his due honour as if they made to themſelves new gods and idols: for by this means they deny that he is to them the author of all good things. On the other hand, there is nothing ſtronger to deliver the godly from all doubt, than to be alarmed with this thought, that no ſtop ought to ſtay them while they obey the commandment of God, which pronounceth, that nothing is more pleaſing to him than obedience. Here again that which I ſaid before more clearly appeareth, that a dreadleſs ſpirit to pray agreeth well with fear, reverence, and carefulneſs: and that it is no abſurdity to ſay that God raiſeth up the overthrown. After this manner thoſe forms of ſpeech agree well together which in appearance are contrary. Jeremiah and Daniel ſay, that they throw down prayers before God, Jer. xlii. 9. Dan. ix. 18. In another place Jeremiah ſaith: Let our prayer fall down in the ſight of God, that he may have mercy on the remnant of his people, Jer. xlii. 2. On the other hand, the faithful are oftentimes ſaid to lift up prayer. So ſpeaketh Hezekiah, requiring the prophet to make interceſſion for him, 2 King xx. 10. And David deſireth that his prayer may aſcend as incenſe, Pſal. cxli. For although they being perſuaded of the fatherly love of God, chearful commit themſelves into his faithful keeping, and doubt not to crave the help which he freely promiſeth: yet doth not an idle carefulneſs lift them up, as though they had caſt away ſhame, but they aſcend ſo upward by degrees of promiſes, that they ſtill remain humble ſuppliants in the abaſement of themſelves.

Some having prayed otherwiſe than they ſhould, have nevertheleſs at the hands of God obtained the things they have prayed for.

15. Here are queſtions objected more that one. For the ſcripture reporteth, that the Lord granted certain deſires which yet break forth of a mind not quiet nor well framed. Verily for a juſt cauſe: Joatham had doomed the inhabitants of Sichem, to the deſtruction which afterwards came upon them; but yet God kindled with ferventneſs of anger and vengeance following his execration ſeemeth to allow ill-tempered violent paſſions. Such heat alſo carried Sampſon when he ſaid, Strengthen me, O God, that I may take vengeance of the uncircumciſed. Judg. ix. 20. Judg. vi. 28. For tho' there were ſome piece of good zeal mingled with it: yet a hot, and therefore faulty greedineſs of vengeance did bear rule therein. God granted it. Whereupon it ſeemeth that it may be gathered, that although the prayers be not framed according to the preſcribed rule of the word, yet they obtain their effect.

effect. I answer, first, that a general law is not taken away by singular examples: again, that sometimes special motions have been put into a few men, whereby it came to pass that there was another consideration of them than of the common people. For the answer of Christ is to be noted, when the disciples did indiscreetly desire to imitate the example of Elias, that they knew not what manner of spirit they were of. Luke ix. 55. But we must go yet further, and say that the prayers do not always please God which he granteth: but that, so much as serveth for example that is by clear praise made plain which the scripture teacheth, namely that he succoureth the miserable, heareth the groanings of them which being unjustly troubled do crave his help: that therefore he executeth his judgments, when the complaints of the poor rise up to him, although they be unworthy to obtain any thing be it never so little. For how oft hath he taken vengeance of the cruelties, robberies, violence, filthy lusts, and other wicked doings of the ungodly, subduing their boldness and rage, and also overthrowing their tyrannical power, testified that he helpeth the wrongously oppressed, which yet did beat the air with praying to an uncertain godhead? And one Psalm plainly teacheth, that the prayers want not effect, which yet do not pierce into heaven by faith, Psal. cvii. For he gathereth together those prayers which necessity extorteth no less out of the unbelievers than out of the godly by the very feeling of nature: to which yet he proveth by the effect, that God is favourable. It is because he doth with such gentleness testify that they are pleasing to him? No. But to enlarge or to set out his mercy by this circumstance, for that even to unbelievers their prayers are not denied: and then the more to prick forward his true worshippers to pray, when they see that prophane wailings sometime want not their effect. Yet there is no cause why the faithful should swerve from the law laid upon them by God, or should envy the unbelievers, as though they had gotten some great gain, when they obtained their desire. After this manner we have said, that the Lord was bowed with the repentance of Ahab, 1 King xxi. 29. that he might shew by this example how easy he is to be entreated of his elect, when truly turning to him. Therefore in the psalm he blameth the Jews, that they having by experience proved him so easy to grant their prayers, yet within a little after returned to the stubbornes of their nature. Psal. c. 5. Which also plainly appeareth by the history of the judges: namely that so oft as they wept, although their tears were deceitful, yet they were delivered out of the hands of their enemies. As therefore the Lord indifferently maketh his sun shine upon the the good and the evil: so doth he also not despise their weepings, whose cause is righteous and their miseries needful of help. In the mean time he no more heareth these to salvation, than herein ministreth food to the despisers of his goodness. The question seemeth to be somewhat harder of Abraham and Samuel: of whom the one being warranted by no word of God, prayed for the Sodomites: Gen. xviii. 13. the other against a manifest forbidding prayed for Saul. 1 Sam. xi. Likewise is it of Jeremiah who prayed that the city might not be destroyed. Jeremiah. xxxi. 16. For though their requests were denied, yet it seemeth hard to take faith from them. But this solution shall (as I trust) satisfy sober readers: that they being instructed with the general principles, whereby God commandeth them to be merciful even also unto the unworthy, were not altogether without faith, although in a special case their opinion deceived them. Augustine writeth wisely [*Lib. de civit. Dei xxii. cap.* 1.] How (saith he) do the saints pray by faith, to ask of God contrary to that which he hath decreed? Even because they pray according to his will: not that hidden and unchangeable will, but the will which he inspireth into them, that he may hear them after another manner: as he wisely maketh difference. This is well said: because after his incomprehensible counsel he so tempereth the successes of things, that the prayers of the saints be not void which are wrapped both with faith and error together. Neither yet ought this more to avail for an example to follow, than it excuseth the saints themselves, whom I deny not to have passed measure. Wherefore where appeareth no certain promise, we must ask of God with a condition adjoined. To which purpose serveth that saying of David. Watch to the judgment which thou hast commanded: Psal. vii. 7. because he telleth that he was warranted by a special oracle to ask a temporal benefit.

The rules of prayer must not be too rigorously applied.

16. This also it is profitable to note, that those things which I have spoken of the four rules of right prayer, are not so exactly required with extream rigour, that God refuseth the prayers in which he shall not find either perfect faith or perfect repentance together with a ferventness of zeal and well ordered requests. We have said that al-

though prayer be a familiar talk of the godly with God, yet we muſt keep a reverence and modeſty, that we give not looſe reins to all requeſts whatſoever they be, and that we deſire no more, than God giveth leave: and then, leaſt the majeſty of God ſhould grow into contempt with us, that we muſt lift up our minds upward to a pure and undefiled worſhipping of him. This no man hath ever performed with ſuch pureneſs as it ought to be. For (to ſpeak nothing of the common ſort) how many complaints of David do ſavour of intemperance: not that he meant of purpoſe to quarrel with God, or carp againſt his judgments: but becauſe he fainting with weakneſs, found no better comfort, than to caſt his ſorrows into his boſom. Yea and God beareth with our childiſh ſpeech and pardoneth our ignorance, ſo oft as any thing unadviſedly eſcapeth us: as truly without this tender bearing, there ſhould be no liberty of praying. But although David's mind was to ſubmit himſelf wholly to the will of God, and he prayed with no leſs patience than deſire to obtain: yet there ariſe, yea boil out ſometimes troublous affections, which are much diſagreeing from the firſt rule that we have ſet. Eſpecially we may perceive by the concluſion of the xxxix. Pſalm, with how great vehemency of ſorrow that holy man was carried away, that he could not keep meaſure. Ceaſe (ſaith he) from me, till I go away and be not. A man would ſay, that he like a deſperate man deſireth nothing elſe but that the hand of God ceaſing, he might rot in his evils. He ſaith it not for that he with an avowed mind runneth into ſuch outrage, or (as the reprobate are wont) would have God to depart from him: but only he complaineth that the wrath of God is too heavy for him to bear. In theſe temptations alſo there fall out oftentimes requeſts not well framed according to the rule of the word of God, and in which the ſaints do not ſufficiently weigh what is lawful and expedient. Whatſoever prayers are ſpotted with theſe faults, they deſerve to be refuſed: yet if the ſaints do bewail, correct themſelves, and by and by come to themſelves again, God pardoneth them. So they offend alſo in the ſecond rule, becauſe they are oftentimes driven to wreſtle with their own coldneſs, and their need and miſery doth not forcibly enough excite them to pray earneſtly. And oftentimes it happeneth that their minds do ſlip aſide, and in a manner wander away into vanity. Therefore in this behalf alſo there is need of pardon, leſt our faint, imperfect, broken and wandering prayers have a denial. This God hath naturally planted in the minds of men, that prayers are not perfect but with minds lifted upward. Hence came the ceremony of lifting up of hands, as we have before ſaid, which hath been uſed in all ages and nations, as yet it is in uſe. But how many a one is there, who when he lifteth up his hands doth in his own conſcience find himſelf dull, becauſe his heart reſteth upon the ground? As touching the aſking of forgiveneſs of ſins, although none of the faithful do overlook it, yet they which are truly exerciſed in prayer do feel that they bring ſcarcely the tenth part of that ſacrifice, of which David ſpeaketh. An acceptable ſacrifice to God is a troubled ſpirit; a broken and humble heart, O God, thou will not deſpiſe, Pſal. li 19. So there is always a double pardon to be aſked, both becauſe they know themſelves guilty in their conſciences of many faults, with the ſenſe whereof they are not yet ſo touched, as to lothe themſelves ſo much as they ought: and alſo that, ſo much as it is given them to profit in repentance and in the fear of God, they being caſt down with juſt ſorrow for their offences, ſhould pray to eſcape the puniſhment of the judge. Chiefly the feebleneſs or imperfection of faith corrupteth the prayers of the faithful, unleſs the tender mercy of God did help them. But it is no wonder that God pardoneth this default, who doth oftentimes exerciſe them that are his with ſharp inſtructions, as if he ſhould of purpoſe quench their faith. This is a moſt hard temptation, when the faithful are compelled to cry: How long wilt thou be angry upon the prayer of thy ſervant: Pſal. lxxx. as though their very prayers made God more angry. So when Jeremiah ſaith; The Lord hath ſhut out my prayer, Lam. iii. 8. there is no doubt that he was ſhaken with a violent pang of trouble. Such examples are innumerable in the ſcriptures, by which it is evident, that the faith of the ſaints was oftentimes mingled and toſſed with doubtings, that in believing and hoping they diſcovered yet ſome unfaithfulneſs: but becauſe they come not ſo far as it is to be wiſhed, they ought to endeavour ſo much the more that their faults being amended, they may daily come nearer to the perfect rule of praying, and in the mean time to feel in how great a depth of evils they are drowned, who even in the very remedies do get to themſelves new diſeaſes: ſince there is no prayer which the Lord doth not worthily lothe, unleſs he wink at the ſpots wherewith they are all beſprinkled. I rehearſe not theſe things to this end, that the faithful ſhould carelеſly pardon themſelves any thing, but that in ſharply chaſtiſing themſelves they ſhould labour to overcome theſe ſtops, and although ſatan labour to ſtop

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up all the ways, that he may keep them from praying, yet nevertheleſs they ſhould break through, being certainly perſwaded, that although they be not unencumbred of all hinderances, yet their endeavours do pleaſe God, and their prayers are allowed of him, ſo that they labour and bend themſelves thitherward, whither they do not by and by attain.

That the conſciouſneſs of our own imbecillity diſcourage us not too much, we are to relieve our ſelves in prayer with the mediation of Chriſt Jeſus beſides whoſe name no other by way of interceſſion ſhould be mentioned in our prayers.

17. But foraſmuch as there is no man worthy to preſent himſelf to God, and to come into his ſight: the heavenly father himſelf to deliver us both from ſhame and fear which ſhould have thrown down all our courages, hath given to us his ſon Jeſus Chriſt our Lord,, to be an advocate and mediator with him for us, by whoſe leading we may boldly come to him, truſting that we have ſuch an interceſſor, nothing ſhall be denied us which we aſk in his name, as nothing can be denied him of the father. And hereunto muſt all be referred whatſoever we have heretofore taught concerning faith: becauſe as the promiſe ſetteth out unto us Chriſt for our Mediator, ſo unleſs our hope of obtaining ſtay upon him, it taketh from it ſelf the benefit of praying. For ſo ſoon as the terrible majeſty of God recurrs to our mind, it is impoſſible but that we ſhould tremble for fear, and the acknowlegeing of our own unworthineſs ſhould drive us far away, till Chriſt interpoſe between us and him, which may change the throne of dreadful glory into the throne of grace: as alſo the apoſtle teacheth that we may be bold to appear with all confidence which ſhall obtain mercy and find grace to help in time of need. And as there is a law ſet that we ſhould call upon God, as alſo a promiſe given, that they ſhall be heard who call upon him: ſo are we peculiarly commanded to call upon him in the name of Chriſt, and we have a promiſe ſet forth, that we ſhall obtain that which we ſhall aſk in his name. Hitherto (ſaith he) ye have not aſked any thing in my name: aſk and ye ſhall receive. In that day ye ſhall aſk in my name, and whatſoever ye aſk, I will do, that the father may be glorified in the ſon. John. xiv. 13, and xvi. 24. Hereby it is plain without controverſy, that they which call upon God in any other name than of Chriſt, do ſtubbornly break his commandments, and regard his will as nothing, and that they have no promiſe to obtain any thing. For (as Paul ſaith) all the promiſes of God are in Chriſt, yea, and Amen, 2 Cor. i. 20. that is to ſay they are confirmed and fulfilled.

No prayer effectual which hath not Chriſt as an advocate.

18. And the circumſtance of the time is diligently to be marked, where Chriſt commandeth his diſciples to flee to interceſſion to him after that he is gone up into heaven. In that hour (ſaith he) ye ſhall aſk in my name. John. xvi. 26. It is certain that even from the beginning none were heard that prayed, but by the means of the mediator. For this reaſon the Lord had ordained in the law, that the prieſt alone entring into the ſanctuary, ſhould bear upon his ſhoulders the names of the tribes of Iſrael, and as many precious ſtones before his breaſt: but the people ſhould ſtand a far off in the porch, and from thence ſhould join their prayers with the prieſt. Yea, and the ſacrifice availed hereto, that the prayers ſhould be made ſure and of force. Exod. xxviii. 9. and 10, 21. Therefore that ſhadowiſh ceremony of the law taught that we are all ſhut out from the face of God, and that therefore we need a mediator, which may appear in our name, and may bear us upon his ſhoulders, and hold us faſt bound to his breaſt, that we may be heard in his perſon: then that by ſprinkling of blood our prayers are cleanſed, which (as we have already ſaid) are never void of filthineſs. And we ſee that the ſaints, when they deſired to obtain any thing, grounded their hope upon ſacrifices, becauſe they knew them to be the ſtabliſhings of all requeſts. Let him remember thy offering (ſaith David) and make thy burnt offering fat. Hereupon is gathered that God hath been from the beginning appeaſed by the interceſſion of Chriſt, to receive the prayers of the godly. Why then doth Chriſt appoint a new time when his diſciples ſhall begin to pray in his name, but becauſe this grace, as it is at this day more glorious, ſo deſerveth more commendation with us. And in this ſame ſenſe he had ſaid a little before. Hitherto ye have not aſked any thing in my name, now aſk. Not that they underſtood nothing at all of the office of the mediator (whereas all the Jews were inſtructed in the principles) but becauſe they had not yet clearly known that Chriſt by his aſcending into heaven ſhould be a ſurer patron of the church than he was before. Therefore to comfort their grief of his abſence with ſome ſpecial fruit, he claimeth to himſelf the office of an advocate, and teacheth that they have hitherto

wanted

wanted the chief benefit, which it ſhall be granted them to enjoy, when being aided by his mediation, they ſhall more freely call upon God: as the apoſtle ſaith that his new way is dedicate in his blood. Heb. x. 20. And ſo much leſs excuſable is our frowardneſs, unleſs we do with both arms (as the ſaying is) embrace ſo ineſtimable a benefit, which is properly appointed for us.

The interceſſion of Chriſt withſtandeth not but that we may be advocates one for another: ſo that we know that the force of our mutual prayers dependeth wholly upon him without whom it were in vain to intreat either for others or for our ſelves.

19. Now whereas he is the only way, and the only entry by which it is granted us to come in unto God: whoſo do ſwerve from this way and forſake this entry, for them there remaineth no way nor entry to God: there is nothing left in his throne but wrath, judgment, and terror. Finally, ſince the Father hath appointed him for our head, and guide, they which do in any wiſe ſwerve or go away from him, do labour as much as in them lyeth to raze out and efface the mark which God hath imprinted. So Chriſt is ſet to be the only mediator, by whoſe interceſſion the father may be made favourable to us and eaſy to be entreated. Howbeit in the mean time the ſaints have their interceſſions left to them, whereby they do mutually commend the ſafety one of another to God, of which the apoſtle maketh mention: 1 Tim. ii. 1. but thoſe be ſuch as depend upon that one only interceſſion: ſo far are they from derogating from it. For as they ſpring out of the affection of love, wherewith we embrace one another, as the members of one body: ſo they are alſo referred to the unity of the head. Since therefore they alſo are made in the name of Chriſt, what do they elſe but teſtify that no man can be aſſiſted by any prayers at all, but with the interceſſion of Chriſt? And as Chriſt with his interceſſion withſtandeth not, but that in the church we may with prayers be advocates one for another: ſo let this remain certain, that all the interceſſors of the whole church ought to be directed to that only one. Yea, and for this cauſe we ought ſpecially to beware of unthankfulneſs, becauſe God pardoning our unworthineſs, doth not only give leave to every one of us to pray for himſelf, but alſo admitteth us to be entreaters one for another. For, where God appointeth advocates for his church which deſerve worthily to be rejected if they pray privately every one for himſelf: what a pride were it, to abuſe this liberty to darken the honour of Chriſt.

Chriſt the only mediator not only of redemption but interceſſion alſo.

20. Now it is a meer trifling which the Sophiſters babble, that Chriſt is the mediator of redemption, but the faithful are mediators of interceſſion. As though Chriſt having performed a mediation for a time, hath given to his ſervants that eternal mediatorſhip which ſhall never die. Full courteouſly forſooth they handle him, that cut away ſo little a portion of honour from him. But the ſcripture ſaith far otherwiſe, with the ſimplicity whereof a good man ought to be contented, leaving theſe deceivers. For where John ſaith, that if any do ſin, we have an advocate with the father, Chriſt Jeſus: 1 John. ii. 2. doth he mean that he was once in old time a patron for us, and not rather aſſigned to him an everlaſting interceſſion? How ſay we to this that Paul alſo affirmeth, that he ſitteth at the right hand of God the father and maketh interceſſion for us? Rom. viii. 32. And when in another place he calleth him the only mediator of God and men: 1 Tim. ii. 5. meaneth he not of prayers, of which he had a little before made mention? For when he had before ſaid that interceſſion muſt be made for all men: for proof of that ſaying, he by and by addeth, that for all men there is one God and one mediator. Rom. xv. 30. And none otherwiſe doth Auguſtine expound it, when he ſaith thus: Chriſtian men do mutually commend themſelves in their prayers. But he for whom none maketh interceſſion, but he for all, he is the only and true mediator. (*Lib. cont. Par. ii. cap.* 1.) Paul the apoſtle, though he was a principal member under the head (yet becauſe he was a member of the body of Chriſt, and knew that the greateſt and trueſt prieſt of the church entred, not by a figure, into the inward places of the vail, to the holy of holy places, but by expreſs and ſtedaſt truth into the innermoſt places of heaven, to a holineſs not ſhadowiſh but eternal) commendeth himſelf alſo to the prayers of the faithful. Rom. xv. 30. Epheſ. vi. 3. Col. iv. 3. 1 Cor. xii. 25. Neither doth he make himſelf a mediator between the people and God, but prayeth that all the members of the body of Chriſt ſhould mutually pray for him: becauſe the members are careful one for another: and if one member ſuffer, the others ſuffer with it. And that ſo the mutual prayers one for another of all the members yet travailing in earth, may aſcend to the head

head which is gone before into heaven, in whom is ſatisfaction for our ſins. For if Paul were a mediator, the other apoſtles ſhould alſo be mediators: and if there were many mediators, then neither ſhould Paul's own reaſon ſtand faſt, Ephe. iv. 3. in which he had ſaid, for there is one God, one mediator of one God and men, the man Chriſt, in whom we alſo are one if we keep the unity of faith in the bond of peace. Again in another place. But if thou ſeek for a prieſt, he is above the heavens, where he maketh interceſſion for the, which in earth died for thee. Yet do we not dream that he falleth down at the Father's knees and in a humble way entreateth for us: but we underſtand with the apoſtle, that he ſo appeareth before the face of God, that the virtue of his death availeth to be a perpetual interceſſion for us: yet ſo that being entred into the ſanctuary of heaven, unto the end of the ages of the world he alone carrieth to God the prayers of the people abiding a far off in the porch.

No ſaint hath acceſs unto God but by Chriſt: and therefore we cannot without injury unto him, make them our interceſſors.

21. As touching the ſaints, which being dead in the fleſh do live in Chriſt, if we give any prayer at all to them, let us not dream that they themſelves have any other way of aſking than Chriſt which only is the way, or that their prayers be acceptable to God in any other name. Therefore ſince the ſcripture calleth us back from all to Chriſt only: ſince the heavenly Father's will is to gather together all in him: it was a point of too much dulneſs, I will not ſay madneſs, ſo to deſire to make for our ſelves an entry by them, that we ſhould be led away from him without whom even they themſelves have no entry open. But, that this hath been uſually done in certain ages paſt, and that it is at this day done whereſoever papiſtry reigneth, who can deny? Their merits are from time to time thruſt in, to obtain the good will of God: and for the moſt part, Chriſt being paſſed over, God is prayed to by their names. Is not this, I beſeech you, to convey away to them the office of that only interceſſion, which we have affirmed to belong to Chriſt alone? Again, what angel or devil ever revealed to any man any one ſyllable of this their interceſſion which theſe men feign? For in the ſcripture is nothing of it. What is the reaſon therefore of inventing it? Truly when the wit of man ſo ſeeketh for it ſelf ſuccours, wherewith we are not certifyed by the word of God, it plainly bewrayeth his own diſtruſtfulneſs. If we appeal to all their conſciences that are delighted with the interceſſion of ſaints, we ſhall find that the ſame cometh from no other ground, but becauſe they are grieved with carefulneſs, as though Chriſt were in this behalf either too weak or too rigorous. By which doubtfulneſs firſt they diſhonour Chriſt, and rob him of the title of only mediator, which as it is given him of the Father for a ſingular prerogative, ſo ought not alſo to be conveyed away to any other. And in this very doing they darken the glory of his birth, they make void his croſs, finally whatſoever he hath done or ſuffered they ſpoil and defraud it of the due praiſe thereof: for all tend to this end that he may be in deed and be accounted the only mediator. And therewith they caſt away the goodneſs of God, which gave himſelf to be their father. For he is not their father, unleſs they acknowlege Chriſt to be their brother. Which they utterly deny unleſs they think that he beareth a brotherly affection toward them, than which there can nothing be more kind or tender. Wherefore the ſcripture offereth only him to us, ſendeth us to him, and ſtayeth us in him. He (ſaith Ambroſe) is our mouth, by which we ſpeak to the Father: our eye, by which we ſee the Father: our right hand, by which we offer us to the Father, otherwiſe than by whoſe interceſſion neither we nor all the ſaints have any thing with God. [*Lib. de Iſa. & anima.*] If they anſwer that the common prayers which they make in churches, are ended with this concluſion adjoined, through Chriſt our Lord: this is a trifling ſhift: becauſe the interceſſion of Chriſt is no leſs prophaned when it is mingled with the prayers and merits of dead men, than if it were utterly omitted and only dead men were in our mouth. Again, in all their litanies, hymns, and proſes, where no honour is withheld from dead ſaints, there is no mention of Chriſt.

How far ſuperſtition hath gone in prayer unto ſaints,

22. But their fooliſh dulneſs proceeded ſo far, that here we have the nature of ſuperſtition expreſſed, which when it hath once ſhaken off the bridle, is wont to make no end of running aſtray. For after that men once begun to look to their interceſſion of ſaints, by little and little there was given to every one his peculiar work, that according to the diverſity of buſineſs, ſometimes one and ſometimes another ſhould be called upon to be interceſſor: then they took to themſelves every one

one his peculiar saint, into whose faith they committed themselves as it were to the keeping of safeguarding gods. And not only (wherewith the prophet in the old time reproached Israel) gods were set up according to the number of cities, Jeremiah. ii. 18. and xi. 13. but even to the number of persons. But since the saints refer their desires to the will of God only, and behold it and rest upon it: he thinketh foolishly, and carnally, yea and slanderously of them, which assigneth to them any other prayer, than whereby they pray for the coming of the kingdom of God: from which that is most remote which they feign to them, that every one is with private affection more partially bent to his own worshippers. At length many abstained not from horrible sacrilege, in calling now upon them not as helpers but as principal rulers of their salvation. Behold what foolish men do fall into, when they wander off their true foundation, that is, the word of God. I speak not of the grosser monstrousness of ungodliness, wherein although they be abominable to God, angels, and men, they are not yet ashamed nor weary of them. They falling down before the image or picture of *Barbara*, *Catherine*, and such others, do mumble *Pater noster*, Our father. This madness the pastors do not so care to heal or restrain, but being allured with the sweet savour of gain they allow it with rejoicing at it. But although they turn from themselves the blame of so hainous an offence, yet by what colour will they defend this that *Loy* or *Medard* are prayed unto, to look down upon and help their servants from heaven? that the holy virgin is prayed unto, to command her son to do that which they ask? In the old time it was forbidden in the council at Carthage, that at the altar no direct prayer should be made to saints. And it is likely that when the holy men could not altogether suppress the force of the naughty custom, yet they added at least this restraint that the public prayers should not be corrupted with this form: Saint Peter pray for us. But how much further hath their devilish importunity ranged, which stick not to give away to dead men that which properly belongeth only to God and Christ?

Vain labouring to ground the intercession of saints upon scripture.

23. But whereas they labour to bring to pass that such intercession may seem to be grounded upon the authority of scripture, therein they labour in vain. We read oftentimes (say they) of the prayers of angels: and not that only: but it is said that the prayers of the faithful are by their hands carried into the sight of God. But if they list to compare holy men departed out of this life, to angels: they should prove that they are ministring spirits, Heb. i. 14. to whom is committed the ministry to look to our safety, to whom the charge is given to keep us in all our ways, Psal. xci. 11. to go about us, to admonish and counsel us, to watch for us: Psal. xxxiv. 8. all which things are given to angels, but not to them. How wrongfully they wrap up dead holy men with angels, appeareth largely by so many divers offices, whereby the scripture putteth difference between some and other some. No man dare execute the office of an advocate before an earthly judge, unless he be admitted, from whence then have worms so great liberty, to thrust unto God those for patrons, to whom it is not read that the office is injoined? God's will was to appoint the angels to look unto our safety, wherefore they do both frequent holy assemblies, and the church is a stage to them, wherein they wonder at the diverse and manifold wisdom of God. Whoso convey away to others that which is peculiar to them, verily they confound and pervert the order set by God, which ought to have been inviolable. With like handsomeness they proceed in allegeing other testimonies. God said to Jeremiah: if Moses and Samuel should stand before me, my soul is not to this people. Jeremiah. xv. 1. How (say they) could he have spoken thus of dead men, unless he knew that they made intercession for the living? But I on the contrary side gather thus, that since it thereby appeareth that neither Moses nor Samuel made intercession for the people of Israel, there was then no intercession at all of dead men. For which of the saints is to be thought careful for the safety of the people, when Moses ceaseth, which in this behalf far surpassed all other when he lived. But if they follow such slight subtleties, to say that the dead make intercession for the living, because the Lord said, if they should make intercession: I will much more colourably reason in this manner: in the extreme necessity of the people Moses made not intercession, of whom it is said, if he shall make intercession. Therefore it is likely that none other maketh intercession, since they are all so far from the gentleness, goodness, and fatherly carefulness of Moses. This forsooth they get with cavilling, that they be wounded with the same weapons, wherewith they thought themselves sufficiently fenced. But it is very foolish that a simple sentence should so be wrested, because the Lord pronounceth

ceth only that he will not ſpare the offences of the people, although they had ſeen Moſes to be their patron, or Samuel, to whoſe prayers he had ſhewed himſelf ſo tender. Which ſenſe is moſt clearly gathered out of a like place of Ezekiel. If (ſaith the Lord) theſe three men were in the city, Noah, Daniel, and Job, they ſhall not deliver their ſons and daughters in their righteouſneſs: but they ſhall deliver only their own ſouls. Ezek. xiv. 14. Where it is no doubt that he meant if two of them ſhould happen to revive again, for the third was then alive, namely Daniel, who (as it is known) did in the firſt flouriſhing of his youth ſhew an incomparable example of godlineſs: let us then leave them whom the ſcripture plainly ſheweth to have ended their courſe. Therefore Paul, when he ſpeaketh of David, teacheth not that he doth with prayers help his poſterity, but only that he ſerved his own time. Acts. xiii. 36.

A third argument for interceſſion of ſaints anſwered.

24. They anſwer again: ſhall we then take from them all prayer of charity, which in the whole courſe of their life breathed nothing but charity and mercy? Verily as I will not curiouſly ſearch what they do, or what they muſe upon: ſo it is not likely that they are carried about hither and thither with divers and particular requeſts: but rather that they do with a ſtayed and unmoved will, long for the kingdom of God, which ſtandeth no leſs in the deſtruction of the wicked, than in the ſalvation of the godly. If this be true, it is no doubt that their charity is contained in the communion of the body of Chriſt, and extendeth no further, than the nature of that communion beareth. But now though I grant that they pray in this manner for us, yet they do not therefore depart from their own quietneſs, to be diverſly drawn into earthly cares: and much leſs muſt we therefore by and by call upon them. Neither doth it thereby follow that they muſt ſo do, becauſe men which live in earth may commend one another in their prayer. For this doing ſerveth for nouriſhing of charity among them, when they do as it were part and mutually take upon them their neceſſities among themſelves. And this they do by the commandment of the Lord, and are not without a promiſe, which two things, have always the chief p ace in prayer. All ſuch conſiderations are far from the dead, whom when the Lord hath conveyed from our company, he hath left to us no interchange of doings with them, nor to them with us, ſo far as we may gather by conjectures. But if any man allege, that it is impoſſible but that they muſt keep the ſame charity toward us, as they be joined in one faith with us: yet who hath revealed that they have ſo long ears to reach to our voices? and ſo piercing eyes to watch our neceſſities? They prate in their ſimilitudes of the brightneſs of the countenance of God extending his beams upon them, in which as in a mirror they may from on high behold the matters of men beneath. But to affirm that, ſpecially with ſuch boldneſs as they dare, what is it elſe but to go about by the drunken dreams of our own brain, without his word to penetrate and break into the hidden judgments of God, and to tread the ſcripture under feet which ſo oft pronounceth that the wiſdom of the fleſh is an enemy to the wiſdom of God, Rom. viii. 6. which wholly condemneth the vanity of our natural wiſdom, which willeth all our reaſon to be thrown down, and the will of God only to be looked unto of us.

A fourth argument.

25. The other teſtimonies of ſcripture which they bring to defend this their lie, they moſt naughtily wreſt. But Jacob (ſaid they) prayeth that his name and the name of his fathers Abraham and Iſaac be called upon over his poſterity. Gen. xlvi. 16. Firſt let us ſee what form of calling upon this is among the Iſraelites. For they call not upon their fathers to help them: but they beſeech God to remember his ſervants Abraham, Iſaac and Jacob. Therefore their example maketh nothing for them that ſpeak to the ſaints themſelves. But becauſe thoſe blocks (ſuch is their dulneſs) neither underſtand what it is to call upon the name of Jacob, nor why it is to be called upon, it is no marvel if in the very form alſo they ſo childiſh ſtumble. This manner of ſpeech is not ſeldom found in the ſcriptures. For Iſaiah ſaith that the name of the men is called upon over the women, when they have them as their huſbands under whoſe charge and defence they live. Iſa. iv. 1. Therefore the calling upon of the name of Abraham upon the Iſraelites, ſtandeth in this when they derive their pedigree from him, and do with ſolemn memory honour him for their author and parent. Neither doth Jacob this becauſe he is careful for the enlarging of the renown of his name: but foraſmuch as he knew that the whole bleſſedneſs of his poſterity conſiſted in the inheritance of the covenant which God had made with him: he wiſhed that that which he ſeeth ſhould be the chief of all good things to them, that they be accounted in his kindred: for, that is nothing elſe but to convey to them the

ſucceſſion of the covenant. They again when they bring ſuch remembrance into their prayers, do not flee to the interceſſions of dead men: but do put the Lord in mind of his covenant, whereby the moſt kind father hath promiſed that he will be favourable and beneficial to them for Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob's ſake. How little the ſaints did otherwiſe lean upon the merits of their father, the common ſaying of the church in the prophet teſtifieth. thou art our father and Abraham knew us not, and Iſrael was ignorant of us. Thou Lord art our father and our redeemer. Iſa. lxiii. 16. And when they ſay thus, they add there withal, Return O Lord for thy ſervants ſakes: yet thinking upon no interceſſion, but bending their mind to the beneſit of the covenant. But now ſince we have the Lord Jeſus, in whoſe hand the eternal covenant of mercy is not only made, but alſo confirmed to us: whoſe name ſhould we rather uſe in our prayers? And becauſe theſe good maſters will have the patriarchs to be by theſe words made interceſſors, I would fain know of them why in ſo great a rout Abraham the father of the church hath no place at all among them. Out of what ſink they fetch their advocates, it is not unknown. Let them anſwer me, how fit it is that Abraham, whom God preferred above all others, and whom he advanced to the higheſt degree of honour, ſhould be neglected and ſuppreſſed. Verily when it was evident that ſuch uſe was unknown to the old church, they thought good for hiding of the newneſs to ſpeak nothing of the old fathers: as though the diverſity of names excuſed the new and forged manner. But whereas ſome object that God is prayed unto, to have mercy on the people for David's ſake, it doth ſo nothing at all make for defence of their error, that it is a moſt ſtrong proof for the confutation thereof. For if we conſider what perſon David did bear: he is ſevered from all the aſſembly of the ſaints, that God ſhould ſtabliſh the covenant which he hath made in his hand. So both the covenant is rather conſidered than the man and under a figure the only interceſſion of Chriſt is affirmed. For it is certain that that which belonged only to David, in ſo much as he was the type of Chriſt, agreeth not with any other.

A fifth argument.

26. But this forſooth moveth ſome, that it is often times read that the prayers of ſaints have been heard. Why ſo? Even becauſe they prayed. They truſted in thee (ſaith the prophet) and they were ſaved: they cried, and they were not confounded. Pſal. xxii. 5. Therefore let us alſo pray as they did, that we may be heard as they were. But theſe men, otherwiſe than they ought, do wrongfully reaſon, that none ſhall be heard but they that have once been heard. How much better doth James ſay? Jam. vi. 17. Elias (ſaith he) was a man like to us: and he prayed with prayer that it ſhould not rain, and it rained not upon the earth in three years and ſix months. Again he prayed, and the heaven gave rain, and the earth gave her fruit. What? doth he gather any ſingular prerogative of Elias, to which we ought to flee? No. But he teacheth what is the continual ſtrength of godly and pure prayer, to exhort us likewiſe to pray. For we do narrowly limit the readineſs and gentleneſs of God in hearing them, unleſs we be by ſuch experiences confirmed into a more ſure affiance of his promiſes, in which he promiſeth that his ear ſhall be inclined not to one, or two, nor yet to a few, but to all that call upon his name. Pſal. cxlii. 8. And ſo much leſs excuſable is his fooliſhneſs, becauſe they ſeem as it were of ſet purpoſe to deſpiſe ſo many admonitions of ſcripture. David was oft delivered by the power of God. Was it that he ſhould confine that power to himſelf, that we ſhould be delivered by his help? He himſelf affirmeth far otherwiſe: the righteous look for me, till thou render to me. Pſal. lii. 8. Again, the righteous ſhall ſee, and they ſhall rejoice, and truſt in the Lord. Behold, this poor man hath cried to God, and he hath anſwered him: Pſal. xxxiv. 7. there be in the Pſalms many ſuch prayers, in which to crave that which he requireth he moveth God by this manner, that the righteous be not made aſhamed, but many by his example be raiſed up to hope well. Let us now be contented with this one example. Therefore every ſaint ſhall pray to thee in fit time. Pſal. xxxii. 6. Which place I have the rather rehearſed, becauſe the lewd babblers which do let out to hire the ſervice of their waged tongue have not been aſhamed to allege it to prove the interceſſion of the dead. As though David meant any thing elſe, than to ſhew the fruit that ſhall come of the mercifulneſs and gentleneſs of God, when he ſhall be heard. And in this kind, we muſt learn, that the experience of the grace of God, as well toward our ſelves as others, is no ſlender help to confirm the credit of his promiſes. I have not rehearſed many places, where David ſetteth before himſelf, the benefits of God for matter of confidence, becauſe the readers of the pſalms ſhall commonly find them without ſeeking. This ſelf ame thing had Jacob before taught by his own example: I am unworthy of the leaſt of all thy mercies, and of the truth which thou haſt performed

formed to thy ſervant. I with my ſtaff have paſſed over this Jordan, and now I come forth with two bands. Gen. xxxviii. 10. He allegeth indeed the promiſe, but not alone: but he alſo joineth the effect, that he may the more couragiouſly in time to come truſt that God will be the ſame toward him. For he is not like to mortal men, which are weary of their liberality, or whoſe ability is waſted; but he is to be weighed by his own nature, as David wiſely doth, where he ſaith, thou haſt redeemed me, O God that ſpeakeſt truth. After that he hath given to God the praiſes of his ſalvation, he addeth that he is a true ſpeaker: Pſal. xxxi. 6. becauſe unleſs he were continually like himſelf, there could not be gathered of his benefits a ſufficiently ſtrong reaſon of affiance and calling upon him. But when we know that ſo oft as he helpeth us, he ſheweth an example and proof of his goodneſs, we need not to fear that our hope ſhall be put to ſhame or diſappoint us.

The directing of prayers unto ſaints departed is the offering of injury unto God, and of diſgrace unto Chriſt's interceſſion, which by the mutual prayers of ſaints as yet living, is not prejudiced.

27. Let this be the ſum. Whereas the ſcripture ſetteth out this unto us for the chief point in the worſhipping of God, (as refuſing all ſacrifices, he requireth of us this duty of godlineſs) prayer is not without manifeſt ſacrilege directed to others. Wherefore alſo it is ſaid in the Pſalm, if we ſtretch forth our hands to a ſtrange God, ſhall not God require theſe things? Pſal. xliv. 21. Again, whereas God will not be called upon but of faith, and expreſly commandeth prayers to be framed according to the rule of his word: finally whereas faith founded upon the word is the mother of right prayer: ſo ſoon as we ſwerve from the word, our prayer muſt needs be corrupted. But it is already ſhewed, that if the whole ſcripture be ſought, this honour is therein challenged to God only. As touching the office of interceſſion, we have alſo ſhewed that it is peculiar to Chriſt, and that there is no prayer acceptable to God, but which that mediator halloweth. And though the faithful do one for another offer prayers to God for their brethren, we have ſhewed that this abateth nothing from the only interceſſion of Chriſt: becauſe they altogether ſtanding upon it do commend both themſelves and others to God. Moreover we have taught that this is unfitly applied to dead men, to whom we never read that it hath been commanded that they ſhould pray for us. The ſcripture doth oftentimes exhort us to mutual doings of this duty one for another: but of dead men there is not ſo much as one ſyllable: yea and James joining theſe two things together, that we ſhould confeſs our ſelves, James. v. 8. among our ſelves, and mutually pray one for another, doth ſecretly exclude dead men. Therefore to condemn this error, this one reaſon ſufficeth, that the beginning of praying rightly, ſpringeth out of faith, and that faith cometh by hearing of the word of God, where is no mention of the feigned interceſſion becauſe ſuperſtition hath raſhly gotten to it ſelf patrons which were not given them of God. For whereas the ſcripture is full of many forms of prayer, there is no example found of this patronſhip, without which in the papacy they believe that there is no prayer. Moreover it is certain that this ſuperſtition hath ſprung from diſtruſtfulneſs, either becauſe they were not content with Chriſt to be their interceſſor, or have altogether robbed him of his praiſe. And this latter point is eaſily proved by their ſhameleſneſs: becauſe they have no ſtronger argument to prove, that we have need of the interceſſion of ſaints, than when they object that we are unworthy of familiar acceſs to God. Which we indeed grant to be moſt true: but thereupon we gather, that they leave nothing to Chriſt, which eſteem his interceſſion nothing worth, unleſs there be adjoined *Gorge, Hippolite*, or ſuch other viſors.

The kindneſs of prayer.

28. But although prayer properly ſignifieth only wiſhes and petitions: yet there is ſo great affinity between petition and thankſgiving, that they may be fitly comprehended both under one name, For, theſe ſpecial ſorts which Paul rehearſeth, fall under the firſt part of this diviſion. With aſking and craving we pour forth our deſires, before God, requiring as well thoſe things that ſeem to ſpread abroad his glory and ſet forth his name, as the benefits that are profitable to our uſe. With giving of thanks, we do with due praiſe magnify his good doings toward us, acknowleging to be received of his liberality whatſoever good things do come to us. Therefore David comprehended theſe two parts together, ſaying: Call upon me in the day of neceſſity: I will deliver thee, and thou ſhalt glorify me. Pſal. l. 15. The ſcripture not in vain commandeth us to uſe both. For we have ſaid in another place, that our needineſs is ſo great, and experience it ſelf crieth out that we are on every ſide pinched and preſſed with ſo great diſtreſſes, that

all have cauſe enough why they ſhould both ſigh to God, and humbly call upon him. For though they be free from adverſities, yet their guiltineſs, and the innumerable aſſaults of temptations ought to prick forward the moſt holy to aſk remedy. But in the ſacrifice of praiſe and thankſgiving there can be no interruption without hainous ſin, foraſmuch as God ceaſeth not to heap upon diverſe men benefits to drive us though we be ſlack and ſlow, to thankfulneſs. Finally, ſo great and ſo plenteous liberality of his benefits doth in a manner overwhelm us: there are ſo many and ſo great miracles of his ſeen on every ſide which way ſoever thou turn thee, that we never want ground and matter of praiſe and thankſgiving. And that theſe things may be ſomewhat plainlier declared ſince all our hopes and wealth ſtand in God (which we have before ſufficiently proved) that neither we nor all our things can be in proſperity but by his bleſſing: we muſt continually commit our ſelves and all our things to him. Then whatſoever we purpoſe, ſpeak, or do, let us purpoſe, ſpeak, and do under his hand and will, finally under the hope of his help. John: iv. 14. For, all are pronounced accurſed of God, which deviſe or determine any purpoſes upon truſt of themſelves or of any other, which without his will, and without calling upon him do enterpriſe or attempt to begin any thing. Iſa. xxx. 1. And whereas we have diverſe times already ſaid, that he is duely honoured when he is acknowleged the author of all good things: thereupon followeth that all thoſe things are ſo to be received at his hand, that we yield continual thanks for them: and that there is no other right way for us to uſe his benefits, which flow and proceed from his liberality to no other end, but that we ſhould be continually buſied in confeſſing his praiſe and giving of thanks. For Paul, when he teſtifieth that they are ſanctified by the word and prayer, doth therewithal ſignify that they are not holy and clean to us without the word and prayer, 1 Tim. iv. 5. underſtanding by the word, faith by a metonymical figure. Therefore David ſaith very well, when having received the liberality of the Lord, he declareth that there is given him into his mouth a new ſong: Pſal. xl. iv. whereby verily he ſignifieth that it is a malicious ſilence, if we paſs over any of his benefits without praiſe: ſince he ſo oft giveth us matter to ſay good of him, as he doth good to us. As alſo Iſaiah Iſa. ii. 10 ſetting out the ſingular grace of God, exhorteth the faithful to a new and unwonted ſong. In which ſenſe David ſaith in another place, Lord open thou my lips, and my mouth ſhall ſhew forth thy praiſe. Pſal. li. 17. Likewiſe Hezekiah and Jonah teſtify that this ſhall be to them the end of their deliverance, to celebrate the goodneſs of God with ſongs in the temple. Iſa. viii. 20. The ſame law David preſcribeth to all the godly. What ſhall I repay to the Lord (ſaith he) for all the things that he hath beſtowed upon me? I will take the cup of ſalvatton, and will call upon the name of the Lord. Pſal. cxvi. 12. And the ſame law the church followeth in another pſalm, Save us our God, that we may confeſs to thy name, and glory in thy praiſe. Pſal. cvi. 47. Again, he hath looked unto the prayer of the ſolitary, and he hath not deſpiſed their prayers. This ſhall be written to the generation that ſhall follow, and the people created ſhall praiſe the Lord, that they may declare his name in him and his praiſe in Jeruſalem. Pſal. ci. 18. Yea ſo oft as the faithful beſeech God to do for his names ſake: as they profeſs themſelves unworthy to obtain any thing in their own name, ſo they bind themſelves to give thanks, and they promiſe that this ſhall be to them the right uſe of the bountifulneſs of God that they ſhall be publiſhers of it. So Hoſea ſpeaking of the redemption to come of the church, ſaith: take away iniquity O God, and lift up good: and we will pay the calves of lips. Hoſea. xiv. 13. And the benefits of God do not only claim to themſelves the praiſe of the tongue, but alſo do naturally procure love. I have loved (ſaith David) becauſe the Lord hath heard the voice of my prayer. Pſal. cxvi. 1. Again, in another place, rehearſing the helps which he had felt, he ſaith: I will love thee O God my ſtrength Pſal. xviii. 1. Neither ſhall the praiſes ever pleaſe God, which ſhall not flow out of this ſweetneſs of love. Yea and alſo we muſt hold faſt this ſaying of Paul, that all prayers are wrongful and faulty to which is not adjoined giving of thanks. For thus he ſaith, in all prayer and beſeeching with thankſgiving let your petitions, be known with God. Phil. iv. 6. For ſince peeviſhneſs, tediouſneſs, impatience, bitterneſs of grief, and fear do move many in praying to murmur, he commmandeth that our affections be ſo tempered, that the faithful ere they have obtained that which they deſire, ſhould nevertheleſs chearfully bleſs God. If this knot ought to have place in things in a manner contrary, with ſo much more holy a band doth God bind us to ſing his praiſes, ſo oft as he maketh us to enjoy our requeſts. But as we have taught that our prayers are hallowed by the interceſſion of Chriſt, which otherwiſe ſhould be unclean: ſo the apoſtle, where he commandeth

mandeth us to offer a ſacrifice of praiſe by Chriſt, putting in mind that we have not a mouth clean enough to praiſe the name of God, unleſs the prieſthood of Chriſt become the mean. Heb. xiii. 15. Whereupon we gather that men have been monſtrouſly bewitched in the papacy, where the greater part marvelleth that Chriſt is called an advocate. This is the cauſe why Paul commandeth both to pray and give thanks without ceaſing: 1 Theſſ. v. 13. namely for that he willeth that with ſo great continuing as may be, at every time in every place, in all matters aud buſineſſes, the prayers of all men ſhould be lifted up to God, which may both look for all things at his hand and yield to him the praiſe of all things, as he offereth us continual matter to praiſe and pray.

Order for aſſiduity of prayer both private and public in the church.

29. But this continual diligence of praying, although it ſpecially concern the proper and private prayers of every man, yet ſomewhat alſo pertaineth to the public prayers of the church. But thoſe can neither be continual, nor ought otherwiſe to be done than according to the politic order that ſhall by common conſent be agreed upon among all. I grant the ſame in deed. For therefore certain hours are ſet and appointed, as indifferent with God, ſo neceſſary for the uſes of men, that the intereſt of all men may be provided for, and all things (according to the ſaying of Paul) may be comlily and orderly done in the church. 1 Cor. xv. 40. But this maketh nothing to the contrary but that every church ought both from time to time to ſtir up it ſelf to often uſe of prayers, and when it is admoniſhed by any great neceſſity, to be fervent with moſt earneſt endeavour. As for perſeverance which hath a great affinity with continual diligence, there ſhall be a fit place to ſpeak of it about the end. Now theſe make nothing for the much babbling which Chriſt willed that we ſhould be forbidden. For he forbiddeth not to continue long, nor oft, nor with much affection in prayers, Matth. vi 7. but that we ſhould not truſt that we may wring any thing out of God, by dulling his ears with much babbling talk, as if he were to be perſuaded after the manner of men. For we know that hypocrites, becauſe they do not conſider that they have to do with God, do no leſs make a pompous ſhew in their prayers than in a triumph. For, the Phariſee which thanked God that he was not like other men, without doubt rejoiced at himſelf in the eyes of men, as if he would by prayer ſeek to get a fame of holineſs. Hereupon came that much babbling, which at this day upon a like cauſe is uſed in the papacy: while ſome do vainly ſpend the time in repeating the ſame prayers, and other ſome do ſet out themſelves among the people with a long heap of words. Since this childiſh babbling mocketh God, it is no wonder that it is forbidden out of the church, to the end that nothing ſhould there be uſed but earneſt and proceeding from the bottom of the heart. Of a near kind and like to this corruption there is another, which Chriſt condemneth with this, namely that hypocrites for boaſting ſake do ſeek to have many witneſſes, and do rather occupy the market place to pray in, than that their prayers ſhould want the praiſe of the world. But whereas we have already ſhewed that this is the mark that prayer aimeth at, that our minds may be carried upward to God, both to confeſſion of praiſe and to craving of help: thereby we may underſtand that the chief duties thereof do ſtand in the mind and the heart, or rather that prayer it ſelf is properly an affection of the inward heart, which is poured forth and laid open before God the ſearcher of hearts. Wherefore (as it is already ſaid) the heavenly ſchoolmaſter, when he minded to ſet out the beſt rule of praying, commanded us to go into our chamber, and there the door being ſhut to pray to our Father which is in ſecret, that our Father which is in ſecret may hear us. Matth. vi. 6. For when he hath drawn them away from the example of hypocrites, which with ambitious boaſting ſhew of prayers ſought the favour of men, he therewithal addeth what is better, namely, to enter into our chamber, and there to pray the door being ſhut. In which words (as I expound them) he willed us to ſeek being ſolitary which may help us to deſcend and to enter throughly with our whole thought into our heart, promiſing to the affections of our heart that God ſhall be near us whoſe temples our bodies ought to be. For he meant not to deny but that it is expedient alſo to pray in other places: but he ſheweth that prayer is a certain ſecret thing, which both is chiefly placed in the ſoul, and requireth the quiet thereof far from all troubles of cares. Nor without cauſe therefore the Lord himſelf alſo, when he was diſpoſed to apply himſelf more earneſtly to prayer conveyed himſelf into ſome ſolitary place far from the troubleſome company of men: but to teach us by his example that theſe helps are not to be deſpiſed, by which our mind being too ſlippery of it ſelf is more bent to earneſt applying of prayer. But in the mean time even as he in the midſt of the multitude of men abſtained not from

praying, if occaſion at any time ſo ſerved: ſo ſhould we in all places where need ſhall be, lift up pure hands. 1 Tim. ii. 8. Finally, thus it is to be holden, that whoſoever refuſeth to pray in the holy aſſembly of the godly, he knoweth not what it is to pray apart, or in ſolitarineſs, or at home. Again, that he that neglecteth to pray alone or privately how diligently ſoever he haunt public aſſemblies, doth there make but vain prayers: becauſe he giveth more to the opinion of men than to the ſecret judgment of God. In the mean time, that the common prayers of the church ſhould not grow into contempt, God in old time garniſhed them with glorious titles, ſpecially where he called the temple the houſe of prayer. Iſa. lvi. 7. For, by this ſaying he both taught that the chief part of the worſhipping of him is the duty of prayer: and that to the end that the faithful ſhould with one conſent exerciſe themſelves in it, the temple was ſet up as a ſtandard for them. There was alſo added a notable promiſe: there abideth for thee, O God, praiſe in Sion: and to thee the vow ſhall be paid. Pſal lxv. 2. By which words the prophet telleth us, that the prayers of the church are never void: becauſe the Lord alway miniſtreth to his people matter to ſing upon with joy. But although the ſhadows of the law are ceaſed: yet becauſe the Lord's will was by this ceremony to nouriſh among us alſo the unity of faith, it is no doubt that the ſame promiſe belongeth to us, which both Chriſt hath ſtabliſhed with his own mouth, and Paul teacheth that it is of force for ever.

Churches ordained to be houſes of prayer.

30. Now as the Lord by his word commanded the faithful to uſe common prayers: ſo there muſt be common temples appointed for the uſing of them: where who ſo refuſe to communicate their prayer with the people of God, there is no cauſe why they ſhould abuſe this pretence, that they enter into their chamber that they may obey the commandment of the Lord. For he that promiſeth that he will do whatſoever two or three ſhall aſk being gathered together in his name, Matth. xviii. 20. teſtifieth that he deſpiſeth not prayers openly made: ſo that boaſting and ſeeking of glory of men be abſent, ſo that unfeigned and true affection be preſent which dwelleth in the ſecret of the heart. If this be the right uſe of temples (as truely it is) we muſt again beware that neither (as they have begun in certain ages paſt to be accounted) we take them for the proper dwelling places of God from whence he may more nearly bend his ear unto us: nor feign to them I wot not what ſecret holineſs, which may make our prayer more holy before God. For ſince we our ſelves be the true temples of God we muſt pray in our ſelves if we will call upon God in his own holy temple. As for that groſſneſs, let us which have a commandment to call upon the Lord in ſpirit and truth without difference of place, leave it to the Jews or the Gentiles. John. iv. 23. There was indeed a temple in old time by the commandment of God for offering of prayers and ſacrifices: but that was at ſuch time as the truth lay hid figured under ſuch ſhadows, which being now lively expreſſed unto us doth not ſuffer us to ſtick in any material temple. Neither was the temple given to the Jews themſelves with this condition, that they ſhould incloſe the preſence of God, within the walls thereof, but whereby they might be exerciſed to behold the image of the true temple. Therefore they, which in any part thought that God dwelleth in temples made with hands, were ſharply rebuked of Iſaiah and Stephen. Iſa. lxvi. 1. Act. vii. 48.

The ſound of the voice without the inward feeling of the heart in prayer availeth not.

31. Here moreover it is more than evident, that neither voice nor ſong, if they be uſed in prayer, have any force, or do any whit profit before God, unleſs they proceed from the deep affection of the heart. But rather they provoke his wrath againſt us, if they come only from the lips and out of the throat: for as much as that is to abuſe his holy name, and to mock his majeſty: as we gather out of the words of Iſaiah, which although they extend further, yet pertain alſo to reprove this fault. This people (ſaith he) cometh near to me with their mouth, and honoureth with their lips: but their heart is far from me: and they have feared me with the commandment and doctrine of men. Therefore behold I will make in this people a miracle great and to be wondered at. For, wiſdom ſhall periſh from their wiſe men, and the prudence of the elders ſhall vaniſh away. Iſa. ix. 13. Matth. xv. 8. Neither yet do we here condemn voice or ſinging, but rather do highly commend them, ſo that they accompany the affection of the mind. For ſo they exerciſe the mind and hold it intent in thinking upon God: which as it is ſlippery and rolling, eaſily ſlacketh and is diverſely drawn unleſs it be ſtayed with diverſe helps. Moreover whereas the glory of God ought after a certain manner to ſhine in all the parts of our body it ſpecially behoveth that the tongue be applied and devoted to this ſervice both in ſinging and in ſpeaking, which is properly created to ſhew forth and diſplay the praiſe of God: but the chief uſe of the tongue

tongue is in public prayers, which are made in the assembly of the godly: which tend to this end, that we may all with one [illegible] voice, and as it were with one mouth together glorify God whom we worship with one spirit and one faith: and that openly, that all men mutually, every one of his brother, may receive the confession of faith, by the example whereof they may be both allured and stirred.

The use of singing in the church.

32. As for the use of singing in churches (that I may touch this also by the way) it is certain that it is not only most ancient: but that it was also in use among the apostles, we may gather by these words of Paul. I will sing in spirit, I will sing also in mind. 1 Cor. xiv. 13. Again to the Colossians, teaching and admonishing you, mutually in hymns psalms and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord. For in the first place he teacheth that we should sing with voice and heart: in the other he commandeth spiritual songs, wherewith the godly do mutually edify themselves. Yet that it was not universal, Augustine testifieth [*Confess. lib.* ix. *cap.* 7.] who reporteth that in the time of Ambrose the church of Milan first began to sing, when while Justina the mother of Valentinian, cruelly raged against the true faith, the people more used watchings than they were wont: and that afterward the other western churches followed. For he had a little before said that this manner came from the eastern churches. He telleth also in his second book of retractions that it was in his time received in Africa. One Hilary (saith he) a ruler did in every place wheresoever he could, with malicious blaming rail at the manner which then began to be at Carthage, that the hymns at the altar should be pronounced out of the book of psalms, either before the oblation, or when that which had been offered was distributed to the people. Him I answered at the commandment of my brethren. And truly if songs be tempered to that gravity which becometh the presence of God and angels, it both procureth dignity and grace to the holy actions, and much availeth to stir up the minds to true affection and ferventness of praying. But we must diligently beware that our ears be not more heedfully bent to the note, than our minds to the spiritual sense of the words. With which peril Augustine in a certain place saith, that he was so moved, that he sometimes wished that the manner which Athanasius kept should be established, which commanded that the reader should sound his words with so small a bowing of his voice, that it should be liker to one that readeth than to one that singeth. But when he remembred how much profit he himself had received by singing, he inclined to the other side. [*Confess. lib.* x. *cap.* 33.] Therefore using this moderation, there is no doubt that it is a most holy and profitable ordinance. As on the other side what songs soever are framed only to sweetness and delight of the ears, they both become not the majesty of the church, and cannot but highly displease God.

Public prayer in what tongue and with what gesture to be made.

33. Whereby it also plainly appeareth that common prayers are to be spoken not in Greek among Latin men, nor in Latin among Frenchmen or Englishmen (as it hath heretofore been each where commonly done) but in the people's mother tongue which commonly may be understood of the whole assembly: forasmuch as it ought to be done to the edifying of the whole church, who receive no fruit at all of a sound not understood. But they which have no regard neither of charity nor of humanity, should at least have been somewhat moved with the authority of Paul, whose words are no way dubious; If thou bless (saith he) in spirit, how shall he that occupieth the place of the unlearned say, Amen, to thy giving of thanks, since he knoweth not what thou sayest? For thou indeed givest thanks, but the other is not edified, 1 Cor. xiv. 16. Who therefore can sufficiently wonder at the unbridled licentiousness of the Papists, whilst the apostle so openly crieth out against it, fear not to roar out in a strange tongue the most babbling prayers of which they themselves sometimes understand not one syllable, nor would have other folks to understand it? But Paul teacheth that we ought to do otherwise. How then? I will pray (saith he) with the spirit, I will pray also with the mind: I will sing with spirit; I will sing also with mind. Signifying by the name of spirit, the singular gift of tongues, which many being endowed with, abused it, when they severed it from the mind, that is, from understanding. But this we must altogether think, that it is by no means possible, neither in public nor in private prayer, but that the tongue without the heart, must highly displease God. Moreover we must think, that the mind ought to be kindled with ferventness of thought, that it may far surmount all that the tongue may express with utterance. Finally that the tongue is not necessary at all for private prayer, but so far as the inward feeling either is not sufficient to enkindle itself, or the vehemency of enkindling violently carrieth the

work

work of the tongue with it. For though very good prayers ſometimes be without voice; yet oftentimes it happeneth, that when the affection of the mind is fervent, both the tongue breaketh forth into voice, and the other members into geſturing without exceſſive ſhew. Hereupon came the muttering of Hannah, 1 Sam. i. 13. and ſuch a like thing all the ſaints always feel in themſelves, when they burſt out into broken and imperfect voices. As for the geſtures of the body which are wont to be uſed in prayer (as kneeling and uncovering of the head) they are exerciſes by which we endeavour to riſe up to a greater reverencing of God.

A preſcribed form of prayer delivered by Chriſt.

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fore as any delay ſhall withſtand us, let us remember to aſk of him, that correcting our fearfulneſs he will give us that ſpirit of fortitude to be our guide to pray boldly.

When we call God our father the holy fellowſhip which we have one with another is commended and we admoniſhed to pray for others not only for our ſelves.

38. Whereas we are not ſo taught that every one ſhould ſeverally call him his own father, but rather that we ſhould all in common together call him our father: thereby we are put in mind, how great affection of brotherly love ought to be among us, which are altogether by one ſame right of mercy and liberality, the children of ſuch a father. For we all have one common father, from whom cometh whatſoever good thing may befal us: Matth xxiii. 9. there ought to be nothing ſeparately among us, which we are not ready with great cheartulneſs of mind to communicate one to another, ſo much as need requireth. Now if we be ſo deſirous, as we ought to be, to reach our hand and help one to another, there is nothing wherein we may more profit our brethren, than to commend them to the care and providence of the moſt good father, who being well pleaſed and favouring, nothing at all can be wanted. And verily even this ſame we owe to our father. For as he that truly and heartily loveth any father of a houſhold, doth alſo embrace his whole houſhold, with love and good will: likewiſe what love and affection we bear to this heavenly Father, we muſt ſhew toward his people, his houſhold and his inheritance, which he hath ſo honoured, that he hath called it the fulneſs of his only begotten ſon. Epheſ. i. 24. Let a chriſtian man therefore frame his prayers by this rule, that they be common, and may comprehend all them that be brethren in Chriſt with him: and not only thoſe whom he preſently ſeeth and knoweth to be ſuch, but all men that live upon earth: of whom, what God hath determined, it is out of our knowlege: ſaving that it is no leſs godly than natural to wiſh the beſt to them, and hope the beſt of them. Howbeit we ought with a certain ſingular affection to bear a ſpecial inclination to them of the houſhold of faith, Gal. vi. 10. whom the apoſtle hath in every thing peculiarly commended unto us. In ſum, all our prayers ought to be ſo made, that they have reſpect to that community which our Lord hath eſtabliſhed in his kingdom and his houſe.

The conceiving of prayer in common is no hinderance to the private and particular commending of our own, or our brethrens neceſſities unto God.

39. Yet this withſtandeth not, but that we may ſpecially pray both for our ſelves and for certain others: ſo that yet our mind depart not from having an eye to this community, nor once ſwerve from it, but apply all things unto it. For though they be ſingularly ſpoken in form, yet becauſe they are directed to that mark, they ceaſe not to be common. All this may be eaſily underſtood by a like example. The commandment of God is general, to relieve the need of all poor: and yet they obey this commandment who to this end do help their poverty whom they know or ſee to be in need, although they paſs over many whom they ſee to be preſſed with no leſs neceſſity: either becauſe they cannot know all, or are not able to help all. After this manner they alſo do not againſt the will of God, which having regard unto, and thinking upon this common fellowſhip of the church, do make ſuch particular prayers, by which they do with a common mind in particular words, commend to God themſelves or others, whoſe neceſſity God willed to be more nearly known to them. Howbeit in the caſes of prayer and beſtowing of goods, all circumſtances are not parallel. For, the liberality of giving cannot be uſed but toward them whoſe need we have perceived: but with prayers we may help even them that are moſt ſtrange and moſt unknown to us, by how great a ſpace of ground ſoever they be diſtant from us. This is done by the general form of prayer, wherein all the children of God are contained, among whom they alſo are. Hereto we may apply that which Paul exhorteth the faithful of his time, that they lift up every where pure hands, without ſtrife: 1 Tim. ii. 8. becauſe when he warneth them that ſtrife ſhutteth the gate againſt prayers, he willeth them with one mind to lay their petitions in common together.

How God is ſaid to be in heaven and a triple uſe which this doctrine hath.

40. It is added, that he is in heaven. Whereupon it is not by and by to be gathered that he is bound faſt incloſed and compaſſed with the circle of heaven, as within certain bars. For Solomon alſo confeſſeth that the heavens of of heavens cannot contain him. 1 King. viii. 37. And he himſelf ſaith by the prophet that heaven is his ſeat, and the earth his footſtool. Iſa. lxvi. 1. Act. vii. 49. and xvii. 24. Whereby verily he ſignifieth

nifieth that he is not limited in any certain ſpace, but is ſpread abroad throughout all things. But becauſe our mind (ſuch is the groſſneſs of it,) could not otherwiſe conceive his unſpeakable glory, it is ſignified to us by the heaven, than which there can nothing come under our ſight more ample or fuller of majeſty. Since therefore whereſoever our ſenſes comprehend any thing, there they uſe to faſten it: God is ſet out of all place, that when we will ſeek him, we ſhould be raiſed up above all ſenſe both of body and ſoul: Again by this manner of ſpeaking he is lifted above all chance of corruption and change: finally it is ſignified that he comprehendeth and containeth the whole world and governeth it with his power. Wherefore this is all one as if he had been called of infinite greatneſs or height, of incomprehenſible ſubſtance, of unmeaſurable power, of everlaſting immortality. But while we have this, we muſt lift up our mind higher when God is ſpoken of, that we dream not any earthly or fleſhly thing of him, that we meaſure him not by our ſmall proportions, nor draw his will to the rule of affections. And therewithal is to be raiſed up our affiance in him, by whoſe providence and power we underſtand heaven and earth to be governed. Let this be the ſum, that under the name of Father is ſet before us that God which hath in his own image appeared to us, that he may be called upon with aſſured faith: and that the familiar name of father is not only applied to eſtabliſh affiance, but alſo availeth to hold faſt our minds that they be not drawn to doubtful or feigned Gods, but ſhould from the only begotten ſon climb up to the only Father of angels and of the church: then that becauſe his ſeat is placed in heaven, we are by the government of the world put in mind that not without cauſe we come to him who with preſent care cometh of his own will to meet us. Whoſo come to God (ſaith the apoſtle) they muſt firſt believe that God is, then that he is a rewarder to all them that ſeek him. Heb xi. 6. Both theſe things Chriſt affirmeth to be proper to his father, that our faith may be ſtayed in him: then, that we may be certainly perſuaded that he is not careleſs of our ſafety: becauſe he vouchſafeth even to us to extend his providence. With which introductions Paul prepareth us to pray rightly. For before that he biddeth our petitions to be opened before God, he ſaith thus. Be ye careful for nothing, the Lord is at hand. Phil. iv. 6. Whereby appeareth that they doubtfully and with perplexity toſs their prayers in their mind which have not this well ſettled in them, that the eye of God is upon the righteous.

41. The firſt petition is, *That the name of God be hallowed*, the need whereof is joined with our great ſhame. For what is more ſhameful than that the glory of God ſhould be partly by our unthankfulneſs, partly by our maliciouſneſs darkned: and (ſo much as in it lieth) by our boldneſs and furious ſtubborneſs, utterly blotted out? Though all the wicked would burſt themſelves with their wilfulneſs full of ſacrilege, yet the holineſs of the name of God glorioufly ſhineth. And not without cauſe the prophet crieth out, as thy name O God, ſo is thy praiſe unto all the ends of the earth, Pſal. xxxiii. 18. Pſal. xlviii. 11. For whereſoever the name of God is known, it cannot be but that his ſtrength, power, goodneſs, wiſdom, righteouſneſs, mercy, and truth muſt ſhew forth themſelves, which may draw us into admiration of him, and ſtir us up to publiſh his praiſe. Since therefore the holineſs of God is ſo ſhamefully taken from him in earth, if we be not able to reſcue it, we are at leaſt commanded to take care of it in our prayers. The ſum is, that we wiſh the honour to be given to God which he is worthy to have, that men never ſpeak or think of him without the higheſt reverence: whereunto is contrary the unholy abuſing, which hath always been too common in the world, as at this day alſo it rangeth abroad. And hereupon cometh the neceſſity of this petition, which if there lived in us any godlineſs, though it were but a little, ought to have been ſuperfluous. But if the name of God have his holineſs ſafe, when being ſevered from all other, it breatheth out nothing but glory, here we are commanded not only to pray, that God will deliver that holy name from all contempt and diſhonour, but alſo that he will ſubdue all mankind to the reverence of it. Now whereas God diſcloſeth himſelf to us, partly by doctrine, and partly by works, he is no otherwiſe ſanctified of us, than if we give to him in both behalfs that which is his, and ſo embrace whatſoever ſhall come from him: and that his ſeverity have no leſs praiſe among us than his mercifulneſs, for as much as he hath in the manifold diverſity of his works imprinted marks of his glory which may worthily draw out of all tongues a confeſſion of his praiſe. So ſhall it come to paſs that the ſcripture ſhall have full authority with us, and that no good ſucceſs ſhall

The hallowing of the name of God which is the firſt petition both in that which he teacheth and that which he worketh, earneſtly to be longed for and craved in prayer.

hinder the bleſſing which God deſerveth in the whole courſe of the governing of the world. Again, the petition alſo tendeth to this purpoſe, that all ungodlineſs which defileth this holy name, may be deſtroyed and taken away: that whatſoever things do darken and diminiſh this ſanctifying, as well ſlanders as mockings, may be driven away: and when God ſubdueth all ſacrileges, his glory may thereby more and more ſhine abroad.

The parts and proceſs of the kingdom of God amongſt men: which is the ſecond petition.

42. The ſecond petition is, that *Thy kingdom come*: which although it contain no new thing, is yet not without cauſe ſevered from the firſt: becauſe if we conſider our own drowſineſs in a thing greateſt of all others, it is profitable that the thing which ought of it ſelf to have been moſt well known, be with many words oft beaten into us. Therefore after that we have been commanded to pray to God to bring into ſubjection, and at length utterly to deſtroy whatſoever ſpotteth his holy name: now is added a like and in a manner the ſame requeſt, that his kingdom come. But although we have already ſet forth the definition of his kingdom, yet I now briefly rehearſe, that God reigneth when men as well with forſaking of themſelves, as with deſpiſing of the world and of the earthly life, do ſo yield themſelves to his righteouſneſs, that they aſpire to the heavenly life. Therefore there are two parts of this kingdom: the one that God correct with the power of his ſpirit all corrupt deſires of the fleſh, which do by multitudes make war againſt him: the other, that he frame all our ſenſes to the obedience of his government. Therefore none do keep right order in this prayer, but they which begin at themſelves, that is to ſay, that they be cleanſed from all corruptions which trouble the quiet ſtate of the kingdom of God, and infect the pureneſs thereof. Now becauſe the word of God is like a kingly ſcepter, we are here commanded to pray he will ſubdue the minds and hearts of all men to willing obedience of it. Which is done, when with the ſecret inſtinct of his ſpirit he uttereth the effectual force of his word, that it may be advanced in ſuch degree as it is worthy. Afterward we muſt come down to the wicked who do obſtinately and with deſperate rage reſiſt his authority. God therefore ſetteth up his kingdom by humbling the whole world; but that in diverſe manners: becauſe he tameth the wantonneſs of ſome, and of other ſome he breaketh the untamed pride. This is daily to be wiſhed that it be done, that it may pleaſe God to gather to himſelf churches out of all the coaſts of the world: to enlarge and increaſe them in number, to enrich them with his gifts, to eſtabliſh right order in them: on the other ſide to overthrow all the enemies of pure doctrine and religion, to ſcatter abroad their counſels, to caſt down their enterpriſes. Whereby it appeareth that the endeavour of daily proceeding is not in vain commanded us: becauſe the matters of men, are never in ſo good caſe, that filthineſs being ſhaken away and cleanſed, full pureneſs flouriſheth and is in lively force. But the fulneſs of it is deferred unto the laſt coming of Chriſt, when Paul teacheth that God ſhall be all in all. 1 Cor. xv. 28. And ſo this prayer ought to withdraw us from all the corruptions of the world, which do ſo ſever us from God that his kingdom ſhould not flouriſh in us, and alſo to kindle our endeavour to mortify the fleſh, finally to inſtruct us to the bearing of the croſs: foraſmuch as God will in this wiſe have his kingdom ſpread abroad. Neither ought we to take it diſcontentedly, that the outward man be deſtroyed, ſo that the inward man be renewed. For this is the nature of the kingdom of God, when we ſubmit our ſelves to the righteouſneſs thereof, to make us partakers of his glory. This is done when brightly ſetting forth his light and truth with always new increaſes, whereby the darkneſs and lies of Satan and his kingdom may vaniſh away, be deſtroyed and periſh, he defendeth them that are his, with the help of his ſpirit, directeth them to uprightneſs, and ſtrengthneth them to continuance: but overthroweth the wicked conſpiracies of his enemies, ſhaketh abroad their treaſons and deceits, preventeth their malice, and beateth down their ſtubborneſs, till at length he kill Antichriſt with the ſpirit of his mouth, and deſtroy all ungodlineſs with the brightneſs of his coming.

Our requeſting in the third petition that the will of God may be obeyed is a renouncing of our own carnal wills and deſires.

43. The third petition is, *Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven.* Which although it dependeth upon his kingdom, and cannot be ſevered from it, is not in vain added by it ſelf, for our groſſneſs, which doth not eaſily or readily conceive what it is for God to reign in the world. It ſhall therefore be no abſurdity if this be taken by way of plainer expoſition: that God ſhall then be king in the world when all things ſhall ſubmit themſelves to his will. Now here is not meant of his ſecret will whereby he governeth all things and directeth them to their end.

end. For though Satan and men are violently carried againſt him, yet he can by his incomprehenſible counſel not only turn aſide their violent motions, but alſo drive them into order that he may do by them that which he hath purpoſed. But here is mention of another will of God, namely that, whereunto anſwereth willing obedience: and therefore the heaven is by name compared with the earth: becauſe the angels, as it is ſaid in the pſalm, do willingly obey God and are diligently bent to do his commandments. Pſal. ciii. 20. We are therefore commanded to wiſh, that as in heaven nothing is done but by the beck of God, and the angels are originally, framed to all uprightneſs: ſo the earth, all ſtubborneſs and perverſeneſs being ſubdued, may be ſubject to ſuch government. And when we require this, we renounce the deſires of our own fleſh: becauſe whoſoever doth not reſign and yield his affections to God, he doth as much as in him lieth ſet himſelf againſt him, foraſmuch as nothing cometh out of us but depravity. And we are again by this prayer diſpoſed to the forſaking of our ſelves, that God may govern us after his will: and not only that, but that he may alſo create in us new minds, and new hearts, our old being brought to nought: that we may feel in our ſelves no other motion of deſire than a meer conſent with his will: ſummarily, that we may will nothing of our ſelves, but that his ſpirit may govern our hearts, by whom, inwardly teaching us, we may learn to love thoſe things that pleaſe him, and to hate thoſe things that diſpleaſe him. Whereupon this alſo followeth, that whatſoever affections fight againſt his will, he make them vain and void. Lo here be the firſt three chief points of this prayer, in aſking whereof we ought to have the glory of God only before our eyes, leaving the reſpect of our ſelves, and having no regard to any of our own profit, which although it come hereof largely unto us, yet we ought not here to ſeek it. But albeit all theſe things, though we never think of them, nor wiſh them, nor aſk them, muſt nevertheleſs come to paſs in their due time, yet we muſt wiſh them and require them. And to do this is no ſmall profit for our labour, that we may ſo teſtify and profeſs our ſelves to be the ſervants and children of God, as much as in us lieth endeavouring and being truly and throughly given to ſet forth his honour, which is due to him being both a Lord and a Father. Whoſo therefore do not with affection and zeal of advancing the glory of God, pray that the name of God be hallowed, that his kingdom come, that his will be done: they are not to be accounted among the children and ſervants of God; and as all theſe things ſhall be done againſt their wills; ſo they ſhall turn to their confuſion and deſtruction.

The ſenſe of the fourth petition wherein our corporal and earthly neceſſities are commended unto God.

44. Now followeth the ſecond part of the prayer, in which we come down to our own intereſts: not that bidding farewel to the glory of God (which as Paul witneſſeth, is to be regarded even in meat and drink, 1 Cor. x. 31.) we ſhould ſeek only what is profitable for ourſelves: but we have already given warning that there is this difference, that God peculiarly claiming three petitions to himſelf, doth draw us to himſelf wholly, that he may in this wiſe prove our godlineſs. Then he granteth us alſo to have an eye to our own intereſts, but with this condition, that we aſk nothing for ourſelves, but to this end that whatſoever benefits he beſtoweth upon us, they may ſet forth his glory: foraſmuch as nothing is more rightful than that we live and die to him. But in this petition we ask of God generally all things which the uſe of the body needeth under the elements of this world, not only wherewith we may be fed and cloathed, but alſo whatſoever he foreſeeth to be profitable for us, that we may eat our bread in peace. By which prayer briefly we yield ourſelves into his care, and commit us to his providence, that he may feed, cheriſh, and preſerve us. For the moſt good Father diſdaineth not to receive alſo our body into his faithful ſafe-guard and keeping, to exerciſe our faith in theſe ſmall things, when we look for all things at his hands even to a crumb of bread and a drop of water. For whereas it is come to paſs, I wot not how, by our iniquity, that we are moved and vexed with greater care of the fleſh than of the ſoul: many which dare truſt to God for their ſoul, are yet anxiouſly careful for their body, are yet in doubt what they ſhall eat, and wherewith they ſhall be clothed: and if they have not plenty of wine, wheat and oil beforehand, they tremble for fear. So much more do we eſteem the ſhadow of this life which laſteth but a moment, than that everlaſting immortality. But whoſo truſting to God have once caſt away that carefulneſs for the proviſion of the fleſh, do alſo by and by look for ſalvation and everlaſting life at his hand, which are greater things. It is therefore no ſmall exerciſe of faith, to hope for thoſe things of God, which otherwiſe do ſo much, hold us in care: and we have not finally profited when we have put off this unbelievingneſs which ſticketh faſt within the bones almoſt of all men.

As for that which ſome do here teach of tranſubſtantial bread, it ſeemeth but ſmally to agree with the the meaning of Chriſt: yea, but if we did not even in this frail life give to God the office of a nouriſhing father, our prayer ſhould be imperfect. The reaſon which they bring is too much prophane: that it is not meet that the children of God, who ought to be ſpiritual, ſhould not only caſt their mind to earthly cares, but alſo wrap God therein with them. As though his bleſſing and fatherly favour doth not alſo appear in the ſuſtenance of our life, or as though it were written in vain that godlineſs hath promiſes not only of the life to come, but alſo of this preſent life, 1 Tim iv. 8. But although the forgiveneſs of ſins is of much greater value than the ſuſtenance of the body, yet Chriſt hath ſet the inferior thing in the firſt place, to the intent to lift us up by degrees to the other two petitions which do properly belong to the heavenly life, wherein he had regard to our groſſneſs. We are commanded to aſk our bread, that we ſhould be content with the quantity which our heavenly father vouchſafeth to give to us, and ſhould not ſeek for gain by unlawful crafty means. In the mean time we muſt learn that it is made ours by title of gift, becauſe neither our diligence, nor our labour, nor our hands (as it is ſaid in Moſes Lev. xxvi. 20.) do by themſelves get us any thing, unleſs the bleſſing of God be preſent: yea, the plenty of the bread ſhould nothing at all profit us, unleſs it were by God turned into nouriſhment. And therefore this liberality of God is no leſs neceſſary for the rich than for the poor: becauſe having their cellars and their barns full, they ſhould yet faint for thirſt and hunger, unleſs they did by his grace enjoy their bread. The word *this day*, or every day, as it is in the other Evangeliſt, and alſo the adjective *daily*, do bridle the too much greedineſs of periſhing things, wherewith we are wont to luſt out of meaſure, and whereunto are joined other evils: ſince if we have plentiful abundance, we do laviſh it out upon pleaſure, delights, boaſting, and other kinds of riotous exceſs. Therefore we are commanded to aſk only ſo much as is enough for our neceſſity, and as it were from day to day, with this affiance, that when our heavenly Father hath fed us this day, he will alſo not fail us to morrow. Therefore how great plenty of things ſoever do flow unto us; yea when our barns are ſtuffed and our cellars full; yet we ought always to aſk our daily bread: becauſe we muſt certainly believe that all ſubſtance is nothing, but inſomuch as the Lord doth by pouring out of his bleſſing with continual increaſe make it fruitful: and that the very ſame ſubſtance that is in our hand, is not our own, but inſomuch as he doth every hour give us a portion and grant us the uſe of it. Thus whereas the pride of men doth hardly ſuffer itſelf to be perſuaded; the Lord teſtifieth that he hath ſhewed a ſingular example thereof for all ages, when he fed his people with Manna in the wilderneſs, to teach us that man liveth not by bread only, but rather in the word that cometh out of his mouth, Deut. viii. 3. Mat. iii. 4. Whereby is declared, that it is his power alone by which our life and ſtrength are ſuſtained, although he doth miniſter it unto us by means of bodily inſtruments. As he is wont alſo to teach us by the contrary example, when he ſo oft as he will, breaketh the ſtrength and (as he calleth it) the ſtaff of bread, that men eating may pine with hunger, and drinking may be dried up with thirſt. Lev. xxvi. 26. But whoſo not being contented with daily bread, but with inſatiable greedineſs are gaping for endleſs ſtore, or whoſo being full with their abundance, and careleſs by reaſon of the heap of their riches, do nevertheleſs ſue to God with this prayer, they do nothing elſe but mock him. For, the firſt ſort ſuch men aſk that which they would not obtain, yea that which they moſt of all abhor, that is, to have only daily bread, and ſo much as in them lieth they diſſembling hide from God the affection of their covetouſneſs: whereas true prayer ought to pour out before him the very whole mind it ſelf, and whatſoever inwardly lieth hidden. But the other ſort do aſk that which they look not for at his hand, namely that which they think they have with themſelves. In this that it is called *ours* the bountifulneſs of God (as we have ſaid) ſo much more appeareth, which maketh that ours, that is by no right due to us. Yet that expoſition is not to be rejected which I have alſo touched, that by our bread is meant that which is earned with rightful and harmleſs labour, and not gotten with deceit and extortion: becauſe that is always other mens which we get to ourſelves with any evil doing. Whereas we pray that it be given us, thereby is ſignified that it is the only and free gift of God, from whence ſoever it come to us, yea when it ſhall moſt of all ſeem to be gotten by our own policy and labour, and earned with our own hands; foraſmuch as it cometh to paſs by his bleſſing only that our labours proſper well.

The fifth petition wherein our ſins are confeſſed to be debts, our imperfections ac-

45. Now followeth; *Forgive us our debts:* in which petition and the next following, Chriſt hath briefly contained whatſoever maketh for the heavenly life; as in theſe two parts ſtandeth the ſpiritual

knowleged during the term of this preſent life, a profeſſion made of our own willingneſs to expel from our hearts all revengeful cogitations towards them that have privately injured us.

ſpiritual covenant which God hath made for the ſalvation of his church, I will write my laws in their hearts, and I will be merciful to their iniquity. Jeremiah. xxxi.33. & xxxiii. 8. Here Chriſt begins the forgiveneſs of ſins: after this, he will by and by adjoin the ſecond grace, that God defend us with the power of his ſpirit, and ſuſtain us with his help, that we may ſtand invincible againſt all temptations. And ſins he calleth debts, becauſe we are debt-bound to pay the penalty of them, and were by no means able to ſatisfy it, unleſs we were accquitted by this forgiveneſs. Which pardon is of his free mercy, when he himſelf generouſly wipeth out theſe debts, taking no payment of us, but with his own mercy ſatisfying himſelf in Chriſt, who hath once given himſelf for recompence. Therefore whoſo truſt that God ſhall be ſatisfied by their own or other mens merits, and that with ſuch ſatisfactions the forgiveneſs of ſins is recompenced and redeemed, they have no ſhare in the communication of this free forgiveneſs: and when they call upon God in this manner, they do nothing but ſubſcribe to their own accuſation, yea and ſeal their own condemnation with their own witneſs. For they confeſs themſelves debtors, unleſs they be accquitted by the benefit of forgiveneſs, which yet they do not receive, but rather refuſe, when they thruſt unto God their own merits and ſatisfactions. For, ſo they do not beſeech his mercy, but do appeal to his judgment. As for them that dream of a perfection in themſelves, which maketh it needleſs to crave pardon, let them have ſuch diſciples whom the itching of their ears driveth to errors: ſo that it be certain that ſo many diſciples as they get, are taken away from Chriſt: foraſmuch as he inſtructing all to confeſs their guiltineſs, receiveth none but ſinners: not for that he cheriſheth ſins with flatterings, but becauſe he knew that the faithful are never throughly diveſted of the vices of their fleſh, but that they always remain ſubject to the judgment of God. It is indeed to be wiſhed, yea and to be earneſtly endeavoured, that we having performed all the parts of our duty may truly rejoice before God that we are clean from all ſpot: but foraſmuch as it pleaſeth God by little and little to reſtore his image in us, that there always remaineth ſome infection in our fleſh, the remedy ought not to have been deſpiſed. If Chriſt by the authority given to him of his father, commandeth us throughout the whole courſe of our life, to flee to him craving pardon of our guiltineſs: who ſhall be able to ſuffer theſe new maſters, which go about with this chimerical phantom of perfect innocency to dazle the eyes of the ſimple, to make them to truſt that they may be made free from all fault? Which, as John witneſſeth, is nothing elſe but to make God a liar. 1 John. i. 10. And withal one work theſe lewd men by cancelling one article do tear in ſunder and by that means do weaken from the very foundation the whole covenant of God, wherein we have ſhewed that our ſalvation is contained: ſo as they are not only robbers of God becauſe they ſever thoſe things ſo conjoined, but alſo wicked and cruel becauſe they overwhelm poor ſouls with deſpair: and traitors to themſelves and others, that are like them, becauſe they bring themſelves into a ſlothfulneſs directly contrary to the mercy of God. But whereas ſome object, that in wiſhing the coming of the kingdom of God, we do alſo aſk the putting away of ſin: that is too childiſh; becauſe in the firſt table of this prayer is ſet forth unto us moſt high perfection, but in this part is ſet forth our weakneſs. So theſe two things do fitly agree together, that in a ſpring toward the mark we deſpiſe not the remedies which our neceſſities requireth. Finally, we pray that we may be forgiven, as we our ſelves do forgive our debtors, that is, as we do forgive and pardon all of whomſoever we have been in any thing offended, either unjuſtly handled in deed, or reproachfully uſed in word. Not that it lieth in us to pardon the guiltineſs of the fault and offence which pertaineth to God alone: but this is our forgiving, of our own willingneſs to baniſh out of our mind wrath, hatred, and deſire of revenge, and with voluntary forgetfulneſs to tread under foot the remembrance of injuries. Iſa. xliii. 29. Wherefore we may not aſk forgiveneſs of ſins at the hand of God, if we do not alſo forgive their offences toward us which either do or have done us wrong. But if we keep any hatred in our hearts, and purpoſe any revenge, and deviſe by what occaſion we may hurt, yea, and if we do not endeavour to come into favour again with our enemies, and to deſerve well of them with all kind of friendly doings, and to win them unto us: we do by this prayer beſeech God that he do not forgive us. For we require that he grant to us the ſame forgiveneſs which we grant to others. But this is to pray that he grant it not to us, unleſs we grant it to them. Whoſo therefore be ſuch, what do they obtain by their prayer but a more grievous judgment? Laſt of all it is to be noted, that this condition that he forgive us, as we forgive our debtors,

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not therefore added for that we deſerve his forgiveneſs by the forgiveneſs which we grant to others, as if that cauſe of forgiveneſs to us were there expreſſed: but by this word partly the Lord's will was to confirm the weakneſs of our faith, for he added this as a ſign whereby we may be aſſured that he hath as ſurely granted to us forgiveneſs of our ſins, as we ſurely know in our conſcience that we have granted the ſame to others, if our mind be void and cleanſed of all hatred, envy, and revenge, and partly by this as it were by a mark, he wipeth them out of the number of his children that they may not be bold to call upon him as their father, who being reſolutely haſty to revenge, and hardly entreated to pardon, do tenaciouſly retain enmity, and cheriſh in themſelves the ſame diſpleaſure toward others which they pray to be averted from themſelves. Which is alſo in Luke expreſly ſpoken in the words of Chriſt.

The ſixth petition of aid and ſuccour againſt the power of thoſe means which provoking unto evil we are not able of our ſelves to withſtand.

46. The ſixth petition (as we have ſaid) anſwereth to the promiſe of engraving the law of God in our hearts. But becauſe we do not without continual warfare and hard and great ſtriving obey God, we do here pray to be furniſhed with ſuch weapons and defended with ſuch ſuccour, that we may be able to get the victory: whereby we are warned that we ſtand in need not only of the grace of the ſpirit, which may ſoften, bow, and direct our hearts to the obedience of God, but alſo of his help whereby he may make us invincible both againſt all the treacherous entanglements and violent conflicts of Satan. But now oftentimes there are many and diverſe ſorts. For, both the perverſe thoughts of mind provoking us to treſpaſſing againſt the law, which either our own luſt doth miniſter unto us, or the devil ſtirreth up, are temptations: and alſo thoſe things which of their own nature are not evil, yet by the craft of the devil are made temptations, when they are ſo ſet before our eyes, that by the occaſion of them we be drawn away or do ſwerve from God. Jam. i. 2. and 14. Mat. iv. 1. and 3. And theſe temptations are either on the right hand or on the left. On the right hand, as riches, power, honours, which commonly do with their gliſtering and ſhew of good ſo dazle the ſight of men, and catch them with the baited hook of their flatterings, that being enſnared with ſuch deceits, or drunk with ſuch ſweetneſs, they may forget their God. On the left hand, as poverty, reproaches, deſpiſings, troubles, and ſuch others: that they being grieved with the bitterneſs and hardneſs thereof may be utterly diſcouraged, caſt away faith and hope, and finally be altogether eſtranged from God. To theſe temptations of both ſorts, which fight with us either being kindled in us by our own luſt, or being ſet againſt us by the craft of Satan, we pray to our heavenly Father that he ſuffer us not to yield: but rather that he uphold us and raiſe us up with his hand, that being ſtrong by his ſtrength, we may ſtand faſt againſt all the aſſaults of the malicious enemy, whatſoever thoughts he put into our mind: then, that whatſoever is ſet before us on either ſide, we may turn it to good, that we neither be puffed up with proſperity, nor thrown down with adverſity. Neither yet do we here require that we may feel no temptations at all, with which we have great need to be ſtirred up, pricked and pinched, leaſt by too much reſt we grow dull. For not in vain did David wiſh to be tempted Pſal. xxvi. 2.: and not without cauſe the Lord daily tempteth his elect, chaſtiſing them by ſhame, poverty, trouble, and other kinds of croſſes. Gen. xxii. 1. Deut. viii. 2. and xiii. 3 But God tempteth after one manner, and Satan after another: Satan, to deſtroy, damn, confound, and throw down headlong: but God, that by proving them that are his, he may have a trial of their ſincerity, and by exerciſing them may confirm their ſtrength, to mortify, purge by fire, and ſear their fleſh, which unleſs it were this way reſtrained, would wax wanton, and would wildly outrage above meaſure. Moreover Satan aſſaulteth men unarmed and unready, that he may oppreſs them unawares. God even with tempting worketh the effect, that they which be his may patiently bear whatſoever he ſendeth upon them. By the name of the evil, whether we underſtand the devil or ſin, it maketh little matter. Satan indeed himſelf is the enemy that lieth in wait for our life: but with ſin he is armed to deſtroy us. 1 Cor. x. 13. 2 Pet. ii. 9. 1 Pet. v. 8. This therefore is our requeſt, that we may not be overcome or overwhelmed with any temptations, but may by the power of the Lord ſtand ſtrong againſt all contrary powers wherewith we are aſſaulted: which is, not to yield us vanquiſhed to temptations, that being received into his keeping and charge, and being ſafe by his protection: we may endure unovercome by ſin, death, the gates of hell, and the whole kingdom of the devil: which is to be delivered from evil. Where it is alſo to be diligently marked, that it is above our ſtrength to match with the devil ſo great a warrior,

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and to bear his force and violence. Otherwiſe we ſhould but vainly or as it were in mockage aſk that which we had already in our ſelves. Surely, they which prepare them to ſuch a battle with truſt in themſelves, do not ſufficiently underſtand with how fierce and well armed an enemy they have to do. Now we pray to be delivered from his power, as out of the mouth of a mad and raging lion, whereas we ſhould be torn in pieces with his teeth and paws, and ſwallowed with his throat, unleſs the Lord do deliver us out of the midſt of death: yet therewithal knowing this, that if the Lord ſhall ſtand by us, and fight for us when we are overthrown, we ſhall in his ſtrength ſhew ſtrength. Let others truſt as they liſt to their own abilities and ſtrength of free-will, which they think they have of themſelves: but let it ſuffice us that we ſtand and are ſtrong only by the ſtrength of God. But this prayer containeth more than at the firſt ſight appears in it. For if the ſpirit of God be our ſtrength to fight out our combat with Satan, we ſhall not be able to get the victory until we being filled with that Spirit ſhall have put of all the weakneſs of our fleſh. When therefore we pray to be delivered from Satan and the devil, we pray to be from time to time enriched with new increaſes of the grace of God, till being fully furniſhed with them, we may triumph over all evil. It ſeemeth hard and harſh to ſome, that we crave of God that he lead us not into temptation, foraſmuch as it is contrary to his nature to tempt, as James witneſſeth. Jam. i. 13. But this queſtion is already partly cleared, where we ſaid, that our own luſt is properly the cauſe of all the temptations wherewith we are overcome, and therefore worthily beareth the blame thereof. Neither doth James mean any thing elſe, but that the faults are without cauſe and wrongfully laid upon God, which we are driven to impute to our ſelves, becauſe we know our ſelves in our conſcience guilty of them. But this withſtandeth not but that God may when it pleaſeth him, make us bound to ſatan, caſt us away into a reprobate ſenſe, and to filthy luſts, and ſo lead us into temptation by his judgment which is righteous indeed but yet oftentimes ſecret: for as much as the cauſe of it is often hid from men, which is yet certainly known with him. Whereupon is gathered that this is no unfit manner of ſpeaking, if we be perſuaded that he doth not without cauſe ſo oft threaten, that when the reprobate ſhall be ſtricken with blindneſs and hardneſs of heart, theſe ſhall be ſure tokens of his vengeance.

That which is added in the Lord's prayer, concerning his kingdom, power and glory to whom we pray, giveth us bath boldneſs to aſk and great truſt to obtain that we pray for.

47. Theſe three petitions, wherewith we do peculiarly commend us and our affairs to God, do evidently ſhew this which we have before ſaid, that the prayers of Chriſtians ought to be common edifying of the church, and to the increaſe of the communion of the faithful. For there doth not every man pray to have any thing privately given, but all in common together do pray for our bread, for forgiveneſs of ſins, that we may not be led into temptation, that we may be delivered from evil. There is furthermore adjoined a cauſe why we have both ſo great boldneſs to aſk, and ſo great truſt to obtain: which although it be not in the Latin copies, yet it agreeth more fitly in this place than that it ſhould ſeem worthy to be omitted, namely that his is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory for ever, This is the perfect and quiet reſt of our ſoul. For if our prayers were to be commended to God by their own worthineſs, who ſhould be ſo bold, as once to open his mouth before him? Now howſoever we be moſt miſerable, howſoever moſt unworthy of all men, howſoever void of all commendation: yet we ſhall never want cauſe to pray, and never be deſtitute of confidence: foraſmuch as our father cannot have his kingdom, power and glory taken away from him. At the end is added, *Amen*, whereby is expreſſed our ferventneſs of deſire to obtain thoſe things that we have aſked of God, and our hope is confirmed that all ſuch things are already obtained and ſhall ſurely be given us becauſe they are promiſed by God, who cannot deceive. And this agreeth with that manner of prayer which we have here before rehearſed, do it Lord for thy name's ſake, not for our ſakes or our righteouſneſs: whereby the ſaints do not only expreſs the end of their prayers, but alſo confeſs that they are unworthy to obtain unleſs God fetch the cauſe from himſelf, and that their truſt to ſpeed cometh only of the nature of God.

The perfection of the Lord's prayer, and the danger of preſuming to crave things without the compaſs thereof.

48. Thus have we whatſoever we ought, yea, or in any wiſe may aſk of God, ſet forth in this form and as it were a rule of praying taught by the beſt ſchoolmaſter Chriſt, whom the Lord hath ſet over us to be our teacher, and whom alone he commands us to hear. Matth. xvii. 5. For he both always hath been his eternal wiſdom, and being made man is given to men as the angel of great counſel. Iſa. xi. 2. And this prayer is in all points,

ſo fully perfect, that whatſoever foreign or ſtrange thing is added which cannot be referred to it, it is ungodly and unworthy to be allowed of God. For in this ſum he hath ſet forth, what is meet for him, what is pleaſing to him, what is neceſſary for us: finally what he will grant. Wherefore whoſo dare go further, and to aſk any thing of God beſide theſe, firſt they will add of their own to the wiſdom of God (which cannot be done without made blaſphemy) then they hold not themſelves under the will of God, but deſpiſing it do with greedineſs wander further: See [*Auguſt. Of prayer to Proba.*] finally they ſhall never obtain any thing, foraſmuch as they pray without faith. And there is no doubt that all ſuch prayers are made without faith, becauſe here wanteth the word of God, upon which unleſs faith be grounded, it can in no wiſe ſtand. But they which forſaking the maſter's rule, do follow their own deſires, are not only without the word of God, but alſo ſo much as they be able with their whole endeavour are againſt it. Therefore Tertullian no leſs fitly than truly hath called this a lawful prayer, ſecretly ſignifying that all other are lawleſs and unlawful. [*Defuga in perſecut.*]

Our requeſts when we pray are not tied to the words and ſyllables, but to thoſe things which are contained within the compaſs of the Lord's prayer.

49. We would not have theſe things ſo taken as though we were ſo bound with this form of prayer, that we may not change a word or a ſyllable. For there are each where read many prayers in the ſcripture, far differing from this in words, yet written by the ſame ſpirit, and which are at this day profitable to be uſed of us. Many are continually put into the mouths of the faithful by the ſame ſpirit, which in likeneſs of words do not ſo much agree. This only is our meaning in ſo teaching, that no man ſhould ſeek, look for, or aſk any other thing at all than that which is ſummarily comprehended in this prayer, and which though it moſt differ in words, yet differeth not in ſenſe. Like as it is certain that all the prayers which are found in the ſcriptures, and which do come out of godly hearts, are applied to this, ſo verily none can any where be found, which may match, much leſs ſurpaſs, the perfectneſs of this prayer. Here is nothing left out, that might be thought upon to the praiſes of God, nothing that ought to come into the mind of man for his own profit: and the ſame ſo fully that all hope is worthily taken away from all men to attempt to make any better. In ſum, let us remember that this is the doctrine of the wiſdom of God, which hath taught what he willed, and willed what was needful.

The neceſſity of prayer and of ſet times for that purpoſe.

50. But although we have above ſaid, that we ought always to breath upward with minds lifted up to God, and pray without ceaſing: yet foraſmuch as ſuch is our weakneſs, that it needeth to be upholden with many helps: ſuch is our dulneſs, that it needeth to be pricked forward with many ſpurs: it is good that every one of us appoint to himſelf privately certain hours which may not paſs away without prayer, and which may have the whole affections of our mind thoroughly buſied to that purpoſe: as, when we riſe in the morning, before that we go to our day's work, when we ſit down to meat, when we have been fed by the bleſſing of God, when we take us to reſt. Only let this not be a ſuperſtitious obſerving of hours, by which, as praying a taſk to God, we may think our ſelves diſcharged for the other hours: but a training of our weakneſs, whereby it may ſo be exerciſed and from time to time ſtirred up. Specially we ought carefully to look that ſo oft as either we our ſelves are in diſtreſs, or we ſee other to be in diſtreſs with any hardneſs of adverſity, we run ſtraightway to him, not with feet but with hearts: then, that we ſuffer not any proſperity of our own or other mens to paſs, but that we teſtify that we acknowlege it to be his with praiſe and thankſgiving. Finally, this is diligently to be obſerved in all prayer, that we go not about to bind God to certain circumſtances, nor to appoint to him what he ſhall do, at what time, in what place, and in what manner: as by this prayer we are taught to make to him no law, nor to appoint to him any condition, but to leave to his will that thoſe things which he will do, he may do in what manner, at what time, and in what place it pleaſeth him. Wherefore ere we make any prayer for our ſelves, we firſt pray that his will be done: where we do already ſubmit our will to his; with which when it is reſtrained as with a bridle put upon it, it may not preſume to bring God into rule, but make him the judge and governor of all her deſires.

Conſtancy and patience in prayers needful.

51. If we do with minds framed to this obedience ſuffer our ſelves to be ruled with the laws of God's providence, we ſhall eaſily learn to continue in prayer, and with long deſires patiently to wait for the Lord: being aſſured that although he appear not, yet

yet he is always preſent with us, and will when he ſeeth his time declare how ready he was to hear the prayer, which in the eyes of men ſeemed to be deſpiſed. And this ſhall be a moſt preſent comfort, that we faint not and fall down by deſpair, if at any time God do not anſwer at our firſt requeſts. Like as they are wont to do, which while they are carried with their ſudden heat, do ſo call upon God, that if he come not to them at their firſt brunts and bring them preſent help, they by and by imagine him to be angry and hatefully bent againſt them, and caſting away all hope of obtaining do ceaſe to call upon him. But rather deferring our hope with a well tempered evenneſs of mind, let us go forward in that perſeverance which is ſo much commended to us in the ſcriptures. For in the Pſalms we may oftentimes ſee how David and other faithful men, when they ſeem in a manner wearied with praying, did beat the air, becauſe they threw away their words to God that heard them not, and yet they ceaſe not from praying: becauſe the word of God hath not its full authority maintained, unleſs the credit thereof be ſet above all ſucceſſes of things. Moreover let us not tempt God and provoke him againſt us being wearied with our importunity, which many uſe to do, who do nothing but indent with God upon a certain condition, and bind him to the laws of their covenanting, as though he were ſervant to their deſires: which if he do not preſently obey, they diſdain, they fret, they carp againſt him, they murmur, they turmoil. Therefore to ſuch oftentimes in his fury, he being angry, granteth that, which to others in his mercy, he being favourable denieth. An example hereof are the children of Iſrael, for whom it had been better not to have been heard of the Lord, than with fleſh to eat up his wrath. Numb. xi. 18.

Our prayers not fruitleſs though the fruit thereof be not always ſenſible.

52. But if yet at length after long looking for it our ſenſe do not perceive that we have prevailed with praying, and feeleth no fruit thereof: yet our faith ſhall aſſure us of that, which cannot be perceived by ſenſe, namely that we have obtained that which was expedient for us, foraſmuch as the Lord doth ſo oft and ſo certainly take upon him that he will have care of our grievances, after that they have been once laid in his boſom. And ſo he will make us to poſſeſs abundance in poverty, comfort in affliction. For howſoever all other things do fail us, yet God will never fail us, who ſuffereth the waiting and patience of them that are his to be diſappointed. He alone ſhall ſuffice us inſtead of all things, foraſmuch as he containeth in himſelf all good things, which he ſhall one day diſcloſe unto us at the day of judgment when he ſhall plainly ſhew forth his kingdom. Beſide this although God grant to us, yet he doth not always anſwer according to the expreſs form of our requeſt, but holding us according to appearance inſuſpence, yet by a mean unknown he ſheweth that our prayers were not vain. This is meant by the words of John, 1 John v. 15. If we know that he heareth us when we aſk any thing of him, we know that we have the petitions which we aſk of him. This ſeemeth a weak ſuperfluouſneſs of words: but it is a ſingularly profitable declaration, namely that God even when he doth not follow our deſires, is yet gentle and favourable to our prayers, that the hope which reſteth upon his word may never diſappoint us. But with this patience the faithful do ſo far need to be ſuſtained, that they ſhould not long ſtand unleſs they did ſtay upon it. For the Lord doth by no light trials prove them that are his, and doth not tenderly exerciſe them: but oftentimes driveth them to the greateſt extremities, and when they are driven thither, he ſuffereth them long to ſtick faſt in the mire, ere he give them any taſte of his ſweetneſs: and, as Hannah ſaith, He ſlayeth and quickneth: he leadeth down to the grave, and bringeth back again, 1 Sam. ii. 6. What could they here do but be diſcouraged, and fall headlong into deſpair: unleſs when they are in diſtreſs and deſolate and already half dead, this thought did raiſe them up, that God doth look upon them, and that there ſhall be at hand an end of their evils. But howſoever they ſtand faſt upon the aſſuredneſs of that hope, they ceaſe not in the mean time to pray: becauſe if there be not in prayer a ſtedfaſtneſs of continuance, we nothing prevail with praying.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the eternal election, whereby God hath predestinated some to salvation, and others to destruction.

The necessity of knowing the truth in the question of predestination that God may be glorified, our minds both humbled and confirmed, and the danger of curious diving therein beyond the bounds of scripture.

BUT now whereas the covenant of life is not equally preached to all men, and with them to whom it is preached it doth not either equally or continually find like place: in this diversity, the wonderous depth of the judgment of God appeareth. For neither is it any doubt but that this diversity also serveth the free choice of God's eternal election. If it be evident that it is wrought by the will of God that salvation is freely offered to some, and other some are debarred from coming to it: here by and by arise great and hard questions which cannot otherwise be discussed, than if the godly minds have that certainly established which they ought to hold concerning election and predestination. This is (as many may think) a cumbersome question: because they think nothing to be less reasonable than of the common multitude of men some are foreordained to salvation, other some to destruction. But how they wrongfully encumber themselves, shall afterward be evident by the framing of the matter together. Beside that in the very same darkness which maketh men afraid, not only the profitableness of this doctrine, but also the most sweet fruit sheweth forth itself. We shall never be clearly persuaded as we ought to be, that our salvation floweth out of the fountain of the free mercy of God, till his eternal election be known to us, which by this comparison brightly setteth forth the grace of God, that he doth not without difference adopt all into the hope of salvation, but giveth to some that which he denieth to others. How much the ignorance of this principle detracteth from the glory of God, how much it withdraweth from true humility, it is plain to see. But Paul denieth that that which is so necessary to be known, is possible to be known, unless God leaving altogether the respect of works do chuse them whom he hath determined with himself. In this time (saith he) the remnants were saved according to the free election, Rom. xi. 5. And if by grace, then it is no more of works: otherwise grace is no more grace. But if it be of works, then it is no more grace: otherwise work is no more work. If we must be brought back to the beginning of election, that it may be certain that salvation cometh to us from no other where than from the mere liberality of God: they who will have this principle suppressed, do niggardly so much as in them lieth darken that which ought gloriously and with full mouth to have been published, and they pluck up the very root of humility. Paul, where the salvation of the remnant of the people is ascribed to free election, clearly testifieth that only then it is known that God doth by his mere good pleasure save whom he will, and not render reward which cannot be done. They which shut the gates that none may be bold to come to the tasting of this doctrine, do no less wrong to men than to God: because neither shall any other thing suffice to humble us as we ought to be, neither shall we otherwise feel from our heart how much we are bound to God. Neither yet is there any other where the sure foundation of sound affiance, as Christ himself teacheth, who to deliver us from all fear, and to make us invincible among so many dangers, ambushes, and deadly battles, promiseth that whatsoever he hath received of his Father to keep, shall be safe. John x. 25. Wherefore we gather that they shall with continual trembling be miserable, whosoever they be that know not themselves to be the proper possession of God: and therefore that they do very ill provide both for themselves and for all the faithful, who being blind at these three profits which we have touched, would wish the whole foundation of our salvation to be quite taken from among us. Moreover, hereby the church appeareth unto us, which otherwise (as Bernard rightly teacheth, *Ser. in Cant.* 78.) were not possible to be found, nor to be known among creatures: because both ways it lieth mysteriously hidden within the bosom of blessed predestination and within the mass of miserable damnation. But ere I enter into the matter itself, I must beforehand in two sorts speak to two sorts of men. That the treating of predestination, whereas of itself it is somewhat cumbersome, is made very doubtful yea and dangerous, the curiousness of men is the cause: which can by no stops be restrained from wandering into forbidden compasses, and climbing up on high; which, if it may, will leave to God no secret which it will not search and turn over. Into this boldness and importunity forasmuch as we commonly see many to run headlong, and among those some

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that are otherwiſe not evil men: here is fit occaſion to warn them what is in this behalf the due meaſure of their duty. Firſt therefore let them remember, that when they enquire about predeſtination, they pry into the ſecret cloſets of the wiſdom of God; whereinto if any man do curiouſly and boldly intrude, he ſhall not attain wherewith to ſatisfy his curioſity, but ſhall enter into a labyrinth from which he ſhall find no way to extricate himſelf again. For it is not meet that man ſhould freely ſearch thoſe things which God hath willed to be hidden in himſelf, and to turn over from eternity itſelf the height of wiſdom, which he willed to be reverenced and not comprehended, that by it alſo he might be marvellous unto us. The ſecrets of his will which he hath determined to be opened unto us, he hath diſcloſed in his word: and he hath determined, ſo far as he ſaw to pertain to us, and to be profitable for us.

Gods word the only ſafe way to walk in, and the light to direct our walking in matters of ſo great difficulty as this is.

2. We are come (ſaith Auguſtine *Hom. in John*) into the way of faith, let us ſteadfaſtly hold it. It bringeth into the kings chamber, in which all the treaſures of knowlege and wiſdom are hidden. For, the Lord Chriſt himſelf did not envy his excellent and moſt choſen diſciples, when he ſaid, I have many things to be ſaid to you, but ye cannot bear them now. John. viii. 26. We muſt walk, we muſt profit, we muſt increaſe, that our hearts may be able to conceive thoſe things which now we cannot conceive. If the laſt day find us profiting, there we ſhall learn that which here we could not. If this thought be of force with us, that the word of the Lord is the only way, that may lead us to ſearch whatſoever is lawful to be learned of him, that it is the only light, which may give us light to ſee whatſoever we ought to ſee of him: it ſhall eaſily hold back and reſtrain us from all raſhneſs. For we ſhall know that ſo ſoon as we be gone out of the bounds of the world we run out of the way, and in darkneſs, in which race we muſt needs oftentimes ſtray, ſlip, and ſtumble. Firſt therefore let this be before our eyes, that to covet any other knowlege of predeſtination than that which is ſet forth by the word of God is a point of no leſs madneſs than if a man ſhould have a will to go by an unpaſſable way, or to ſee in darkneſs. Neither let us be aſhamed, to be ignorant of ſomewhat in it wherein there is ſome learned ignorance. But rather let us willingly abſtain from the ſearching of that knowlege, whereof the exceſſive coveting is both fooliſh and perilous, yea and deadly. But if the vain curioſity provoke us, it ſhall be profitable always to ſet this againſt it, whereby it may be beaten back, that as too much of honey is not good, ſo the ſearching of glory doth not turn unto glory to the curious. Pro. xxv. 27. For there is good cauſe why we ſhould be ſcared from that boldneſs, which can do nothing but throw us down headlong into ruin.

The doctrine of predeſtination not utterly to be ſhunned and buried in ſilence.

3. There are others who when they have a will to remedy this evil, do command all mention of predeſtination to be in a manner buried, at the leaſt they teach men to flee from every manner queſtioning thereof as from a rock. Although the moderation of theſe men be herein worthily to be praiſed that they judge that myſteries ſhould be taſted of with ſuch ſobriety: yet becauſe they deſcend too much beneath the mean: they little prevail with the wiſdom of man, which doth not lightly ſuffer it ſelf to be reſtrained. Therefore, that in this behalf alſo we may keep a right end, we muſt return to the word of the Lord, in which we have a ſure rule of underſtanding. For the ſcripture is the ſchool of the holy Ghoſt, in which as nothing is left out which is both neceſſary and profitable to be known, ſo nothing is taught but that which it behoveth us to learn. Whatſoever therefore is uttered in the ſcripture concerning predeſtination, we muſt beware that we debar not the faithful from it, leaſt we ſhould ſeem either enviouſly to defraud them of the benefit of their God, or to blame and accuſe the holy Ghoſt who hath publiſhed thoſe things which it is in any wiſe profitable to be ſuppreſſed. Let us (I ſay) give leave to a chriſtian man, to open his mind and his ears to all the ſayings of God which are directed to him, ſo that it be done with this limitation, that ſo ſoon as the Lord hath cloſed his holy mouth, he may alſo block up to himſelf all ways to enquire further. This ſhall be the beſt bond of ſobriety, if not only in learning we may follow the Lord going before us, but alſo when he maketh an end of teaching, we ceaſe to will to learn. Neither is the danger which they fear of ſo great importance, that we ought therefore to turn away our minds from the oracles of God. Notable is the ſaying of Solomon, that the glory of God is to conceal a word. Prov. xxiii. 2. But ſince both godlineſs and common reaſon teacheth that this is not generally meant of every thing, we muſt ſeek a difference, leſt brutiſh ignorance ſhould pleaſe us under colour of modeſty and ſobriety. That difference is in few words plainly ſet out by Moſes,

to the Lord our God (ſaith he) belong his ſecrets: but to us and to our children he hath diſcloſed theſe things. Deut. xxix 26. For we ſee how he commendeth to the people the ſtudy of the doctrine of the law, only by reaſon of the decree of God, becauſe it pleaſed God to publiſh it: and how he holdeth the people within thoſe bounds, by this reaſon only, becauſe it is not lawful for mortal men to thruſt themſelves into the ſecrets of God.

Predeſtination not therefore to be concealed becauſe prophane men carp, or bark, or ſcoff at it, as they do alſo at other parts of chriſtian doctrine which are not for that cauſe to be overlooked.

4. Prophane men (I grant) do in the matter of predeſtination ſuddenly catch hold of ſomewhat which they may carp, or cavil, or bark, or ſcoff at. But if their frowardneſs do affright us away from it, the chief articles of the faith muſt be kept ſecret, of which there is almoſt none which they or ſuch as they be do leave untouched with blaſphemy. A froward wit will no leſs proudly outrage when he heareth that in the eſſence of God there are three perſons, than if he hear that God foreſaw what ſhould become of man when he created him. Neither will they abſtain from laughing, when they ſhall underſtand that there is little more than five thouſand years paſſed ſince the creation of the world: for they will aſk why the power of God was ſo long idle and aſleep. Finally there can be nothing brought forth, which they will not ſcoff at. For the reſtraining of theſe ſacrileges, muſt we hold our peace of the Godhead of the Son, and of the holy Ghoſt? or muſt we paſs over in ſilence the creation of the world? Yea but the truth of God is both in this behalf and every where mightier than that it need to fear the evil ſpeaking of the wicked: as Auguſtine ſtrongly maintaineth in his work of the good of perſeverance. [*Cap.* xv. *uſque ad* 20.] For we ſee that the falſe apoſtles could not by defaming and ſlandering the true doctrine of Paul, make him to be aſhamed of it. But whereas they ſay that this whole diſputation is perilous alſo for godly minds, becauſe it maketh againſt exhortations, becauſe it ſhaketh faith, becauſe it troubleth the heart it ſelf: this is vain. Auguſtine ſcrupleth not to confeſs, that for theſe cauſes he was wont to be blamed, for that he did too freely preach predeſtination: but, as he had in readineſs wherewithal, he largely confuteth them. [*De bono perſever. cap.* xiv.] But we, becauſe many and divers abſurdities are thruſt into this place, had rather to reſerve every one to be wiped away in place fit for it. Only this I deſire generally to obtain of them, that thoſe things which the Lord hath laid up in ſecret, we may not ſearch: thoſe things which he hath brought openly abroad, we may not neglect: leſt either on the one part we be condemned of vain curioſity, or on the other part, of unthankfulneſs. For, this alſo is very well ſaid of Auguſtine, that we may ſafely follow the ſcripture, which as with a motherly pace goeth ſtoopingly, leſt it ſhould forſake our weakneſs. [*Lib.* v. *de Gen. ad lit.*] But whoſo are ſo wary and ſo fearful that they would have predeſtination to be buried, leſt it ſhould trouble weak ſouls: with what colour, I beſeech you, will they cover their arrogancy, when they indirectly accuſe God of fooliſh unadviſedneſs, as though he foreſaw not the danger, which they think themſelves to have wiſely met with? Whoſoever therefore laboureth to bring the doctrine of predeſtination into miſliking, he openly ſaith evil of God: as though ſomewhat had unadviſedly ſlipped from him which is hurtful to the church.

Predeſtination obſcured by ſuch as make God's foreknowlege the cauſe thereof: what knowlege is, and what predeſtination, examples of both.

5. Predeſtination whereby God adopteth ſome into the hope of life, and judgeth ſome to eternal death, no man that would be accounted godly dare ſimply deny: But they wrap it up with many cavillations, ſpecially they which make foreknowlege the cauſe of it. We indeed do ſay that they be both in God, but we ſay that the one is wrongfully made ſubject to the other. When we give foreknowlege to God, we mean that all things always have been and perpetually do remain under his eyes, ſo that to his knowlege there is nothing to come or paſt, but all things are preſent, and ſo preſent that he doth not imagine only by conceived forms (as thoſe things are preſent to us, wherof our mind holdeth faſt the remembrance (but he truly beholdeth and ſeeth them as ſet before him. And this foreknowlege extendeth to the whole compaſs of the world and to all creatures. Predeſtination we call the eternal decree of God, whereby he had it determined with himſelf what he willed to become of every man. For all are not created to like eſtate: but to ſome eternal life, and to ſome eternal damnation is fore-appointed. Therefore as every man is created to the one or other end, ſo we ſay that he is predeſtinate either to life or to death. But this predeſtination God hath not only teſtified in every ſeveral perſon, but hath ſhewed an example thereof in the whole iſſue of Abraham, whereby might plainly appear that it lieth in his will what ſhall be the eſtate of every nation. When the High-

eſt

eſt divided the nations, and ſevered the children of Adam, his part was the people of Iſrael, the cord of his inheritance. Deut. xxxii. 8. The ſeparation is before the eyes of all men: in the perſon of Abraham as in a dry ſtock one people is peculiarly choſen, all other being refuſed: but the cauſe appeareth not, ſaving that Moſes, to cut off all occaſion of glorying from poſterity, teacheth that they excel only by the free love of God. For he aſſigneth this to be the cauſe of their deliverance, for that God loved the fathers, and choſe their ſeed after them. Deut. iv. 37. chap. vii. 8. More plainly in another chapter: he was pleaſed in you to chooſe you, not becauſe you paſſed other nations in number, but becauſe he loved you. Deut. x. 14. The ſame admonition is often repeated with him, Behold, to the Lord thy God belongeth the heaven, the earth, and whatſoever things are in it: and he hath pleaſed himſelf only in your fathers, and hath loved them, and hath choſen you their ſeed. Deut. xxiii. 5. Again in another place ſanctification is commanded them, becauſe they are choſen to be a peculiar people. And again in an other place, love is affirmed to be the cauſe of protection. Which alſo the faithful do declare with one voice, ſaying: he hath choſen for us our inheritance, the glory of Jacob, whom he hath loved. Pſal. xlvii. 5. For they do all impute to free love all the gifts wherewith they were garniſhed of God: not only becauſe they knew that they themſelves had obtained them by no deſervings, but alſo that even the holy Patriarch was not endued with ſuch vertue, that he could purchaſe to himſelf and his poſterity ſo great a prerogative of honour. And, the more ſtrongly to tread down all pride, he upbraided them that they have deſerved no ſuch thing, foraſmuch as they are a ſtubborn and hard-necked people. Deut. ix. 6. And oftentimes the prophets do hatefully and as by way of reproach caſt the Jews in the teeth with this election, becauſe they had foully departed from it. Whatſoever it be, now let them come forth which will bind the election of God either to the worthineſs of men, or to the merits of works. When they ſee one nation to be preferred before all others, and when they hear that God was led with no reſpect to be more favourably bent to a few and ignoble, yea and froward and diſobedient men: will they quarrel with him, becauſe his will was to ſhew ſuch an example of mercy? But they ſhall neither with their pratling voices hinder his work, nor with throwing ſtones of taunts into heaven ſhall hit or hurt his righteouſneſs, but rather they fall back upon their own heads. Moreover the Iſraelites are called back to this principle of the free covenant, when either thanks are to be given to God, or their hope to be raiſed up againſt the time to come. He made us, and not we our ſelves, (ſaith the prophet) his people and the ſheep of his paſtures. The negative is not ſuperfluous, which is added to exclude us, that they may know that of all the good things wherewith they excel, God is not only the author, but fetched the cauſe thereof from himſelf, becauſe there was nothing in them worthy of ſo great honour. Alſo he biddeth them to be contented with the mere good pleaſure of God, in theſe words. The ſeed of Abraham are his ſervants: the children of Jacob his elect. Pſal. cv. 6. And after that he hath rehearſed the continual benefits of God as fruits of the election, at length he concluded, that he dealt ſo liberally becauſe he remembred his covenant. With which doctrine agreeth the ſong of the whole church, thy right hand and the light of thy countenance gave the land to our fathers, becauſe thou waſt pleaſed in them. Pſal. xliv. 4. But it is to be noted, that where mention is made of the land, it is a viſible ſign of the ſecret ſeparation wherein the adoption is contained. To the ſame thankfulneſs David in another place exhorteth the people, ſaying, Bleſſed is the nation whoſe God the Lord is, the people which he hath choſen for an inheritance to himſelf. Pſal. xxxiii. 12. And Samuel encourageth them to good hope, ſaying, the Lord will not forſake you, for his own great name's ſake, becauſe it pleaſed him to create you for a people to himſelf. 1 Sam. xx. 22. Likewiſe David when his faith is aſſailed armeth himſelf to fight, ſaying, bleſſed is he whom thou haſt choſen, he ſhall dwell in thy courts. Pſal. lxv. 5. But for as much as the election hidden in God was ſtabliſhed as well by the firſt deliverance as by the ſecond, and other mean benefits: in Iſaiah the word of electing is transferred to this, God ſhall have mercy on Jacob, and he ſhall yet chooſe out of Iſrael: Iſa. xiv. 2. becauſe he ſignifying the time to come, ſaith that the gathering together of the remnant of the people which he ſeemed to have forſaken, ſhall be a ſign of the ſtable and ſtedfaſt election, which once ſeemed to have been fallen away. When alſo it is ſaid in another place, I have choſen thee and have not caſt thee away: Iſa. xli. 9. he ſetteth out the continual courſe of the notable liberality of his fatherly good will. And yet more plainly the angel ſaith in Zachariah God ſhall yet chooſe Jeruſalem: Zach. ii. 12. as though in hardly chaſtning it, he had rejected it: or as though the exile were an interrupting

rupting of the election: which yet remaineth inviolable, although the ſigns thereof do not always appear.

Of election and predeſtination both general and ſpecial.

6. There is to be added a ſecond degree more narrowly reſtrained, or in which was ſeen a more ſpecial grace of God: when of the ſame kindred of Abraham God refuſed ſome, and other ſome by nouriſhing them in the church he ſhewed that he retained among his children. Iſhmael had at the beginning obtained equal degree with his brother Iſaac, becauſe the ſpiritual covenant had been no leſs ſealed in him by the ſign of circumciſion. He is cut off, and then Eſau: at the laſt an innumerable multitude and almoſt Iſrael. In Iſaac was the ſeed called: the ſame calling endured in Jacob. A like example God ſhewed in rejecting Saul: which thing is alſo glorioufly ſet forth in the pſalm. He hath put back the tribe of Joſeph, and the tribe of Ephraim he hath not choſen, but he hath choſen the tribe of Judah. Pſal. lxxvii. 69. Which the holy hiſtory divers times repeateth, that the wonderful ſecret of the grace may the better appear in this change. Iſhmael, Eſau, and ſuch others, (I grant) fell from the adoption by their own fault and guiltineſs: becauſe there was a condition adjoined, that they ſhould faithfully keep the covenant of God, which they falſely brake. But this was yet a ſingular benefit of God, that he vouchſafed to prefer them above the other Gentiles: as it is ſaid in the pſalm, he hath not ſo done to other nations, nor hath opened his judgments to them. Pſal, xlvii. 20. But here I have not without cauſe ſaid that there are two degrees to be noted: becauſe now in the chooſing of the whole nation God ſhewed that he is in his own mere liberality bound to no laws: but he is free, ſo that equal portion of grace is not to be required at his hand: the inequality whereof ſheweth that it is truly of free gift. Therefore Malachi amplifieth the unthankfulneſs of Iſrael, becauſe they being not only choſen out of all mankind, but alſo ſeparated out of a holy houſe to be a peculiar people, do unfaithfully and wickedly deſpiſe God ſo beneficial a father. Was not Eſau the brother of Jacob? (ſaith he) and yet Jacob I loved, but Eſau I hated. Mal. i. 2. For, God taketh it for confeſſed that when either of them was born of a holy father, and ſucceſſor of the covenant, finally a branch of the holy root: now the children of Jacob were more than commonly bound, which were taken into that dignity. But when Eſau the firſt begotten being refuſed, their father who was by nature inferior was made the heir, he proveth them doubly unthankful, and complaineth that they were not holden with that double bond.

Election outward and inward, in the general body of men outwardly elected ſundry, which inwardly are not elected in the ſpirit.

7. Although it be already ſufficiently evident, that God doth by his ſecret counſel freely chooſe whom he will, rejecting others, yet his free election is hitherto but half ſhewed, till we come to all particular perſons, to whom God not only offereth ſalvation, but ſo aſſigneth it, that the certainty of the effect thereof is not in ſuſpenſe or doubtful. For, theſe are accounted in that only ſeed, whereof Paul maketh mention. For although the adoption was left in the hand of Abraham, yet becauſe many of his poſterity were cut off as rotten members: that the election may be effectual and truly ſtedfaſt, we muſt needs aſcend to the head, in whom the heavenly father hath bound together his elect one with another, and hath knit them to himſelf with a knot impoſſible to be looſed. So in the adoption of the kindred of Abraham, ſhined the liberal favour of God, which he denied to other men: yet in the members of Chriſt appeareth a much more excellent ſtrength of grace, becauſe they being graffed into their head do never fall away from ſalvation. Therefore Paul doth fitly reaſon out of the place of Malachi which I even now alleged: that where God with making a covenant of eternal life calleth any people to himſelf, there is in part a ſpecial manner of election, that he doth not chooſe all effectually with common grace. Whereas it is ſaid, I have loved Jacob, this pertaineth to the whole iſſue of the patriarch, which the prophet there ſetteth in compariſon againſt the poſterity of Eſau. Yet this withſtandeth not but that in the perſon of one man was ſet forth to us an example of the election, which cannot miſgive, but muſt come to the mark that it tendeth to. Theſe Paul doth not vainly note to be called remnants: becauſe experience teacheth that of a great multitude many ſlide and apoſtatize, ſo that oftentimes there remaineth but a ſmall portion. But why the general election of a people is not always firm and ſtedfaſt, there is a reaſon offering it ſelf in readineſs: becauſe with whom God covenanteth he doth not by and by give to them the ſpirit of regeneration, by the power whereof they may continue in the covenant to the end: but the outward changing without the inward effectualneſs of grace, which might be of force to hold them in, is a certain medium be-

tween

tween the forſaking of whole mankind, and the election of a ſmall number of the godly. The whole people of Iſrael were called the inheritance of God, of whom yet there were many ſtrangers. But becauſe God had not for nothing made covenant with them that he would be their father and redeemer, he rather hath reſpect to his own free favour, than to the unfaithful falling away of many, by whom alſo his truth was not aboliſhed: becauſe where he reſerved any remnant, it appeared that his calling was without repentance. For whereas God did from time to time chooſe unto himſelf a church rather out of the children of Abraham, than out of the prophane nations, he had regard to his covenant, which being broken by the whole multitude he reſtrained it to a few, that it ſhould not utterly fall away. Finally the common adoption of the ſeed of Abraham was a certain viſible image of a greater benefit, which God hath vouchſafed to grant to a few of many. This is the reaſon why Paul ſo diligently putteth a difference between the children of Abraham according to the fleſh, and his ſpiritual children which were called after the example of Iſaac. Not that it was a vain and unfruitful thing ſimply to be the child of Abraham, (which might not be ſaid without diſhonour of the covenant) but becauſe the unchangeable counſel of God, whereby he hath predeſtinate whom he would, is by it ſelf effectual only to this latter ſort unto ſalvation. But I warn the readers that they bring not a foreconceived judgment on either ſide, till it appear by the places of ſcripture brought forth what is to be thought. That therefore which the ſcripture clearly ſheweth, we ſay that God by eternal and unchangeable counſel hath once appointed whom in time to come he would take to ſalvation, and on the other ſide whom he would condemn to deſtruction. This counſel as touching the elect, we ſay is grounded upon his free mercy without any reſpect of the worthineſs of man, but whom he appointeth to damnation, to them by his juſt indeed and irreprehenſible, but alſo incomprehenſible judgment, the entry of life is blocked up. Now in the elect we ſet vocation to be the teſtimony of election: and then juſtification to be another ſign of the manifeſt ſhewing of it, till they come to glory wherein is the fulfilling of it. But as by vocation and election God maketh his elect: ſo by ſhutting out the reprobate either from the knowlege of his name or from the ſanctification of his Spirit, he doth as it were by theſe marks open what judgment abideth for them. I will here paſs over many feigned inventions, which fooliſh men have forged to overthrow predeſtination. For they need no confutation, which ſo ſoon as they are brought forth, do largely bewray their own falſeneſs. I will tarry only upon thoſe, which either are in controverſy among the learned, or which may bring any hardneſs to the ſimple, or which ungodlineſs with fair ſeeming ſhew pretendeth, to ſcoff at the righteouſneſs of God.

CHAP. XXII.

A confirmation of this doctrine by teſtimonies of the ſcripture.

God was not moved with the foreſight of mans merit, to predeſtinate, neither is to be grudged at for preferring ſome, and paſſing by others, whom particularly and freely he hath choſen.

ALL theſe things which we have ſet are not without controverſy among many, ſpecially the free election of the faithful: which yet cannot be weakned. For the common ſort do think that God, as he foreſeeth that every man's deſerving ſhall be, ſo maketh difference between men: that therefore whom he foreknoweth that they ſhall be not unworthy of his grace, them he adopteth into the place of children: and whoſe natures he eſpieth that they will be bent to wickedneſs and ungodlineſs, them he appointeth to the damnation of death. So by cloaking it with the vail of foreknowlege they do not only darken election, but feign that it hath beginning from elſewhere. And this opinion received of the common ſort is not the opinion of the common ſort alone: for in all ages it hath had great maintainers. Which I do plainly confeſs, to the intent that no man ſhould truſt that it ſhall much hurt our cauſe if their names be objected againſt us. For, the truth of God herein is more certain, than that it may be ſhaken: more clear, than that it may be darkned with the authority of men. But ſome others, neither exerciſed in the ſcripture nor worthy of any notice, do rail at this doctrine with greater malicioufneſs, than that their forward pride ought to be ſuffered. Becauſe God chooſing ſome after his own will, leaveth other ſome, they pick a quarrel againſt him. But if the thing it ſelf be known for true, what ſhall they prevail with brawling

ling againſt God? We teach nothing but that which is approved by experience, that it was always at liberty for God, to beſtow his grace to whom he will. I will not enquire whereby the poſterity of Abraham excelled others, but by that vouchſafing, whereof there is found no cauſe elſewhere than in God. Let them anſwer why they be men rather than oxen or aſſes. When it was in the hand of God to make them dogs, he faſhioned them after his own image. Will they give leave to brute beaſts to quarrel with God for their eſtate, as though the difference were unrighteous? Truly it is no more righteous, that they ſhould enjoy the prerogative which they have obtained by no deſervings, than for God diverſly to deal abroad his benefits according to the meaſure of his own judgment. If they ſkip over to perſons, where the inequality is more hateful to them, at the leaſt at the example of Chriſt, they ought to be afraid to prate ſo boldly of ſo high a myſtery. He is conceived of the ſeed of David, a mortal man: by what vertues will they ſay that he deſerved to be in the very womb made the head of angels, the only begotten ſon of God, the image and glory of the father, the light, righteouſneſs, and ſalvation of the world? This thing Auguſtine wiſely noted, that in the very head of the church is a moſt clear mirror of free election, leſt it ſhould trouble us in the members: and that he was not by righteouſly living made the ſon of God, but that he had ſo great honour freely given him, that he might afterward make others partakers of his gifts. [*De correpti. & grat. ad Valent. c.* xv. *De bono perſe. c. ult. De verb. Apo. ſer.* xviii.] Here if any man aſk why others were not the ſame that he was, or why all we are ſo far diſtant from him, why we all are corrupt and he pureneſs: ſuch a man ſhall bewray not only his madneſs, but therewithal alſo his ſhameleſneſs. But if they go forward to labour to take from God the free power to chooſe and refuſe, let them alſo take away that which is given to Chriſt. Now it is worth while to conſider what the ſcripture pronounceth of every one. Paul verily, when he teacheth that we were choſen in Chriſt, Eph. i. 4. taketh away all reſpect of our own worthineſs. For it is all one as if he had ſaid: becauſe in the whole ſeed of Adam the heavenly Father found nothing worthy of his election, he turned his eyes unto his Chriſt, to chooſe as it were members out of his body them whom he would take into the fellowſhip of life. Let this reaſon then be of force among the faithful, that we were therefore adopted in Chriſt into the heavenly inheritance, becauſe in our ſelves we are not able to receive ſo great excellency. Which alſo he touched in another place, when he exhorteth the Coloſſians to giving of thanks, for this that they were by God made fit to be partakers of the inheritance of the ſaints. Col. i. 12. If election go before this grace of God that we be made fit to obtain the glory of the life to come: what ſhall God himſelf now find in us whereby he may be moved to elect us? My meaning ſhall yet be more openly expreſſed by another ſaying of his. He hath choſen us (ſaith he) ere the foundations of the world were laid, according to the good pleaſure of his will, that we might be holy, and unſpotted, and unreprovable in his ſight: Eph. i. 4. where he ſetteth the good pleaſure of God againſt all our deſervings whatſoever they be.

Special and free election without reſpect of merits going before or following after, demonſtrated out of Paul's words to the Epheſians.

2. That the proof may be more ſtrong, it is worth while to note all the parts of that place, which being coupled together do leave no doubt. Where he nameth the elect, it is no doubt that he ſpeaketh to the faithful, as he alſo by and by afterward affirmeth. Wherefore they do with too foul a gloſs abuſe that name, who wreſt it to the age wherein the goſpel was firſt publiſhed. Where he ſaith that they were elect before the beginning of the world, he taketh away all reſpect of worthineſs. For what reaſon of difference is there between them which yet were not, and thoſe which afterward ſhould in Adam be equal? Now if they be elect in Chriſt, it followeth that not only every man is ſevered without himſelf, but alſo one of them from another, foraſmuch as we ſee that all are not the members of Chriſt. That which is added, that they were elect that they might be holy, plainly confuteth the error which deriveth election from foreknowlege, foraſmuch as Paul crieth out againſt it, and ſaith, that whatſoever virtue appeareth in men, it is the effect of election. Now if a higher cauſe be ſought, Paul anſwereth that God hath ſo predeſtinate, yea and that according to the good pleaſure of his will. In which words he overthroweth whatſoever means of their election men do imagine in themſelves. For he alſo teacheth that whatſoever things God giveth toward ſpiritual life, they flow out of this one fountain, becauſe God hath choſen whom he would, and ere they were born he had ſeverally laid up for them the grace which he vouchſafed to give them.

Our ſanctification the end where-

3. But whereſoever this pleaſure of God reigneth, there no works come to be conſidered.

He

unto, not the cauſe wherefore we were choſen.

He doth not here indeed purſue the compariſon of contraries, but it is to be underſtood ſuch as he himſelf declareth. He hath called us (ſaith he) with a holy calling, not according to his purpoſe and the grace which is given of Chriſt before the world began. 2 Tim. i. 9. And we have already ſhewed that all doubt is taken away in this which followeth, that we might be holy and unſpotted. For if thou ſay, becauſe he foreſaw that we ſhould be holy, therefore he choſe us, thou ſhalt pervert the order of Paul. Thus therefore thou mayeſt ſafely gather. If he choſe us that we might be holy: then he choſe us, not becauſe he foreſaw that we would be ſuch. For theſe two things are contrary the one to the other: that the godly have it of election that they be holy, and that they come to it by mean of works. Neither is their objection here any thing worth to which they commonly flee, that the Lord doth not render the grace of election to any works going before, but yet granteth it to works to come. For when it is ſaid that the faithful were choſen, that they might be holy: therewithal is ſignified that the holineſs which was to come in them took beginning at election. And how ſhall this ſaying agree together, that thoſe things which are derived from election gave cauſe to election? The ſame thing which he ſaid he ſeemeth afterward to confirm more ſtrongly, where he ſaith, according to the purpoſe of his will which he had purpoſed in himſelf. Eph. i. 5. For, to ſay that God purpoſed in himſelf, is as much in effect as if it had been ſaid, that without himſelf he conſidered nothing whereto he had any regard in decreeing. Therefore he by and by addeth, that the whole ſum of our election tendeth to this end, that we ſhould be to the praiſe of the grace of God. Truly the grace of God deſerveth not to be praiſed alone in our election, unleſs our election be free. But free it ſhall not be, if God in electing his, do conſider what ſhall be the works of every one. Therefore we find that that which Chriſt ſaid to his diſciples, hath place univerſally among all the faithful, ye have not choſen me, but I have choſen you. John xv. 16. Where he not only excludeth deſervings paſt, but alſo ſignifieth that they had nothing in themſelves why they ſhould be choſen, if he had not prevented them with his mercy. Like as this ſaying of Paul is alſo to be underſtood: who firſt gave to him, and he ſhall receive recompence. Rom. xi. 35. ? For he meaneth to ſhew that the goodneſs of God ſo preventeth men, that it findeth nothing in them neither paſt nor to come, whereby he may be won to be favourable to them.

Special and free election proved out of S. Paul. to the Romans.

4. Now to the Romans, where he fetcheth this queſtion further off, and followeth it more largely, he denieth that all they are Iſraelites, which are iſſued of Iſrael: becauſe although by right of inheritance they were all bleſſed, yet the ſucceſſion did not equally paſs to them all. The beginning of this diſputation proceeded of the pride and deceitful glorying of the Jewiſh people. For when they claimed to themſelves the name of the church, they would have the credit of the goſpel to hang upon their will: as the papiſts at this day would gladly with this feigned pretext thruſt themſelves into the place of God. Paul, although he grant that the offspring of Abraham is holy by reaſon of the covenant, yet affirmeth that the moſt part of them are ſtrangers in it: and that not only becauſe they ſwerve out of kind, ſo that of lawful children they become baſtards, but becauſe the ſpecial election of God ſtandeth above and reigneth in the higheſt top, which alone maketh the adoption thereof ſure. If their own godlineſs eſtabliſhed ſome in the hope of ſalvation, and their own falling away alone diſinherited other ſome: Paul verily ſhould both fooliſhly and inconveniently lift up the readers even to the ſecret election. Now if the will of God (the cauſe whereof neither appeareth nor is to be ſought, without himſelf) maketh the one ſort differing from the other, ſo that not all the children of Iſrael are true Iſraelites, it is vainly feigned that every man's ſtate hath a beginning in himſelf. Then he further followeth the matter under the example of Jacob and Eſau. For when they both were the ſons of Abraham, both together incloſed in one mother's womb, it was a monſter-like change that the honour of firſt-birth was removed to Jacob, by which change Paul affirmeth that there was teſtified the election of the one, and the reprobation of the other. The original and cauſe of it is enquired, which the teachers of foreknowlege will have to be ſet out in the virtues and vices of men. For this is an eaſy ſhort way with them that God ſhewed in the perſon of Jacob, that he chuſeth the worthy of his grace: and in the perſon of Eſau he refuſeth them whom he ſeeth to be unworthy. Thus they ſay boldly. But what ſaith Paul? When they were not yet born, and had not done any good or evil, that the purpoſe of God according to election might ſtand, not of works, but of him that calleth, it is ſaid: The elder ſhall ſerve the younger: as it is written, Jacob

I have loved, but Esau I have hated. Rom. ix. 11. If foreknowlege were of any force in this difference of the brethren, then verily mention were unfitly made of the time. Let us grant that Jacob was chosen, because he had worthiness gotten by works to come: to what purpose should Paul say that he was not yet born; and this now should be unadvisedly added, that he had yet done no good: because this shall be a ready answer, that nothing is hidden from God, and that so the godliness of Jacob was present before him. If works do win grace, they should then worthily have had their price before that Jacob was born as if he had been grown to full age. But the apostle goeth forward in undoing this knot, and teacheth that the adoption of Jacob was not made of works, but of the calling of God. In works he interlaceth not the time to come or time past: and then he directly setteth them against the calling of God, meaning by establishing the one, expressly to overthrow the other: as if he had said, that it is to be considered what hath pleased God, not what men have brought of themselves. Last of all it is certain that by the words of election and purpose, all causes whatsoever men are wont to feign elsewhere than in the secret counsel of God, are quite removed from this matter.

The doctrine is so clear and the example so plain which S. Paul produceth, that there is no place at all left to cavil.

5. What colour will they bring to darken these things, who in election assign some place to works either past or to come? For this is utterly to mock at that which the apostle affirmeth, that the difference of the brethren hangeth not upon any consideration of works, but upon the mere calling of God, because it was put between them when they were not yet born. Neither had he been ignorant of this their subtilty, if it had had any soundness in it: but because he very well knew, that God can foresee no goodness in man, but that which he hath first determined by the benefit of his election to give him: he fleeth not to that backward order, to set good works before the cause of themselves. Thus have we by the words of the apostle, that the salvation of the faithful is founded upon the will of the election of God only: and that the same favour is not gotten by works, but cometh of free calling. We have also as it were an image of that thing set before us. Esau and Jacob are brethren, issuing both of the same parents, inclosed yet both in one womb, not yet brought out into the world. In them all things are equal, yet of them the judgment of God is diverse. For he taketh the one and forsaketh the other. There was nothing but only the first birth, by right whereof the one excelled the other. But this also being passed over, that thing is given to the younger which is denied in the elder. Yea, and in others also God seemeth always as of set purpose to have despised first birth, to cut off from the flesh all matter of glorying, refusing Ishmael, he cast his mind to Isaac. Plucking back Manasseh, he more honoured Ephraim.

Their election whom S. Paul speaketh of, was not only to an earthly inheritance but an heavenly.

6. If any man interrupt me with saying, that we must not by these inferior and small benefits determine of the sum of the life to come, that he which hath been advanced to the honour of the birthright, should therefore be reckoned to be adopted into the inheritance of heaven: (for there be some which spare not Paul himself, as though in allegeing these testimonies he had wrested the scripture to a strange sense:) I answer as I have done here before, that the apostle neither slipped by unadvisedness, nor wilfully abused the testimonies of the scripture. But he saw (which they cannot abide to consider) that God intended by an earthly sign to declare the spiritual election of Jacob, which otherwise was hidden in his inaccessible throne. For unless we refer the birth-right granted to him unto the world to come, it should be a vain and foolish form of blessing whereby he obtained nothing but manifold miseries, discommodities, grievous banishent, and many bitterness of sorrow and cares. Therefore when Paul saw without doubting, that God by outward blessing testified the blessing which he had in his kingdom prepared spiritual and never decaying for his servant: he doubted not for proof of this spiritual blessing, to fetch an argument from that outward blessing. This also we must remember that to the land of Canaan was adjoined the pledge of the heavenly dwelling: so that it ought not at all to be doubted that Jacob was graffed with the angels into the body of Christ, that he might be partaker of the same life. Jacob therefore is chosen, when Esau is rejected, Rom. ix. 15. and by the predestination of God is made different from him, from whom he differed not in any deservings. If you ask a cause, the apostle rendereth this, because it is said to Moses, I will have mercy upon whom I will have mercy, and I will vouchsafe to grant mercy to whom soever I will vouchsafe to grant mercy. And what I beseech

you

you meaneth this? Verily, the Lord himſelf moſt plainly pronounceth that men have in themſelves no cauſe why he ſhould do good to them, but he fetcheth the cauſe from his own mercy only: and therefore that the ſalvation of his is his own work. When God ſetteth thy ſalvation in himſelf alone, why wilt thou deſcend to thy ſelf? When he appointeth to thee his mercy alone, why wilt thou run to thine own deſervings? When he holdeth thy thought wholly in his mercifulneſs alone, why wilt thou turn part to the beholding of thine own works? Therefore we muſt needs come to that leſſer people, which Paul in another place ſaith were foreknown to God, Rom. xi. 2.: not in ſuch ſort as theſe men imagine, to foreknow out of an idle watch-tower the things that he worketh not: but in ſuch ſenſe as it is oft read. For truly when Peter ſaith in Luke that Chriſt was by the determinate council and foreknowlege of God appointed to death, Acts ii. 23.: he doth not bring God as a looker on, but the author of our ſalvation. So the ſame Peter alſo, where he ſaith that the faithful to whom he wrote were choſen according to the foreknowlege of God, properly expreſſeth that ſecret predeſtination whereby God hath marked for his children whom he would. And the word purpoſe, which he joineth for a divers word, expreſſing all one thing, for as much as it doth every where ſignify a ſtedfaſt determination as they commonly call it, undoubtedly teacheth that God when he is author of our ſalvation goeth not out of himſelf. In which ſenſe he ſaith in the ſame chapter that Chriſt was the lamb foreknown before the creation of the world. For what is more fooliſh or trifling, than to ſay that God from on high did ſtand looking whence ſalvation ſhould come to mankind? Therefore in Paul the foreknowing of people is as much as a ſmall portion mingled with the multitude which falſely pretendeth name of God. In another place alſo Paul to beat down their boaſting which being covered with a viſor, do take upon themſelves the chief preheminence among the godly before the world, ſaith that God knoweth who are his, 2 Tim. ii. 19. Finally, by that ſaying Paul pointeth unto us two ſorts of people: the one of the whole kindred of Abraham: the other, ſeverally choſen out of it, and which being laid up under the eyes of God, is hidden from the ſight of men. And it is no doubt that he took this out of Moſes, who affirmeth that God will be merciful to whom he will (although he there ſpeaks of the elect people, whoſe ſtate in outward ſeeming was equal) as if he ſhould have ſaid, that in the common adoption is included with him a ſpecial grace toward ſome, as it were a more holy treaſure: and that the common covenant withſtandeth not but that the ſame ſmall number may be exempt in degree: and he willing to make him ſelf the free diſpoſer and ruler of this thing, preciſely denieth that he will be merciful to one rather than to another, for any other reaſon, but for that it ſo pleaſeth him: becauſe when mercy cometh to him that ſeeketh it, though he indeed ſuffer not a denial, yet he either preventeth or partly getteth to himſelf the favour whereof God claimeth to himſelf the praiſe.

Special and free election proved by the words of Chriſt in S. John.

7. Now let the ſovereign judge and maſter pronounce of the whole matter. When he ſaw ſo great hardneſs in his hearers, that he did in a manner waſte his words without fruit among the multitude: to remedy this offence, he crieth out, whoſoever my father giveth me, ſhall come to me. For this is the will of my father, that whatſoever my father hath given me, I ſhall not loſe any thing of it. John. vi. 37. Note that the beginning is taken at the father's gift, that we may be delivered into the faithful keeping and defence of Chriſt. Here ſome man peradventure will turn a circle about, and will take exception, ſaying that they only are accounted in the proper poſſeſſion of the father, whoſe yielding hath been voluntary by faith. But Chriſt ſtandeth only upon that point, that although the fallings away of great multitudes do ſhake the whole world, yet the counſel of God ſhall be ſtedfaſt and ſtand faſter than the heavens themſelves, that his election may never fail. They are ſaid to have been the elect of the father, before that he gave to them his only begotten Son. They aſk whether it were by nature: yea rather, them which were ſtrangers he made his own by drawing them to him. There is a greater clearneſs in the words of Chriſt than can by ſhifting be covered with any darkneſs. No man (ſaith he) can come to me, unleſs my father draw him. John vi. 44. But whoſo hath heard and learned of my father, he cometh to me. If all generally without difference ſhould bow their knee before Chriſt, then the election were common: but now in the fewneſs of the believers appeareth a manifeſt diverſity: Therefore after that Chriſt had affirmed that the diſciples which were given him, were the peculiar poſſeſſion of God the father, within a little after he added, I pray not for the world, but for thoſe whom thou haſt given me, becauſe they are thine. John xvii. Whereby is proved that the whole world belongeth not to the creator of it, ſaving that grace deliver-

eth a few from the wrath of God, and from eternal death, which otherwiſe ſhould have periſhed: but the world it ſelf is left in his own deſtruction to which it was appointed. In the mean time although Chriſt put himſelf mean between, yet he claimeth to himſelf the power of chooſing in common with the father. I ſpeak not (ſaith he) of all: I know whom I have choſen. John. xiii. 18. John xv. 19. If any man aſk from whence he hath choſen them, he anſwereth in another place, out of the world, which he excludeth out of his prayers when he commendeth his diſciples to his father. This is to beholden, that when he affirmeth that he knoweth whom he hath choſen, there is ſignified ſome ſpecial ſort in the general kind of men: then, that the ſame ſpecial ſort is made to differ not by the quality of their own vertues, but by the heavenly decree. Whereupon followeth that many excel by their own force or diligence, when Chriſt maketh himſelf the author of election. For when in another place he reckoneth Judas among the elect, whereas he was a devil, this is referred only to the office of apoſtleſhip, which although it be a clear mirror of the favour of God (as Paul ſo oftentimes acknowlegeth in his own perſon,) yet it containeth not in it ſelf the hope of eternal ſalvation. Judas therefore, when he did unfaithfully bear the office of an apoſtle, might be worſe than the devil: but of thoſe whom Chriſt hath once graffed into his body, he will ſuffer none to periſh: becauſe in preſerving their ſalvation he will perform that which he hath promiſed, that is, he will ſtretch forth the power of God which is greater than all. For whereas he ſaith in another place, Father, of thoſe whom thou haſt given me, I have loſt none but the ſon of perdition, John xvii. 28.: although it be an abuſive ſpeech by figure, yet it hath no dobutful meaning. The ſum is, that God maketh them his children by free adoption whom he will have to be his children: and that the inward cauſe thereof is in himſelf: becauſe he is content with his own ſecret good pleaſure.

The opinion of ancient fathers touching the cauſe of election.

8. But Ambroſe, Origen, and Jerom thought that God diſtributeth his grace among men, as he foreſeeth that every man will uſe it well: Yea and Auguſtine was once in the ſame opinion. (*Retract. lib. 1. cap. 2.*) But when he had made greater proficiency in the knowlege of the ſcripture, he not only revoked it as evidently falſe, but alſo ſtrongly confuted it: yea and after his revoking of it, in reproving the Pelagians for that they continued in the ſame error, ſaith: (*Epi. ad Sixt. 106.*) Who cannot wonder that the apoſtle knew not this moſt ſubtile ſenſe? For when he had ſet out a thing to be wondered at of theſe brethren, while they were not yet born, and afterward objected a queſtion againſt himſelf, ſaying; What then? Is there injuſtice with God? Here was a fit place for him to anſwer, that God ſaw the merits of them both: yet he ſaith not this, but fleeth to the judgments and mercy of God. And in another place, when he had taken away all merits before election: Here (ſaith he) is confuted their vain reaſoning who defend the foreknowlege of God againſt the grace of God, and therefore ſay that we are choſen before the making of the world, becauſe God foreknew that we would be good, not that he himſelf would make us good. (*Hom. in Joh. 8.*) He ſaith not this, who ſaith, Ye have not choſen me, but I have choſen you, John. xv. 16. For if he had therefore choſen us, becauſe he foreknew that we would be good: he ſhould therewithal alſo have foreknown that we would chooſe him: and ſo forſooth as followeth to that effect. Let the teſtimony of Auguſtine be of force among them that willingly reſt in the authority of the fathers. Howbeit Auguſtine ſuffereth not himſelf to be ſeparated from the reſt; but by clear teſtimonies ſheweth that this diſagreement is falſe with the malice whereof the Pelagians burdened him. For in the xix. chapter of his book of the predeſtination of ſaints, he allegeth out of Ambroſe, Chriſt calleth whom he hath mercy on. Again, if he had pleaſed, of the undevout he might have made devout. But God calleth whom he vouchſafeth, and whom he will he maketh religious. If I liſted to knit together a whole volume out of Auguſtine, I could readily ſhew to the readers that. I need no other words but his: but I will not load them with tediouſneſs. But go to, let us imagine that they ſpeak not at all: but let us give heed to the matter itſelf. A hard queſtion was moved, whether God did righteouſly in this that he vouchſafed to grant his grace but to ſome: of which queſtion Paul might have diſintangled himſelf with one word if he had alleged the reſpect of works. Why therefore doth he it not, but rather continueth on a diſcourſe which is ſubject to the ſame difficulties? Why, but becauſe he ought not? For the Holy Ghoſt who ſpake by his mouth, had not the diſeaſe of forgetfulneſs. Therefore without any circumſtances he anſwereth, that God therefore favoureth his elect, becauſe he will; therefore hath mercy, becauſe he will. For this oracle of God, I will have mercy upon whom I will have mercy, and

I will ſhew mercy to whom I will ſhew mercy, Exod. xxxiii. 15. is as much in effect as if it had been ſaid, that God is moved to mercy by no other reaſon, but becauſe he will have mercy. Therefore this ſaying of Auguſtine remaineth true, that the grace of God doth not find men fit to be choſen, but maketh them ſo.

The ſhift which Thomas uſeth in ſolving this queſtion, rejected.

9. Neither do we any thing paſs upon the ſubtilty of Thomas, that the foreknowing of deſervings, is not indeed the cauſe of predeſtination on the behalf of the act of him that doth predeſtinate, but on our behalf it may after a certain manner be ſo called, that is, according to the particular weighing of predeſtination: as when it is ſaid, that God predeſtinateth glory to man by merits, becauſe he hath decreed to give to him grace by which he may deſerve glory. For ſince the Lord will in election have us to look unto nothing but his mere goodneſs, if any man ſhall covet here to ſee any more, it ſhall be a wrongful greedineſs. If we luſted to ſtrive in ſubtlety, we want not wherewith to beat back this ſilly ſubtlety of Thomas. He affirmeth, that to the elect glory is after a certain manner predeſtinate by deſervings, becauſe the Lord doth after a certain manner predeſtinate to them the grace, by which they may deſerve glory. What if I anſwer on the contrary ſide and ſay that predeſtination unto grace, ſerveth election unto life, and is as it were a waiting maid after it? That grace is predeſtinate to them, to whom the poſſeſſion of glory hath been long ago appointed: becauſe it pleaſeth the Lord to bring his children from the election into juſtification? For thereupon it ſhall follow that the predeſtination of glory was rather the cauſe of the predeſtination of grace, than contrariwiſe. But away with thoſe ſtrivings as things ſuperfluous for ſuch as ſhall think that there is wiſdom enough for them in the word of God. For this was in old time truly written of an eccleſiaſtical writer, that they who allow the election of God to merits are more wiſe than they ought to be. *Ambroſe de vocat. gent. lib.* 1. *cap* 1.

There is no repugnancy between God's calling of all, and calling effectually his choſen only.

10. Some do object that God ſhould be contrary to himſelf if he ſhould univerſally call all men to him, and receive but a few elect. So by their opinion the univerſalneſs of the promiſe taketh away the difference of ſpecial grace. And thus certain ſober men ſpeak, not ſo much to ſuppreſs the truth, as to debar crabbed queſtions, and to bridle the curioſity of many. Their will is praiſe-worthy, but their counſel is not to be allowed: becauſe daliying by ſhifts is never excuſable. But their objecting of it which do more railingly inveigh againſt it, is verily too fooliſh a cavil, or too ſhameful an error. How the ſcripture maketh theſe two to agree together, that by outward preaching all men are called to repentance and faith, and yet that the ſpirit of repentance and faith is not given to all men, I have in another place already declared, and by and by ſomewhat of it muſt be repeated again. Now that which they require I deny to them, ſince it is two ways falſe. For he that threateneth that while it raineth upon one city, there ſhall be drought upon another: Amos iv. 7. & viii. 11. He that pronounceth that there ſhall in another place be famine of doctrine, bindeth not himſelf with any certain law to call all men equally. And when he who forbidding Paul to ſpeak in Aſia, and turning him from Bythinia, draweth him into Macedonia, (Acts xvi. 6.) ſheweth, that it is in his own power to diſtribute this treaſure to whomſoever it ſhall pleaſe him. Yet more plainly he ſheweth by Iſaiah, chap. viii. 16. how he peculiarly directeth to the elect the promiſes of ſalvation: for he ſaith of them only, and not of all mankind indifferently, that they ſhall he his diſciples Whereby it is certain that the doctrine of ſalvation is wrongfully ſet open in common to all men to profit effectually, which is ſaid to be ſeverally laid up only for the children of the church. Let this ſuffice at this preſent, that although the voice of the goſpel ſpake generally to all, yet the gift of faith is rare. Iſaiah aſſigneth the cauſe, for that the arm of the Lord is not revealed to all men, Iſa. liii. 1. If he had ſaid that the goſpel is maliciouſly and frowardly deſpiſed, becauſe many do ſtubbornly refuſe to hear: peradventure this colour touching univerſal calling ſhould prevail. Neither is it the purpoſe of the prophet to diminiſh the fault of men, when he teacheth that the fountain of blindneſs is, that God vouchſafeth not to open his arm to them: only he giveth warning, that becauſe faith is a ſingular gift, the ears are beaten in vain with outward doctrine. But I would fain know of theſe doctors, whether only preaching, or faith, make the children of God. Certainly when it is ſaid in the firſt chapter of John, whoſoever believe in the only begotten ſon of God, John. i. 12. are themſelves alſo made the children of God, there is not in that place a confuſed heap jumbled up together: but a ſpecial order is given to the faithful, which are born not of

blood

blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. But (say they) there is a mutual consent of faith with the word, namely, whereſoever is faith. But it is no new thing that seed fall among thorns or in stony places: not only because the greater part appeareth indeed obstinate against God, but also because all men have not eyes and ears. How then shall it agree that God calleth to him them whom he knoweth will not come? Let Augustine answer for me. Wilt thou dispute with me? Admire with me, and cry out O depth, let us both agree in fear, lest we perish in error. Moreover if election (as Paul witnesseth) be the mother of faith, I turn back the argument upon their own head, that faith is therefore not general, because election is special. For by the orderly dependance of causes and effects, it is easily gathered, that where Paul saith, that we are full of all spiritual blessing, as God had chosen us before the creation of the world: therefore these riches are not common to all, because God hath chosen only whom he would, This is the reason why in another place he commendeth the faith of the elect, lest it should be thought that any man doth by his own motion get faith to himself: but that this glory may remain with God, that they are freely enlightned of him, whom he had chosen before. Tit. i. 1. For Bernard saith rightly, [*Ad Tho. prebof. Beruel. Epi.* 1007.] friends do severally bear, to whom he also saith, fear not thou small flock: for to you it is given to know the mystery of the kingdom of heaven. Who are these? even they whom he hath foreknown and predestinate to be fashioned like to the image of his Son. A great and secret counsel is made known. The Lord knew who are his: but that which was known to God is made manifest to men: neither doth he vouchsafe to make any others partakers of so great a mystery, but those self same men, whom he hath foreknown and predestinate to be his. A little after he concludeth: the mercy of God is from eternity even to eternity upon them that fear him: from eternity, by reason of predestination: to eternity, with respect to blessedness: the one without beginning, the other without ending. But what need I to cite Bernard for witness, when we hear from the master's own mouth (John vi. 46.) that none do see but they which are of God? By which words he signifieth, that all they which are not begotten again of God, do dazle at the brightness of his countenauce. And to election faith indeed is fitly joined, so that it keep the second degree. Which order the words of Christ do clearly express in another place, This is the will of my father, that I lose not that which he hath given. For this is his will, that whosoever believeth in the Son, shall not perish. If he would have all saved, he would appoint over them his Son to be their keeper, and would graff them all into his body with the holy bond of faith. Now it is certain that faith is a singular pledge of his fatherly love, laid up for his children whom he hath adopted. Therefore Christ in another place saith, that the sheep follow the shepherd, because they know his voice: but they follow not a stranger, because they know not the voice of strangers, John x. 4. Whence cometh this difference, but because their ears are bored by God? For no man maketh himself a sheep: but he is made one by the heavenly grace. For which cause also the Lord teacheth that our safety shall always be certain and free from danger, because it is kept by the invincible power of God. Wherefore he concludeth that the unbelievers are not of his sheep: namely because they are not of the number of them, whom God hath promised by Isaiah that they shall be his disciples. Now because in the testimonies which I have alleged is expressed perseverance, they do therewithal testify the unmoveable stedfastness of election.

11. Now let us speak of the reprobate, whom the apostle joineth there together. For as Jacob, having yet with good works deserved nothing, is taken into grace, so Esau, being yet defiled with no wicked doing, is hated. Rom. ix. 13. If we turn our eyes to works, we do wrong to the apostle, as though he saw not the same thing which we clearly see. It is proved that he saw it not, forasmuch as he expresly enforceth this point, that when they had not yet done any good or evil, the one was chosen, and the other refused, to prove that the foundation of the predestination of God is not in works. Again when he moved the objection, whether God be unrighteous, he allegeth not that which had been the most certain and plain defence of his righteousness, namely, that God rendered to Esau according to his wickedness: but he was content with another solution, that the reprobate are stirred up to this end, that the glory of God may be set forth by them. Last of all he adjoineth a concluding sentence, that God hath mercy upon whom he will, and hardeneth whom he will. See you not how he imputeth both to the will of God only? Therefore if we cannot declare a reason why he vouchsafeth to grant mercy to them that are his, but because it so pleaseth him: neither also shall we

The ground of reprobation the will of God to reject, and not men's deserving to be rejected.

we have any other cauſe in rejecting of others, than his own will. For when it is ſaid that God hardeneth, or ſheweth mercy to whom he will, men are thereby warned to ſeek no cauſe elſewhere than in his will.

CHAP. XXIII.

A confutation of the ſlanders wherewith this doctrine hath always been wrongfully burdened.

Election granted by ſome who notwithſtanding deny reprobation.

BUT when the wit of man heareth theſe things, the frowardneſs thereof cannot be reſtrained, but that by and by as at the bloody blaſt of a trumpet ſounding to battle, it diverſely and exceſſively turmoileth. And many indeed, as though they would drive away the malice from God, do ſo grant election, that they deny that any man is reprobated: but they do too ignorantly and childiſhly; forasmuch as election itſelf could not ſtand unleſs it were ſet contrary to reprobation: God is ſaid to ſeparate them whom he adopteth unto ſalvation: it ſhould be more that fooliſhly ſaid that others do either by chance or by their own endeavour obtain that which only election giveth to a few. Therefore whom God paſſeth over, he rejecteth: and for no other couſe, but for that he will exclude them from the inheritance which he doth predeſtinate to be his children's. Neither is the backwardneſs of men tolerable, if it ſuffer not itſelf to be bridled with the word of God, where the incomprehenſible counſel of God is treated of which the angels themſelves do worſhip. But we have already heard, that hardening is no leſs in the hand and will of God than mercy. Neither doth Paul, Rom. ix 20. (as the men do that I have ſpoken of) buſily labour to excuſe God with a lying defence: but only he teacheth that it is not lawful for the thing formed to quarrel with him that formed it. Now whoſo do not admit that they are rejected of God, how will they diſintangle themſelves from that ſaying of Chriſt, Every tree which my Father hath not planted, ſhall be plucked up by the root, Matth. xv. 13. They plainly hear that all theſe are adjudged and doomed to deſtruction, whom the heavenly Father hath not vouchſafed to plant as holy trees in his grounnd. If they deny this to be a ſign of reprobation, then is there nothing ſo clear that it may be proved to them. But if they ceaſe not to wrangle, let the ſobriety of faith be contented with this admonition of Paul, that there is no cauſe to quarrel with God, if he be willing on the one ſide to ſhew his wrath and to make his power known, do with long-ſuffering and lenity bear with the veſſels of wrath prepared to deſtruction: and on the other ſide he make known the riches of his glory toward the veſſels of mercy which he hath prepared to glory. Rom. ix. 21. Let the readers mark, how Paul, to cut off occaſion from whiſperings and backbitings, giveth the chief rule to the wrath and power of God: becauſe it is unjuſt that thoſe deep judgments which ſwallow up all our ſenſes, ſhould be made ſubject to our determination. Our adverſaries anſwer is very trifling, that God doth not utterly reject them whom he ſuffereth in lenity, but abideth with a mind hanging in ſuſpence toward them, if peradventure they may repent. As tho' Paul aſcribed to God a patience, to look for their turning, whom he ſaith are fitted for deſtruction. For Auguſtine ſaith rightly where he expoundeth this place, where power is joined to permiſſion, God doth not permit, but govern with his power. (*Lib.* 5. *contra Jul. cap.* 5.) They further ſay alſo, that it is not for nothing ſaid, that the veſſels of wrath are prepared to deſtruction: but, that God hath prepared the veſſels of mercy: becauſe by this means he aſcribeth and challengeth the praiſe of ſalvation to God, but the blame of deſtruction he caſteth upon them who by their own will do bring it upon themſelves. But although I grant to them that Paul by the divers manner of ſpeaking did ſoften the harſhneſs of the firſt part of the ſentence, yet it is not meet to aſſign the preparing unto deſtruction to any other thing than to the ſecret counſel of God: which alſo is affirmed a little before in the reſt of the text. That God ſtirred up Pharaoh; then that he hardeneth whom he will. Whereupon followeth that the hidden counſel of God is the cauſe of hardening. This at the leaſt I get which Auguſtine ſaith (*Lib.* 1. *de prædeſt. ſanct. c.* 2.) that when God of wolves maketh ſheep, he doth with a mightier grace reform them, that their hardneſs may be tamed: and therefore God for this cauſe doth not convert the obſtinate, becauſe he doth not ſhew forth in them the mightier grace, which he wanteth not if he would ſhew it forth.

There is no striving against God in this cause.

2. These sayings indeed should be sufficient for the godly and sober, and them who remember themselves to be men. But forasmuch as these venomous dogs do cast up not only one sort of venom against God, we will, as the matter shall serve answer to every one particularly. Foolish men divers ways quarrel with God, as though they had him subject to their accusations. First therefore they ask, by what right the Lord is angry with his creatures of whom he hath not been first provoked by any offence: for to condemn to destruction whom he will, agreeth rather with the wilfulness of a tyrant, than the lawful sentence of a judge. Therefore they say that there is cause why men should blame God, if by his bare will, without their own deserving, they be predestinate to eternal death. If such thoughts do at any time come into the mind of the godly, to break their violent assaults they shall be sufficiently armed with this, although they had no more, if they consider how great wickedness it is, even so much as to enquire of the causes of the will of God; since it is the cause of all things that exist, and worthily so ought to be. For if it have any cause, then somewhat must go before it, whereto it must be as it were connected; which it is unlawful once to imagine. For the will of God is so the highest rule of righteousness, that whatsoever he willeth, even for this that he willeth it, it ought to be taken for righteous. When therefore it is asked, why the Lord did it: it is to be answered, because he willed it. But if thou go further in asking why he willed it, thou askest some greater and higher thing than the will of God; which cannot be found. Let therefore the rashness of man restrain itself, and not seek that which is not, lest peradventure it may not find that which is. With this bridle (I say) he shall be well withholden whosoever he be that will dispute the secrets of God with reverence. (*Augustine lib.* 1. *de Gent. contra Manic. cap.* 3.) As for the boldness of the wicked, who dread not openly to speak evil of God: against it the Lord with his own righteousness without any of our defence shall sufficiently vindicate himself, when he shall take all shifting from their consciences, and hold them fast convinced, and condemn them. Neither do we yet thrust in the feigned device of absolute power, which as it is prophane, so worthily ought to be abhorred of us. We feign not God lawless, who is a law to himself (as Plato saith) men stand in need of laws who are troubled with unlawful lusts: but the will of God is not only pure from all fault, but also is the highest rule of perfection, and the law of all laws. But we deny that he is subject to yield account. We deny also that we are meet judges, who would pronounce of this cause after our own sense. Wherefore if we attempt further than we lawfully may, let that threatening in the Psalms bring us in fear, that God shall overcome so oft as he is judged of any mortal man. Psal. li. 6.

The truth hath sufficient to stop mouths, who ask why God should foreordain some unto death, when they, not existing, could not deserve the death whereunto they were appointed.

3. So can God in keeping silence, put his enemies to silence. But that we may not suffer them freely to scorn his holy name, he delivereth to us out of his holy word weapons against them. Wherefore if any man attack us with such words; why hath God from the beginning predestinate some to death, who when they were not, could not yet deserve the sentence of death: we instead of answer may again on our side ask of them, what they think that God oweth to man, if he will judge him by his own nature. In such sort as we are all corrupted with sin, we cannot but be hateful to God; and that not by tyrannous cruelty, but by most upright reason of justice. If all they whom the Lord hath predestinate to death are by the state of nature subject to the judgment of death: of what injustice against themselves, I beseech you, may they complain? Let all the sons of Adam come: let them strive and dispute with their Creator, for that by his eternal providence they were before their generation condemned to everlasting misery. What shall they be able once to mutter against this defence, when God on the other side shall call them to the reacknowleging of themselves? If they be all taken out of a corrupt mass, it is no wonder if they be subject to damnation. Let them not therefore accuse God of injustice, if by his eternal judgment they are appointed to death, to which they themselves do feel whether they will or no, that they are willingly led of their own nature. Whereby it appeareth how wrongfully is the desire of their murmuring, because they do of set purpose hide the cause of damnation which they are compelled to acknowlege in themselves, that the laying of the blame upon God may acquit them. But though I do a hundred times confess, as it is most true that God is the author of it, yet do they not by and by wipe away the guiltiness which being engraven on their consciences from time to time with frequent recourse

presenteth

preſenteth itſelf to their eyes.

God not unjuſt though men be condemned for that corruption whereunto they were foreordained.

4. Again they except and ſay; were they not before predeſtinate by the ordinance of God to the ſame corruption which is now alledged for the cauſe of damnation? When therefore they periſh in their corruption, they do nothing but ſuffer the puniſhment of that miſery into which by his predeſtination Adam fell and drew his poſterity headlong with him. Is not he therefore unjuſt, who doth ſo cruelly mock his creatures? I grant indeed that all the children of Adam fell by the will of God into that ſtate of miſery wherein they are now bound: and this is it that I ſaid at the beginning, that at length we muſt always return to the determination of the will of God, the cauſe whereof is hidden in himſelf. But it followeth not by and by that God is ſubject to this ſlander. For we will with Paul anſwer them in this manner, O man, who art thou that contendeſt with God? doth the thing formed ſay to him that formed it, Why haſt thou made me ſo? Hath not the potter power to make of the ſame lump one veſſel to honour, and another to diſhonour? Rom. ix. 20. They will ſay that the righteouſneſs of God is not ſo truly defended, but that we may ſeek a ſhift, ſuch as they are wont to have that want a juſt excuſe. For what elſe ſeemeth here to be ſaid, than that God hath a power which cannot be hindered from doing any thing whatſoever it be as he pleaſeth himſelf? But it is far otherwiſe. For what ſtronger reaſon can be brought than when we are commanded to think what a one God is? For how ſhould he commit any injuſtice, who is judge of the world? If it properly pertain to the nature of God to do judgment, then he naturally loveth righteouſneſs, and abhorreth unrighteouſneſs. Wherefore the apoſtle did not, as though he were overtaken, look about for holes to hide him: but ſhewed that the reaſon of the righteouſneſs of God is higher than that either it is to be meaſured by the meaſure of man, or may be comprehended by the narrow capacity of the wit of man. The apoſtle indeed confeſſeth that there is ſuch depth in the judgments of God, wherewith the minds of men ſhould be ſwallowed, if they endeavoured to penetrate into it. But he teacheth alſo how hainous a wrong it is, to bind the works of God to ſuch a law, that ſo ſoon as we underſtand not the reaſon of them, we may be bold to diſallow them. It is a known ſaying of Solomon (which yet few do rightly underſtand.) The great Creator of all rendereth reward to the fool, and reward to tranſgreſſors, Prov. xxvi. 10. For he crieth out concerning the greatneſs of God, in whoſe will it is to puniſh fools and tranſgreſſors, although he do not vouchſafe to let them have his ſpirit. And monſtrous is the madneſs of men, when they ſo covet to make that which is unmeaſurable, ſubject to the ſmall meaſure of their reaſon. The angels who ſtood ſtill in their uprightneſs, Paul calleth elect. 2 Tim. v. 22. If their ſtedfaſtneſs was grounded upon the good pleaſure of God, the falling away of the other proveth they were forſaken: of which thing there can no other cauſe be alledged than reprobation, which is hidden in the ſecret counſel of God.

A reaſon of the will of God in rejection of the wicked, we neither can find neither ſhould ſearch.

5. Go to; let there now be preſent ſome Manichee, or Celeſtine, a ſlanderer of the providence of God: I ſay with Paul that there ought no reaſon to be rendered thereof: becauſe with the greatneſs of it, it far ſurmounteth our underſtanding. What wonder? or what abſurdity is it? Would he have the power of God ſo limited, that it might be able to work no more, than his mind is able to conceive? I ſay with Auguſtine, that they are created of the Lord, whom he without doubting foreknew that they ſhould go into deſtruction: and that it was ſo done becauſe he ſo willed: but why he willed, it is not our part to aſk a reaſon of it who cannot comprehend it: neither is it meet that the will of God ſhould come down into controverſy among us, of which ſo oft as mention is made, under the name of it is named the higheſt rule of righteouſneſs. Why therefore is any queſtion moved of unrighteouſneſs where righteouſneſs clearly appeareth? Neither let us be aſhamed, after the example of Paul, ſo to ſtop the mouths of the wicked, and from time to time ſo oft as they ſhall be bold to bark againſt it, to repeat this, Who be ye miſerable men, that lay an accuſation to God's charge, and do therefore lay it to his charge, becauſe he doth not temper the greatneſs of his works to your dulneſs? As though they were therefore wrongful, becauſe they are hidden from fleſh. The unmeaſurableneſs of the judgments of God is by clear experiences known unto you. Ye know that they are called the deep bottomleſs depth. Pſal. xxxvi. Now aſk of the narrow capacities of your wit, whether they comprehend that which God hath decreed with himſelf. What good doth it you therefore with mad ſearching to plunge yourſelves into the

bottomleſs depth, which reaſon itſelf teacheth you that it ſhall be to your deſtruction? Why are ye not reſtrained with ſuch fear of the which both that hiſtory of Job and the books of the prophet do report of the incomprehenſible wiſdom, and terrible power of God? If thy mind be diſquieted, let it not grieve thee to embrace the counſel of Auguſtine. (*Aug. de verb. apo. ſerm.* 20.) Thou being a man lookeſt for an anſwer at my hand; and I alſo am a man. Therefore let us both hear him that ſaith; O man, who art thou? Better is a faithful ignorance than raſh knowlege. Seek merits; thou ſhalt find nothing but pain. O depth, Peter denieth: the thief believeth. O depth: ſeekeſt thou a reaſon? I will tremble at the depth. Reaſon thou, I will wonder, diſpute thou, I will believe: I ſee a depth, but I reach not the bottom. Paul reſted, becauſe he found wondering. He calleth the judgments of God unſearchable: and art thou come to ſearch them? He ſaith that his ways are impoſſible to be traced out: and doſt thou trace them? we will not profit by proceeding further: for neither ſhall we ſatisfy their froward wanton curiouſneſs, nor doth the Lord need any other defence, than that which he hath uſed by his ſpirit, who ſpake by the mouth of Paul; and we forget to ſpeak well, when we ceaſe to ſpeak with God.

Neceſſity of ſinning neither excuſeth the ſinner, nor chargeth God juſtly with injuſtice for condemning them that ſo ſin.

6. Their other objection alſo ariſeth out of ungodlineſs, which yet tendeth not ſo directly to the accuſing of God as to the excuſing of the ſinner. Howbeit the ſinner who is condemned of God cannot be juſtified without the diſhonour of the judge. Thus therefore prophane tongues do bark againſt God, ſaying: why ſhould God impute thoſe things for ſins to men, of which he hath by his predeſtination laid neceſſity upon them? For what ſhould they do? Should they wreſtle with his decrees? This would be a vain attempt, ſince they cannot do it at all. Therefore they are not rightly puniſhed for thoſe things, whereof the chief cauſe is God's predeſtination. Here I will abſtain from that defence, whereunto the eccleſiaſtical writers do commonly flee, namely, that the foreknowlege of God withſtandeth not but that man may be accounted the ſinner: becauſe God foreſeeth the evils of man, not his own. For ſo the cavil will not ſtay here, but will rather preſs us further with ſaying, that God, if he had choſen, might have provided a remedy for thoſe evils which he foreſaw; and that ſince he hath not done ſo, he hath of determined purpoſe created men to that end that he ſhould ſo behave himſelf on earth: and if by the providence of God, man was created to this condition, that he ſhould do all thoſe things that he doth: then he is not to be blamed for that which he cannot avoid, and which he enterpriſed by the will of God. Therefore let us ſee how this knot ought to be well looſed. Firſt of all, this ought to be holden certain among all men which Soloman ſaith, that God hath created all things for himſelf, and the wicked man to an evil day. Prov. xvi. 4. Behold, when the diſpoſing of all things is in the hand of God, when in his power remaineth the rule of ſafety and death, he ſo ordereth them by his counſel and beck, that among men there are born ſome adjudged even from their mother's womb to death, who with their deſtruction may glorify his name. If any man anſwer, that there is no neceſſity laid upon them by the providence of God, but rather that he created them in ſuch eſtate, becauſe he foreſaw their perverſeneſs to come: he neither ſaith nothing at all, nor altogether. The old writers are wont indeed ſometimes to uſe this ſolution: but as it were doubtingly. But the ſchoolmen reſt upon it, as though nothing could be objected againſt it. Indeed I willingly grant, that foreknowlege alone bringeth no neceſſity to creatures, although all men are not of that opinion; for there are ſome that will have it alſo to be the cauſe of things. But it ſeemeth to me that Valla, a man not otherwiſe practiſed in holy writings, ſaw both more deeply and more wiſely, who ſhewed that this contention is ſuperfluous; becauſe both life and death are rather the doings of God's will than of his foreknowlege. If God did but foreſee the ſucceſſes of men, and did not alſo diſpoſe and order them by his will, then this queſtion ſhould not without cauſe be moved, whether his foreſeeing any thing availed to the neceſſity of them. But ſince he doth no otherwiſe foreſee the things that ſhall come to paſs, than becauſe he hath decreed that they ſhould ſo come to paſs: it is vain to move a controverſy about foreknowlege, where it is certain that all things do happen rather by ordinance and commandment.

God did not only foreſee, but diſpoſe the fall of man, and in him the ruin of his poſterity.

7. They ſay that this is not written in expreſs words, that it was decreed of God, that Adam ſhould periſh by his falling away. As though the ſame God whom the ſcripture reporteth to do whatſoever

whatſoever he will, created the nobleſt of all his creatures to an uncertain end. They ſay he had free-will, that he might ſhape to himſelf his own fortune; and that God decreed nothing but to handle him according to his deſerving. If ſo cold a device be received, where ſhall be that almightineſs of God, whereby he governeth all things according to his ſecret councel, which dependeth on no other thing than itſelf? But predeſtination, whether they will or no, ſheweth itſelf in Adam's poſterity. For it came to paſs naturally that all men ſhould loſe ſalvation by the fault of one parent. What hindereth them to confeſs of one man that which againſt their wills they confeſs of all mankind? For why ſhould they loſe their labour with dallying ſhifts? The ſcripture cryeth out that all men were in the perſon of one man made bound to eternal death. Since this cannot be imputed to nature, it is plain that it proceeded from the wondrous counſel of God. But it is too much abſurdity that theſe good patrons of the righteouſneſs of God do ſo ſtumble at a ſtraw, and leap over great beams. Again I aſk, how came it to paſs, that the fall of Adam did wrap up in eternal death ſo many nations with their children being infants without remedy, but becauſe it ſo pleaſed God? Here their tongues which are otherwiſe ſo pratling, muſt of neceſſity be dumb. It is a terrible decree, I own; yet no man ſhall be able to deny, but that God foreknew what end man ſhould have, ere he created him, and therefore foreknew it becauſe he had ſo ordained by his decree. If any man here inveigh againſt the foreknowlege of God, he raſhly and indiſcreetly ſtumbleth For what matter is there, I beſeech you, why the heavenly Judge ſhould be accuſed for that he was not ignorant of that which was to come? Therefore if there be any either juſt or colourable complaint, it toucheth predeſtination. Neither ought it to ſeem an abſurdity which I ſay, that God not only foreſaw the fall of the firſt man, and in him the ruin of his poſterity, but alſo diſpoſed it after his own will. For as it belongeth to his wiſdom, to foreknow all things that ſhall be: ſo it belongeth to his power, to rule and govern all things with his hand. And this queſtion Auguſtine very well diſcuſſeth, as he doth others, ſaying, (*Enchir. ad Laurent.*) We moſt wholſomely confeſs that which we moſt rightly believe, that the God and Lord of all things, who created all things very good, and foreknew that evil things ſhould ſpring out of good, and knew that it pertained more to his almighty goodneſs even of evil things to do well than to ſuffer them to be evil: that he ſo ordered the life of angels and men, that in it he might firſt ſhew what free-will could do, and then what the benefit of his grace and judgment of juſtice could do.

The wicked do ſin and periſh not by God's permiſſion only, but by his will and appointment.

8. Here they run to the diſtinction of will and permiſſion, by which they will have it granted that the wicked do periſh, God only permitting but not willing it. But why ſhould we ſay that he permitted it, but becauſe he ſo willeth? However it is not likely that man by himſelf, only by the permiſſion of God, without any of his ordinance, brought deſtruction to himſelf: as though God appointed not, of what condition he would have the chief of his creatures to be. I therefore will not doubt to confeſs ſimply with Auguſtine, that the will of God is the neceſſity of things, and that what he willeth, it muſt of neceſſity come to paſs: as thoſe things ſhall truly come to paſs which he hath foreſeen. (*De Gen. ad lite. li. 6. c. 15.*) Now if for excuſe of themſelves and of the ungodly, either the Pelagians or Manichees, or Anabaptiſts, or Epicureans (for with theſe four ſects we have to do in this queſtion) ſhall object againſt the neceſſity wherewith they are bound by the predeſtination of God: they bring nothing fit to the purpoſe. For if predeſtination be nothing elſe but a diſpenſation of the righteouſneſs of God, which is hidden indeed, but yet without fault: foraſmuch as it is certain that they were not unworthy to be predeſtinate to that eſtate, it is alſo as certain that the deſtruction is moſt righteous which they enter into predeſtination. Moreover their deſtruction ſo dependeth upon the predeſtination of God, that both cauſe and matter thereof is found in themſelves. For the firſt man fell, becauſe the Lord ſo judged it to be expedient; why he ſo judged is unknown to us; yet it is certain that he ſo judged for no other reaſon, but becauſe he ſaw that thereby the glory of his name ſhould be worthily ſet forth. When thou heareſt mention of the glory of God, there think of his righteouſneſs: for it muſt be righteous that deſerveth praiſe. Man therefore falleth, the providence of God ſo ordaining it: but he falleth by his own fault. The Lord had a little before pronounced, that all the things which he had made were very good. Whence therefore cometh that perverſeneſs to man, to fall away from his God? Leſt it ſhould be thought to be of creation, the Lord with his commendation allowed that which came from himſelf. Therefore by his own wickedneſs he corrupted the nature which he had

received pure of the Lord, and by his fall he drew his whole posterity with him into destruction. Wherefore let us rather behold an evident cause of damnation in the corrupted nature of mankind, which is nearer to us, than search for a hidden and utterly incomprehensible cause thereof in the predestination of God. Neither let it grieve us so far to submit our wit to the unmeasurable wisdom of God, that it may yield in many secrets of his. For, of those things which it is neither granted nor lawful to know, the ignorance is well learned: the coveting of knowlege is a point of madness.

The judgment of God in punishing men for that whereof he hath laid a necessity upon them is righteous, but the reason how it is righteous is unknown to us: who should rather bewail iniquity in ourselves, than seek the cause thereof in God.

9. Such men perhaps will say, that I have not yet brought enough to subdue that wicked excuse. But I verily confess that it can never be brought to pass, but that ungodliness will always grudge and murmur against it; yet I think that I have spoken so much as might suffice to take away not only all reason but also all colour of gainsaying. The reprobate would be thought excusable in sinning, because they cannot escape the necessity of sinning: especially since such necessity is cast upon them by the ordination of God. But we deny that they are thereby well excused, because the ordinance of God, by which they complain that they are destined to destruction, hath his righteousness, unknown indeed to us, but yet most certain. Whereupon we conclude, that they bear no evil which is not laid upon them by the most righteous judgment of God. Then, we teach that they do preposterously, which to seek out the beginning of their damnation, do bend their eyes to the secret closets of the counsel of God, and wink at the corruption of nature, from whence their damnation springeth. And this withstandeth that they cannot impute it to God, for that he witnesseth of his own creation. For although man is created by the eternal providence of God to that calamity, whereunto he is subject; yet the matter thereof he took of himself, not of God, forasmuch as he is by no other mean so lost, but because he went out of kind from the pure creation of God into a corrupt and impure perverseness.

God not to be charged as a partial accepter of persons.

10 Now the adversaries of God's predestination do slander it also with a third absurdity. For when we impute it to nothing else but to the choice of the will of God, that they are made free from the universal destruction, whom he maketh heirs of his kingdom, thereby they gather that there is with him respect of persons, which the scripture every where denieth; and therefore, that either the scripture disagreeth with itself, or that in the election of God there is a respect of merits. First, the scripture in another sense denieth, that God is a respecter of persons, than as they judge it. For by the name of person it signifieth not a man, but those things which being seen with eyes in man are wont to procure either favour, grace, and dignity, or hatred, contempt and shame; as riches, wealth, power, nobility, office, country, excellency of beauty, and such like; on the other side, poverty, need baseness, vileness, contempt, and the like. So Peter and Paul do teach that the Lord is not an accepter of persons, because he putteth no difference between the Jew and the Greek, to refuse the one and embrace the other only for respect of nation. Acts x. 14. Rom. ii. 10. Gal. iii. 28. So James useth the same words when he mindeth to affirm, that God in his judgment does not regard riches. Jam. ii. 5. But Paul in another place speaketh thus of God, that in judging he hath no consideration of freedom or bondage. Col. iii. 25. Eph. vi. 9. Wherefore there is no contradiction in saying, that God according to the will of his good pleasure, without any deserving chuseth for his sons whom he will, rejecting and refusing others. But the matter may thus be opened, that men may be more fully satisfied. They ask how it cometh to pass, that of two between whom no deserving putteth any difference, God in his electing passeth over the one and taketh the other. I on the other side do ask them, whether they think that in him that is taken there is any thing that may make the mind of God to incline toward him. If they confess (as they needs must) that there is nothing, it shall follow that God looketh not upon man, but from his own goodness fetcheth a cause why to do good to him. Whereas therefore God chuseth one man and refuseth another, this cometh not of respect of man, but of his mercy alone, which ought to have liberty to shew forth and utter itself when and where it pleaseth him. For we have in another place also shewed, that there were not from the beginning many noble, or wise, or honourable called, that God might humble the pride of flesh: 1 Cor. i. 26. so far is it off, that his favour was bound to persons.

11. Where-

God finding all guilty, is not partial in condemning any, but in saving some merciful.

11. Wherefore many do falſely accuſe God of partial righteouſneſs, for that he doth not in his predeſtination keep the ſame courſe toward all men. If (ſay they) he find all guilty, let him equally puniſh all: if he find them not guilty, let him withold the rigor of his judgment from all. But ſo they deal with him, as if either mercy were forbidden him, or when he would have mercy he be compelled altogether to give over his judgment. What is it that they require? If all be guilty, that all may together ſuffer all one pain. We grant the guiltineſs to be common, but we ſay that the mercy of God helpeth ſome. Let it help all, ſay they. But we anſwer, that it is rightful that he ſhould alſo in puniſhing ſhew himſelf a rightful Judge. When they ſuffer not this; what do they elſe, but either go about to diveſt God of his power to have mercy, or at leaſt to grant him upon this condition, that he utterly give over his judgment. Wherefore theſe ſayings of Auguſtine do very well agree together. (*Epi.* 106. *de prædeſt. & grat. De bon. perſev. cap*, 12.) Since in the firſt man the whole maſs of mankind fell into condemnation, theſe veſſels that are made of it to honour, are not the veſſels of their own righteouſneſs, but of the mercy of God: and whereas others are made to diſhonour, the ſame is not to be imputed to unrighteouſneſs, but to judgment, &c. That to thoſe whom he refuſeth, God rendereth due puniſhment: to thoſe whom he calleth he giveth undeſerved grace; that they are delivered from all accuſation, after the manner of a creditor, in whoſe power it is to forgive to the one, and demand of the other. Therefore the Lord alſo may give grace to whom he will, becauſe he is merciful: and give it not to all, becauſe he is a juſt Judge. He may by giving to ſome that which they do not deſerve, ſhew his free grace, and by not giving to all, declare what all deſerve. For whereas Paul writeth, Rom. xi. 31. that God encloſed all under ſin, that he might have mercy upon all, it is therewithal to be added that he is debtor to no man: becauſe no man firſt gave to him, that he may require like of him.

Predeſtination taketh not away the care of well-doing.

12. This alſo they often ſay, to overthrow predeſtination, that while it ſtandeth, all carefulneſs and endeavour of well-doing falleth away. For who (ſay they) ſhall hear that either life or death is certainly appointed for him by the eternal decree of God, but that it will by and by come into his mind that it maketh no matter how he behave himſelf, ſince the predeſtination of God can by his work be neither hindered nor furthered? So ſhall all men diſſolutely throw forth themſelves, and after a deſperate manner run headlong whither their luſt ſhall carry them. And verily they ſay not altogether falſely, for there be many ſwine, which with filthy blaſphmies defile the doctrine of predeſtination: and by this pretence alſo do mock out all admoniſhments and rebuking, ſaying, God knoweth what he hath once determined to do with us: if he hath decreed our ſalvation, he will bring us to it at the time appointed: if he hath predeſtinate our death, we ſhould labour in vain to the contrary. But the ſcripture when it teacheth with how much greater reverence and religiouſneſs we ought to think of ſo great a myſtery, doth both inſtruct the godly to far other ſenſe, and well confute theſe mens outrage. For it doth not ſpeak of predeſtination to this end, that we ſhould be encouraged to boldneſs, and with unlawful raſhneſs attempt to ſearch the untainted ſecrets of God: but rather that being humbled and abaſed we ſhould learn to tremble at his judgment, and reverently to look up to his mercy. To this mark the faithful will level themſelves. As for that filthy grunting of ſwine, it is well confuted of Paul. They ſay that they go careleſly forward in vices; becauſe if they be of the number of the elect, their vices ſhall nothing hinder them, but that they ſhall at length be brought to life. But Paul telleth that we are to this end, that we ſhould lead a holy and faultleſs life. Eph. i. 4. If the mark that election is directed unto be holineſs of life, it ought more to awake and ſtir us up chearfully to practiſe that holineſs, than to ſerve for a cloak of ſlothfulneſs. For how greatly do theſe things differ the one from the other? to ceaſe from well-doing, becauſe election is ſufficient for ſalvation; and that the appointed end of election is that we ſhould diligently apply ourſelves to good works. Away therefore with ſuch ſacrileges which do wrongfully invert the whole order of election. Where they ſtretch their blaſphemies further, when they ſay, that he who is reprobated of God, ſhall loſe his labour if he go about to make himſelf acceptable to him with innocency and honeſty of life; therein they are taken with a moſt ſhameleſs ly. For whence could ſuch endeavour come but of election? For whoſoever be of the number of the reprobate, as they are veſſels made to diſhonour, ſo they ceaſe not with continual wicked works to provoke the wrath of God againſt themſelves, and by evident tokens to confirm

firm the judgment of God which is already pronounced upon them: ſo far are they from ſtriving with him in vain.

It doth not overthrow exhortations unto virtue and godlineſs.

13. But others do maliciouſly and ſhamefully ſlander this doctrine, as though it did overthrow all exhortations to godly living. For which matter in old time Auguſtine was load with a great calumny; which he wiped away with his book of corruption and grace written to Valentine, the reading whereof will appeaſe all godly and tractable men: yet I will touch a few things, which, as I truſt, ſhall ſatisfy them that are honeſt and not contentious. We have already ſeen how open and loud a preacher of the free election Paul was: was he therefore cold in admoniſhing and exhorting? Let theſe good zealous men compare their earneſtneſs with his, and it ſhall be found in them as ice in compariſon of his incredible heat. And truly this principle taketh away all doubts, that we are not called to uncleanneſs, but that every man ſhould poſſeſs his own veſſel in honour, *&c.* 1 Theſſ. iv. 7. Again, that we are the workmanſhip of God created to good works, which he hath foreordained that we ſhould walk in them. Eph. ii. 10. Briefly, they that are even but meanly exerciſed in Paul, ſhall without long declaration eaſily perceive how fitly he maketh theſe things to agree, which they feign to diſagree. Chriſt commandeth that men believe in him; yet is his definitive ſentence neither falſe nor contrary to his commandment, where he ſaith: No man can come to me, but he to whom it is given of my Father. John vi. 61. Let preaching therefore have its courſe, which may bring men to faith, and with continual profiting hold them in perſeverance. Neither yet let the doctrine of predeſtination be hindred, that they who obey may not be proud as of their own, but may glory in the Lord. Chriſt not for nothing ſaith: Whoſo hath ears to hear, let him hear. Matth. xiii. 9. Therefore when we exhort and preach, they that have ears do willingly obey: but whoſo lacketh ears, in them is fulfilled that which is written, That hearing they hear not. Iſa. vi. 9. But why (ſaith Auguſtine) ſhould ſome have, and other ſome not have? Who hath known the mind of the Lord? Muſt that therefore be denied which is open, becauſe that cannot be comprehended which is hidden. (*Lib. de bono perſeve. c.* 14.) Theſe ſayings I have faithfully reported out of Auguſtine: but becauſe peradventure his words ſhall have more authority than mine, go to, let us bring forth the very words that are read in himſelf. If when this is heard, many are turned into dulneſs and ſluggiſhneſs, and being inclined from labour to luſt do go down after their deſires: ought that therefore to be accounted falſe which is ſpoken of the foreknowlege of God? If God hath foreknown that they ſhall be good, ſhall they not be good in how great wickedneſs ſoever they now live? and if he hath foreknown that they will be evil, ſhall they not be evil in how great goodneſs ſoever they be now ſeen? Shall therefore theſe things which are truly ſpoken of the foreknowlege of God, be for ſuch cauſes either denied or left unſpoken of? namely then, when if they be not ſpoken of, men go into errors? The rule (ſaith he) to keep truth unſpoken of, is one thing, and the neceſſity to ſpeak truth is another. As for the cauſes of leaving truth unſpoken, it were long to ſearch them out all: of which yet this is one, that they be not made worſe that underſtand it not, while we mean to make them more learned that underſtand it, who when we ſpeak any ſuch thing are indeed not made more learned, nor yet are made worſe. But when a truth is of ſuch a nature, that when we ſpeak it, he is made worſe that cannot conceive it: what ought then to be done? Is not the truth rather to be ſpoken that he may conceive it; than to keep it unſpoken, that not only neither of them may conceive it, but alſo he that more underſtandeth may be the worſe? whereas if he did hear and conceive it, by him alſo many ſhould learn. And we will not ſay that which, as the ſcripture witneſſeth, we lawfully might have ſpoken. For we fear forſooth leſt when we ſpeak, he be offended that cannot conceive it: but we fear not leſt while we hold our peace, he that can conceive truth be deceived with falſhood. (*Cap.* 20.) Which ſentence he at the laſt ſhortly winding up, more plainly alſo confirmed. Wherefore if the apoſtle, and they who followed them, the doctors of the church did both, namely both godlily preach of the eternal election of God, and hold the faithful in awe under the diſcipline of godly life: why do theſe our adverſaries being confuted with the invincible violence of truth, think that they ſay well in ſaying, that that which is ſpoken of predeſtination is not to be preached to the people although it be true? Yea it muſt in any wiſe be preached, that he who hath ears to hear may hear. But who hath ears if he hath not received them from him that promiſeth that he will give them? Truly let him that receiveth not, refuſe it; ſo that yet he who receiveth it, do take and drink, do drink and live. For as godlineſs is to be preached, that God may be rightly worſhipped:

ed: ſo it is alſo predeſtination, that he who hath ears to hear of the grace of God, may glory in God and not in himſelf.

Indiſcreet delivevering of the doctrine which concerneth predeſtination.

14. And yet that holy man, as he had a ſingular deſire to edify, ſo tempereth the manner of teaching the truth, that offence be wiſely avoided ſo far as it lawfully may be. For he ſheweth that thoſe things which are truly ſaid, may alſo be conveniently ſaid. If any man do thus preach to the people. If ye believe not, the cauſe is for that ye are already predeſtinate of God to deſtruction: for ſuch a man doth not only cheriſh ſlothfulneſs but alſo maintain wickedneſs. If any man alſo ſtretch this ſaying to the time to come, and ſay that they that hear ſhall not believe, becauſe they are reprobated; this would rather be a curſing than a teaching. Such therefore Auguſtine not unworthily biddeth to depart from the church, as fooliſh teachers, and unlucky and ill prophecying prophets. In another place he truly affirmeth that it is to be holden that a man then profiteth with rebuking. But why ſome thus and ſome otherwiſe? God forbid that we ſhould ſay the power of judging belongeth rather to the clay than to the potter. Again afterward. When men by rebuking either come or return into the way of righteouſneſs, who worketh ſalvation in their hearts, but he, who when any whoſoever he be planted and watereth, giveth the increaſe, whom when he will ſave, no freewill of man reſiſteth? It is therefore not to be doubted that the wills of men cannot reſiſt the will of God (who both in heaven and earth hath done whatſoever he would, and who hath alſo done thoſe things that are to come) but that he may do what he will, foraſmuch as even of the very wills of men he doth what he will. Again, when he will lead men to him, doth he bind them with corporal bonds? He inwardly worketh, inwardly holdeth hearts, inwardly moveth hearts, and draweth them with their wills which he himſelf hath made in them. But, that which he by and by addeth ought in no wiſe to be omitted: that becauſe we know not who belongeth or does not belong to the number of the predeſtinate, we ought ſo to be affectioned that we would have all men to be ſaved. So ſhall it come to paſs, that whomſoever we find, we ſhall labour to make him partaker of peace. But our peace ſhall reſt upon the children of peace. Therefore for our part, we muſt apply wholſome and ſharp rebuking to all men like a medicine, that they periſh not, nor deſtroy other, but it ſhall be the work of God to make it profitable to them whom he hath foreknown and predeſtinate.

CHAP. XXIV.

That election is eſtabliſhed by the calling of God, but the reprobate do bring upon themſelves the juſt deſtruction whereunto they are appointed.

God's effectual and inward calling of ſome whoſe election is thereby ſealed.

BUT, that the matter may more plainly appear, we muſt treat both of the calling of the elect, and of the binding and hardening of the wicked. Of the firſt of theſe I have already ſpoken ſomewhat, when I confuted their error, who think that the generalneſs of the promiſes extendeth equally to all mankind. But this election which otherwiſe God hath hidden with himſelf he doth not without choice at length diſcloſe by his calling, which a man may therefore call the manifeſtation of it. For, whom he hath foreknown, them he hath alſo predeſtinated to be conformed to the image of his Son: whom he hath predeſtinated them, he alſo called: whom he hath called, them he alſo juſtified, that in time to come he may glorify them. Rom. viii. 29. When the Lord hath by electing already adopted his into the number of his children: yet we ſee how they enter not into poſſeſſion of ſo great a benefit, but when they are called: on the other ſide, how being called they do now enjoy a certain communication of his election. For which reaſon Paul calleth the ſpirit which they receive both the ſpirit of adoption, and the ſeal and earneſt of the inheritance to come: Rom. viii. 25. Eph. i. 13. namely becauſe it doth with the teſtimony thereof ſtabliſh and ſeal to their hearts the aſſuredneſs of the adoption to come. For though the preaching of the goſpel ſpring out of the fountain of election: yet becauſe it is alſo common to the rebrobate, there it could not by itſelf be a ſure proof thereof. But God effectually teacheth his elect, that he may bring them to faith: as we have before alleged out of the words of Chriſt; Not that any man hath ſeen the Father, ſave he who is of God, he hath ſeen the Father, John vi. 46. Again, I have ſhewed thy name to the men whom thou haſt given

me: John xvii. 6. Whereas he ſaith in another place, no man can come to me, unleſs my Father draw him. Which place Auguſtine wiſely weigheth, whoſe words are theſe. If (as truth ſaith) every one that hath learned, cometh; whoſoever cometh not, certainly neither hath he learned. It doth not therefore follow that he who can come, alſo cometh, unleſs he hath both willed and done it. But every one that hath learned of the Father, not only can come, but alſo cometh, when now there is preſent both the profit of coming and the affection of willing, and the effect of doing. Alſo in another place more plainly. What is this elſe, Every one who hath heard of the Father, and hath learned, cometh to me, but there is none that heareth and learneth of the Father and cometh not to me? For if every one who hath heard of the Father and learned, cometh: truly every one that cometh not hath not heard of the Father, nor learned: for if he had heard and learned, he would come. This ſchool is far from the ſenſes of the fleſh, in which ſchool the Father is heard and teacheth, that men may come to the Son. And a little after. This grace which is ſecretly given to the hearts of men, is received of no hard heart: for it is therefore given, that the hardneſs of the heart may firſt be taken away. When therefore the Father is heard within, he taketh away the ſtony heart, and giveth a heart of fleſh. For ſo he maketh the children of promiſe and veſſels of mercy, which he hath prepared to glory. Why therefore doth he not teach all that they may come to Chriſt, but becauſe all whom he teacheth, by mercy he teacheth: whom he doth not teach, by judgment he doth not teach? Becauſe he hath mercy upon whom he will, and hardeneth whom he will. Therefore God aſſigneth them for children to himſelf, and appointeth himſelf father to them, whom he hath choſen. Now by calling he bringeth them into the houſhold, and uniteth himſelf to them, that they may be one together. But, when calling is joined to election, in that manner the ſcripture ſufficiently ſignifieth that in it nothing is to be required but the mercy of God. For if we aſk whom he calleth, and for what reaſon: he anſwereth, whom he hath elected. But when we come once to election, there the mercy of God alone appeareth on every ſide. And here that ſaying of Paul truly hath place, It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that ſheweth mercy. Rom. ix. 16. Neither yet that ſame, ſo as they commonly take it, who divide it between the grace of God, and the willing and running of man. For they expound it, that the deſire and endeavour of man have indeed no power of themſelves, unleſs they be proſpered by the grace of God: but when they are aſſiſted by his bleſſing, then they affirm that they have alſo their parts in obtaining ſalvation. Whoſe cavils I had rather confute with Auguſtines words than mine own: (*Enchir. ad Laur. cap.* 31.) If the apoſtle meant nothing elſe but that it is not of him only that willeth or runneth, unleſs the Lord be there preſent merciful: we may contrariwiſe turn it againſt them and ſay that it is not of mercy only, unleſs there be preſent willing and running. But if this be openly wicked, let us not doubt that the apoſtle giveth all to the mercy of the Lord, and leaveth nothing to our wills or endeavours. To this effect ſpeaketh that holy man. And I ſet not a ſtraw by that nice ſubtilty, that they ſay that Paul would not have ſo ſaid unleſs there had been ſome endeavour and will in us. For he did not conſider what was in man; but when he ſaw that ſome did aſſign part of ſalvation to the endeavour of men, he ſimply condemned their error in the firſt part of the ſentence, and in the ſecond he challenged the whole ſum of ſalvation to the mercy of God. And what other things do the prophets labour about but continually to preach the free calling of God?

It is of God's moſt free and undeſerved favour, that we are effectually called to ſalvation.

2. Moreover the very nature alſo and diſpenſation of calling doth clearly ſhew it, which conſiſteth not only in the preaching of the word, but alſo in the enlightening of the ſpirit. To whom God offereth his word, is ſhewed us in the prophet: Iſa. lxv. 1. I am found of them that ſought me not: I have openly appeared to them that did not aſk for me. To a people who hath not called upon my name, I have ſaid, Lo I am preſent. And leſt the Jews ſhould think that this kindneſs belonged only to the Gentiles, he doth alſo put them in remembrance from whence he took their father Abraham, when he vouchſafed to join him to himſelf, namely from mere idolatry, in which he was drowned with all his. When he firſt ſhineth with the light of his word to men not deſerving it, he therein ſheweth an example plain enough of his free goodneſs. Here therefore the unmeaſurable goodneſs of God ſheweth forth itſelf, but not unto ſalvation to all: becauſe for the reprobate there abideth a more grievous judgment, for that they refuſe the teſtimony of the will of God. And God alſo, to ſet forth his glory, withdraweth from them the effectual

tual efficacy of his Spirit. Therefore this inward calling is a pledge of salvation, which cannot deceive us. To which purpose is that saying of John, (1 John v. 24.) Thereby we know that we are his children, by the spirit which he hath given us. And lest flesh should glory, that it did at the least answer to him when he called and of his own will offered himself, he affirmeth that it hath no ears to hear, no eyes to see but what he hath made: and that he maketh them, not according to every man's thankfulness. but according to his own election. Of which thing you have a notable example in Luke, where both Jews and Gentiles in common together, heard the preaching of Paul and Barnabas. Whereas they were at that time all taught by that selfsame word, it is said that they believed who were ordained to everlasting life. Acts xiii. 4. With what face may we deny that the calling is free, in which even to the very last part election reigneth alone?

We are not workers with God of our own election neither doth it hang in suspense upon our faith.

3. But here we must beware of two errors, because many make man a worker together with God, that he by his consent may make the election to be of force: so by their opinion, the will of man is above the counsel of God. As though the scripture did teach, that it is only given us that we may believe, and not rather faith itself. Other some, although they do not so weaken the grace of the Holy Ghost: yet being led by I wot not what reason, hang election upon faith as though it were doubtful, yea and ineffectual until it be confirmed by faith. It is indeed certain that it is confirmed, as toward us; and we have already shewed that the secret counsel of God beginneth to shine out, which was before hidden: so that by this word you understand nothing else, than that it is manifested which was unknown, and is as it were sealed with a seal. But it is falsely said, that election is then and not till then effectual, when we have embraced the gospel, and that thereof it taketh lively strength. We must indeed from thence fetch the certainty of it: because if we attempt to reach, unto the eternal ordinance of God, that deep bottomless depth will swallow us up. But when God hath opened it unto us, we must climb up higher, least the effect should drown the cause. For what greater absurdity or shameful injustice is there, than that the scripture teacheth that we are enlightened as God hath chosen us, our eyes should be so dazled with this light, that they should refuse to look upon election? Yet in the mean time I deny not, that to the end we may be certain of our salvation, we must begin at the word, and that our affiance ought therewith to be contented, that we may call upon God by the name of Father. For some quite contrary to right order, that they may be certified of the counsel of God (which is near unto us, in our mouth and in our heart) do covet to fly above the clouds. Deut. xxx, 14. Therefore that rashness is to be restrained with sobriety of faith, that it may suffice us that God in his outward word is a witness of his hidden grace: so that the conduit pipe out of which there floweth water largely for us to drink, do not hinder but that the spring head may have his due honour.

The certainty of our election to be searched not in the bosom of God but in ourselves, according to that light which he hath given us in his word.

4. Therefore they do wrongfully, which hang the strength of election upon the faith of the gospel, by which faith we feel that election pertaineth to us: so we shall keep the best order, if in seeking the certainty of our election, we stick fast in these latter signs, which are sure witnessings of it: satan doth with no temptation either more grievously, or more dangerously astonish the faithful, than when disquieting them with doubts of their election, he doth also move them with a perverse desire to seek it out of the way. I call it seeking out of the way, when a wretched man enterpriseth to break into the hidden secrets of the wisdom of God, and to penetrate even to the highest eternity to understand what is determined of himself at the judgment seat of God. For then he throweth himself headlong to be swallowed up into the depth of the unmeasurable devouring pit: then he wrappeth himself with innumerable snares and such as he cannot wind out of: then he overwhelmeth himself with the bottomless depth of blind darkness. For so it is rightful that the foolishness of the wit of man be punished with so horrible ruin, when he attempteth of his own power to rise up to the height of the wisdom of God. And so much more deadly is this temptation, as there is none to which we are commonly all more bent. For there is most rarely any man to be found, whose mind is not sometime stricken with this thought. Whence hast thou salvation, but of the election of God? And of election what revelelation hast thou? which thought, if it has once taken place in any man, either perpetually vexeth the miserable man with terrible torments, or utterly dismayeth him. Truly I would have no surer argument than this experience to prove, how false

ſuch mens notions of predeſtination are. For the mind can be infected with no error more peſtilent, than that which plucketh down, and thruſteth the conſcience from her peace and quietneſs toward God. Therefore if we fear ſhipwreck, we muſt diligently beware of this rock, which is never ſtruck upon without deſtruction. And though the diſputing of predeſtination be eſteemed like a dangerous ſea, yet in paſſing through it there is found a ſafe and quiet, yea and pleaſant ſailing, unleſs a man do wilfully deſire to be in danger. For as they do drown themſelves in the deadly bottomleſs depth, who to be certified of their election do enquire of the ſecret counſel of God without his word; ſo they who do rightly and orderly ſearch it in ſuch ſort as it is contained in the word, receive thereof a ſingular fruit of comfort. Let this therefore be our way to ſearch it, that we begin at the calling of God, and end in the ſame. However this withſtandeth not, but that believers may think that the benefits which they daily receive at the hand of God, do deſcend from that ſecret adoption; as they ſay in Iſaiah xxv. Thou haſt done wonders, thy thoughts are old, true, and faithful: foraſmuch as by that adoption as by a token, the Lord's will is to confirm ſo much as is lawful to be known of his counſel. But leſt any man ſhould think this a weak teſtimony, let us conſider how much both of clearneſs and certainty it bringeth us. Of which thing Bernard ſpeaketh fitly. For after that he had ſpoken of the reprobate he ſaith; The purpoſe of God ſtandeth, the ſentence of peace ſtandeth upon them that fear him, both covering their evils, and rewarding their good things; ſo that not only good but evil things work together in a marvellous manner for their good. Who ſhall accuſe the elect of God? It ſufficeth me to all righteouſneſs, to have him alone merciful, againſt whom alone I have ſinned. All that he hath decreed not to impute to me, is ſo as if it never had been. And a little after: O place of true reſt, and to which not unworthily I may give the name of a bed-chamber, in which God is ſeen not as troubled with wrath, not as withholden with care: but his will is proved in him, and well pleaſing, and perfect. This ſight doth not make afraid, but calmeth: doth not ſtir up unquiet curiouſneſs, but appeaſeth it; doth not weary the ſenſes, but quieteth them: here is quiet truly taken, God being appeaſed, appeaſeth all things: and to behold him quiet is to be quiet.

Being choſen in Chriſt in whom we muſt behold our election aſcertained.

5. Firſt, if we ſeek a fatherly kindneſs, and favourable mind of God, we muſt turn our eyes to Chriſt, in whom alone the ſoul of the Father reſteth. If we ſeek ſalvation, life, and the immortality of the heavenly kingdom, we muſt then alſo flee to no other: foraſmuch as he alone is both the fountain of life, and author of ſalvation, and heir of the kingdom of heaven. Now whereto ſerveth election, but that being adopted of the heavenly Father into the degree of children, we may by his favour obtain ſalvation and immortality? Mat. iii. 17. Howſoever in ſeeking thou toſs it and ſhake it, yet thou ſhalt find that the uttermoſt mark of it extendeth no further. Therefore whom God hath taken to be his children, it is not ſaid that he hath choſen them in themſelves, but in his Chriſt: becauſe he could not love them but inhim, nor give them the honour of the inheritance of his kingdom, unleſs they had firſt been made partakers of him. Eph. i. 4. If we be choſen in him, we ſhall not find in ourſelves the certainty of our election; no, nor yet in God the Father, conſidered abſtract from the Son. Chriſt therefore is the mirror, in whom we both muſt, and without deceit may behold our election. For ſince it is he into whoſe body the Father hath appointed to graft all them whom from eternity he hath willed to be his, that he may take for his children ſo many as he accounteth among his members: we have a witneſs plain and ſure enough, that we are written in the book of life, if we communicate with Chriſt. And that ſure communion of himſelf he gave us, when by preaching of the goſpel he teſtified that he was given to us of the Father, that he with all his good things ſhould be ours. Rom. viii. 31. We are ſaid to put on him, and to grow together into him, that we may live, becauſe he liveth. So oft is this doctrine repeated, The Father ſpared not his only begotten Son, that whoſoever believeth in him, may not periſh. John iii. 15. But he that believeth in him, is ſaid to have paſſed from death unto life. John v. 24. In which ſenſe he calleth himſelf the bread of life, whom whoſo eateth, he ſhall not die for ever. John vi. 35. He, I ſay, hath been a witneſs to us, that they ſhall be received of the heavenly Father in place of his children, of whom he hath been received by faith. If we covet any more than to be accounted among the children and heirs of God, then we may climb above Chriſt. If this be our uttermoſt mark: how mad are we in ſeeking without him that which we have already obtained in him, and which may be found in him alone? Moreover, ſince he is the eternal wiſdom, the unchangeable truth, and faſt ſettled

counſel of the Father: it is not to be feared leſt that which he declareth to us in his word, ſhould vary any thing, be it never ſo little, from that will of the Father which we ſeek; but rather he faithfully openeth it unto us, ſuch as it was from the beginning, and ever ſhall be. The practice of this doctrine ought alſo to be in uſe in prayers. For though the faith of election doth encourage us to call upon God: yet when we make our prayers, it were unorderly done to thruſt it into the preſence of God, or to covenant with this condition. Lord if I be elected, hear me: foraſmuch as he willeth us to be content with his promiſes, and no where elſe to ſeek whether he will be exorable to us or no. This wiſdom ſhall deliver us from many ſnares, if we have ſkill to apply that, to a right uſe which hath been rightly written: but let us not indiſcreetly draw hither and thither that which ought to have been reſtrained.

Our election being found eſtabliſhed in Chriſt, our hearts muſt needs be thereby confirmed with ſtedfaſt truſt and aſſiance of perſiſting in the ſtate of grace and ſalvation to the end.

6. There is alſo for ſtabliſhing of our affiance another ſtay of election, which we have ſaid to be joined with our calling. For, whom Chriſt taketh being enlightened with the knowlege of his name into the boſom of his church, them he is ſaid to receive into his faith and protection. And whoſoever he receiveth, they are ſaid to be committed to him of the Father, and delivered to his truſt, that they may be kept unto eternal life. What mean we? Chriſt crieth out with a loud voice, that ſo many as the Father willeth to be ſaved, he hath delivered them into his protection. Therefore if we would know whether God hath care of us, let us ſee if he hath committed us to Chriſt, who is made the only Saviour of all his. Now if we doubt whether we be received of Chriſt into his faith and keeping, he preventeth our doubting, when he voluntarily offereth himſelf to be our ſhepherd, and pronounceth that we ſhall be in the number of his ſheep if we hear his voice. Let us therefore embrace Chriſt, being liberally ſet open for us, and coming to meet us, he ſhall number us in his flock, and ſhall keep us encloſed within his fold. John x. 3. But there entereth into us a careleſſneſs of our ſtate to come. For as Paul teacheth that they are called, who were before choſen: Rom. viii. 30 ſo Chriſt ſheweth that many are called, but few are choſen: Matth. xxii. 14. Yea and alſo Paul himſelf in another place dehorteth us from careleſneſs; Let him that ſtandeth (ſaith he) take heed leſt he fall. 1. Cor. x. 12. Again, art thou graffed into the people of God? Be not proud, but fear: for God is able to cut thee off again that he may graff others. Finally, we are ſufficiently taught by experience it ſelf, that calling and faith are of ſmall value, unleſs there be adjoined continuance which happeneth not to all men. But Chriſt hath delivered us from this care: for verily theſe promiſes have reſpect to the time to come. All that the father giveth me, ſhall come to me; and him that cometh to me, I will in no wiſe caſt out. Again, this is the will of him that ſent me, the father, that I looſe nothing of all things that he hath given me, but may raiſe them up again in the laſt day. John vi. 37. and 40. Again, my ſheep hear my voice, and they follow me: I know them, and I give them, eternal life, and they ſhall not periſh for ever, neither ſhall any man take them out of my hand. John. x. 17. The father which gave them to me, is greater than all: and no man can take them out of the hand of my father. Now when he pronounceth, every tree which my father hath not planted, ſhall be plucked up by the root: Matth. xv. 13. he ſignifieth on the contrary ſide, that they can never be plucked from ſalvation, which have root in God. Wherewith agreeth that ſaying of John (1 John ii. 19.) If they had been of us, they had not at all gone out from us. Hereupon alſo cometh that noble glorying of Paul againſt life and death, preſent things and things to come: which glorying muſt needs be grounded upon the gift of continuance. Neither is it any doubt that he directeth this ſaying to all the faithful. In another place the ſame Paul ſaith, He that hath begun in you a good work, ſhall perfect it even until the day of Chriſt. Phil. i. 6. As alſo David, when his faith fainted, leaned upon this ſtay. Thou ſhalt not forſake the work of thy hands. Pſal. cxxxviii. 8. And now neither is this doubtful, that Chriſt when he prayeth for all the faithful, aſketh the ſame thing for them which he aſked for Peter, that their faith may never fail. Luke xxii. 32. Whereby we gather, that they are out of danger of falling away, becauſe the Son of God, aſking ſtedfaſt continuance for their godlineſs, admitted of no denial. What would Chriſt have us to learn hereby, but that we ſhould truſt that we ſhall perpetually be ſafe becauſe we are once made his?

They which fall from Chriſt were in truth never Chriſtians, in whom a modeſt

7. But it daily happpeneth, that they which ſeemed to be Chriſt's, do again revolt from him and fall. Yea and in the very ſame place where he affirmeth

humble, and religious fear of falling doth not take away assuredness of continuing his,

that none had perished of them who were given him of the Father, yet he excepteth the son of perdition. That is true indeed: but this is also as certain, that such did never cleave to Christ with that affiance of heart with which I say the assuredness of our election is established. They went out from us (saith John) but they were not of us. For if they had been of us, they had still tarried with us. 1 John ii. 19. Neither do I deny that they have signs of calling similar to those of the elect; but I do not grant that they have that sure establishment of election which I bid the faithful to fetch out of the word of the gospel. Wherefore let not such examples move us, but that we quietly rest upon the promise of the Lord, where he pronounceth, that all they are given to him of the Father, who receive him with true faith, of whom, since he is their keeper and pastor, none shall perish. Of Judas we shall speak hereafter. Paul doth not counsel Christians from assuredness altogether, but from careless and loose assuredness of the flesh, which draweth with it pride, presumption, and disdain of others, and extinguisheth humility and the reverence of God, and bringeth forgetfulness of grace received. For he speaketh to the Gentiles whom he teacheth, that they ought not proudly and ungently to reproach the Jews for this, that the Jews being disinherited, they were set in their stead. Fear also he requireth not wherewith they should be dismaid and stagger, but with framing us to the receiving of the grace of God, should abate nothing of the affiance thereof, as we have said in another place. Beside that he doth not there speak to every man particularly, but to the sects themselves generally. For when the church was divided into two parts, and envy bred dissention, Paul putteth the Gentiles in mind that they supplying the place of the peculiar and holy people ought to be to them a cause of fear and modesty. And among them there were many puffed up with glory, whose vain boasting it was expedient to beat down. But we have in another place shewed, that our hope is extended to the time to come even beyond death, and that nothing is more contrary to the nature of it, than to doubt what shall become of us.

Calling general and special.

8. That saying of Christ, of many being called but few chosen, is very ill taken after that manner. There shall be nothing doubtful if we hold fast that which ought to be cleared by the things above spoken, that there are two sorts of calling, distinguished as follows: First there is an universal calling whereby through the outward preaching of the word, God calleth altogether to him, even them also to whom he setteth it forth unto the savour of death, and unto matter of more grievous condemnation. The other is a special calling, which for the most part he vouchsafeth to give only to the faithful, when by the inward enlightening of his Spirit he maketh the word preached to be settled in their hearts. Yet sometimes he maketh them also partakers of it whom he enlighteneth but for a time, and afterward by the deserving of their unthankfulness forsaketh them, and striketh them with greater blindness. Now when the Lord saw the gospel to be published far and wide, and to be despised of many, but to be had in due esteem of few: he describeth to us God under the person of a king, who preparing a solemn feast sendeth his messengers round about to bid a great multitude to be his guests, and yet can get but a few, because every one allegeth hinderances for his excuse, so that at length he is compelled upon their refusal, to call out of the high ways every one that he meeteth. Matth. xxii. Hitherto every man seeth that the parable must be understood of the outward calling. He addeth afterward that God doth like a good maker of a feast, who goeth about the tables, to chear his guests. If he find any not clothed with a wedding garment, he will not suffer him with his uncleanness to dishonour the solemnity of the feast. This part of the parable, I grant, is to be understood of them who enter into the church by the profession of faith, but are not clothed with the sanctification of Christ. Such dishonours and as it were botches of his church, the Lord will not suffer for ever: but, as their filthiness deserveth he will cast them out. Therefore few are chosen out of a great number of them that are called, but yet not with that calling by which we say that the faithful ought to judge their election. For, that general calling is also common to the wicked: but this special calling bringeth with it the spirit of regeneration, which is the earnest and seal of the inheritance to come, wherewith our hearts are sealed up against the day of the Lord. Eph. i. 13. In sum, since hypocrites boast of godliness as well as the true worshippers of God, Christ pronounceth that at length they shall be cast out of the place which they wrongfully possess: as it is said in the Psalm, Lord, who shall dwell in thy tabernacle? The innocent in hands, and a man of a pure heart. Psal. xv. 1. Again, in another

nother place. This is the generation of them that ſeek God, of them that ſeek the face of the God of Jacob. Pſal. xxiv. 2. And ſo doth the Spirit exhort the faithful to ſufferance, that they take it not grievouſly that the Iſraelites be mingled with them in the church: for at length their vizor ſhall be plucked from them and they ſhall be caſt out with ſhame.

The fall of Judas, and the error of Gregory about the certainty of election.

9. The ſame reaſon is the exception even now alledged, where Chriſt ſaith that none periſhed but the ſon of perdition. It is indeed an improper ſpeech, but yet not dark. For he was not accounted among the ſheep of Chriſt, for that he was one indeed, but becauſe he kept the place of one. And where in another place the Lord affirme thhat he was choſen with the apoſtles, John iv. 73. that is ſpoken only in reſpect of the miniſtry. Twelve (ſaith he) have I choſen, and one of them is a devil: that is, he had choſen him to the office of an apoſtle. But when he ſpeaketh of chuſing to ſalvation, he driveth them far away from the number of the choſen, ſaying: I ſpeak not of all: I know whom I have choſen. John xiii. 18. If a man do in both places confound the word *chuſing*, he ſhall miſerably entangle himſelf: if he make difference, nothing is more plain. Therefore Gregory teacheth very ill and peſtilently when he ſaith, that we know only our calling, but are uncertain of our election: *Hom.* 38. Whereby he moveth all men to fear and trembling: uſing alſo this reaſon, but becauſe we know what we are to day, but what we ſhall be we know not. But in that place he ſufficiently declareth, how he ſtumbled at this block. For, becauſe he founded election upon the merits of works, he had matter enough, and more to diſcourage the minds of men: but he could not ſtrengthen them, who did not remove them from themſelves to the affiance of the goodneſs of God. Hereof the faithful have ſome taſte of that which we have determined at the beginning that predeſtination if it be rightly thought upon, bringeth not a ſhaking of faith, but rather the beſt ſtrengthening of it. And yet I deny not, that the Holy Ghoſt framed his words to the weakneſs of our capacity. As when he ſaith, Ezek. xiii. 9. In the ſecret of my people they ſhall not be, and in the roll of my ſervants they ſhall not be written. As though God did begin to write in the book of life, them whom he reckoneth in the number of his: whereas yet we know, even by the witneſſes of Chriſt, that the names of the children of God are from the beginning written in the book of life. Phil. iv. 3. But in theſe words is only expreſſed the caſting away of them which ſeemed the chief among the elect: as it is ſaid in the Pſalms; Let them be blotted out of the book of life, and let them not be written with the righteous. Pſal. lxix. 29.

No difference before vocation, between the elect of God and others.

10. But the elect are neither immediately from the womb, nor all at one time, by calling gathered together in the flock of Chriſt, but as it pleaſeth God to diſtribute his grace to them. But ere they be gathered together to that chief ſhepherd, they are ſcattered abroad and ſtray in the common deſert, and differ nothing from others, ſaving that they be defended by the ſingular mercy of God, from falling into the extreme headlong downfal of death. Therefore if you look upon themſelves, you ſhall ſee the offspring of Adam, which ſavoureth of the whole maſs. That they be not carried into extreme and deſperate ungodlineſs, this cometh not to paſs by any goodneſs naturally planted in them, but becauſe the eye of God watcheth, and his hand is ſtretched out to their ſalvation. For they that dream that from their very nativity there is planted in their hearts I wot not what ſeed of election, by the virtue whereof they are always inclined to godlineſs and to the fear of God, they both are not aſſiſted to prove it by the authority of ſcripture, and alſo are confuted by experience itſelf. They do indeed bring forth a few examples to prove, that the elect even before their enlightening, were not utterly ſtrangers from religion: that Paul in his being a Phariſee lived unreprovable, Acts iii. 5. that Cornelius was by alms and prayers accepted of God: Acts x. 2. and ſuch other, Of Paul we grant to them: of Cornelius we ſay, that they are deceived. For it appeareth that he was then already enlightened and regenerate, ſo that he wanted nothing but the clear revealing of the goſpel. But what will they wring out by theſe few examples? that all the elect are alway endowed with the ſpirit of godlineſs? No more than if a man by ſhewing the uprightneſs of Ariſtides, Socrates, Zenocrates, Scipio, Curius Camillus, and other, ſhould thereof gather, that all they that are left in blindneſs of idolatry, were deſirous followers of holineſs and honeſty. Yea and the ſcripture in more places than one, openly crieth out againſt them. Nor the ſtate which Paul deſcribeth

ſcribeth of the Epheſians before their regeneration, ſheweth not one grain of this ſeed. Eph. ii. 2. Ye were (ſaith he) dead in treſpaſſes and ſins, wherein ye walked according to the courſe of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the ſpirit which now worketh in the children of diſobedience: among whom we all had our converſation in time paſt, in the luſts of our fleſh, fulfilling the deſires of the fleſh and of the mind. And were by nature children of wrath even as others. Again, remember, that ye were ſometime without hope, and without God in the world. Again, Ye were ſometimes darkneſs, but now are ye light in the Lord, walk as the children of light. Eph. v. 8. But peradventure they will have theſe things to be referred to the ignorance of the true God, wherewith they deny not that the elect are holden, before that they be called. Albeit this were a ſhameleſs cavilling, ſince he thereof concludeth, that they ought now no more either to lie or to ſteal: Eph. iv. 23. yet what will they anſwer to other places? as is that place to the Corinthians, where when he had pronounced that neither whoremongers, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abuſers of themſelves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous men, ſhall inherit the kingdom of God: he by and by addeth, that they were wrapped in the ſame hainous offences before that they knew Chriſt: but now that they are both waſhed by his blood and made free by his ſpirit. 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10. Again, in another place to the Romans: As ye have given your members ſervants to uncleanneſs, and to iniquity to commit iniquity, now yield them ſervants to righteouſneſs. For what fruit had you of theſe things, whereof ye are now aſhamed, &c. Rom. vi. 19.

In men before God call them, there is no bud of righteouſneſs, termed by ſome the ſeed of election.

11. What manner of ſeed of election, I pray you, did then bud in them, who being manifoldly defiled in all their life, as it were with deſperate wickedneſs, wallowed in the abominable and accurſed ſin of all? If he would have ſpoken after their opinion, he ſhould have ſhewed how much they were bound to the bountifulneſs of God, by which they had been preſerved from ſliding into ſo great filthineſs. So Peter alſo ſhould have exhorted his to thankfulneſs for the perpetual ſeed of election. But he contrariwiſe putteth them in mind that the time paſt ſufficed to fulfil the luſts of the Gentiles. 1 Pet ix. 3. What if we come to examples? what bud of righteouſneſs was there in Rahab the harlot before faith? Joſh. ii. 1. in Manaſſes, when Jeruſalem was dipped, and in a manner drowned, in the blood of the prophets? 2 Kings xii. 17. In the thief, who among his laſt gaſpings began to think of repentance? Luke xxii. 16. Away therefore with theſe arguments, which ſilly curious men do raſhly deviſe to themſelves without the ſcripture. But let that abide certain with us which the ſcripture hath, that all have gone aſtray like loſt ſheep, every one into his own way, (Iſa. liii. 6.) that is perdition. Out of this gulf of perdition; whom the Lord hath determined once to pluck forth, them he deferreth till his fit time: only he preſerveth them, that they fall not unto unpardonable blaſphemy.

The means whereby reprobates comes to their ends: ſome debarred of the power of hearing the word ſome by the light thereof blinded.

12. As the Lord by the effectualneſs of his calling toward the elect maketh perfect the ſalvation, whereunto he had by eternal counſel appointed them: ſo he hath his judgments againſt the reprobate, whereby he executeth his counſel of them. Whom therefore he hath created unto the ſhame of life, and deſtruction of death, that they ſhould be inſtruments of his wrath, and examples of his ſeverity: from them, that they may come to their end, ſometime he taketh away the power to hear his word, and ſometime by the preaching of it he more blindeth and amazeth them. Of the firſt manner, whereas there are innumerable examples, let us chuſe out one more clear and notable than all the reſt. There paſſed away about four thouſand years before Chriſt, in which he hid from all the Gentiles the light of his health-bringing doctrine. If any man anſwer that he therefore made them not to enjoy ſo great a benefit becauſe he judged him unworthy, they who come after ſhall not be proved any more worthy. Of which thing beſide the experience, Malachy is a ſubſtantial witneſs, who reproving infidelity mingled with groſs blaſphemies, yet declareth that there ſhall come a redeemer. Mal. iv. 1. Why rather is he given to theſe than to thoſe? He ſhall trouble himſelf in vain that ſhall here ſearch for a cauſe higher than the ſecret and unſearchable counſel of God. Neither is it to be feared, leſt any ſcholar of Porphyry ſhould freely gnaw at the righteouſneſs of God while we anſwer nothing in defence of it. For when we ſay that none periſh undeſerving, and that it is of the free bountifulneſs of God that ſome are delivered, there is largely enough ſaid for the ſet-

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ting forth of his glory, ſo that it needeth not our ſhifting. The ſovereign judge therefore maketh a way for his predeſtination, when whom he hath once rejected, them being deprived of the communicating of his light he leaveth in blindneſs. Of the other manner there are both daily examples, and alſo many contained in the ſcripture. One ſelf ſame preaching is commonly made to a hundred, twenty receive it with ready obedience of faith: the reſt do either ſet naught by it, or ſcorn it, or hiſs it out, or abhor it. If any man anſwer that this diverſity proceedeth of their malice and perverſeneſs, he ſhall not yet ſatisfy us: becauſe the others wit alſo ſhould be poſſeſſed with the ſame malice, unleſs God did amend it with his goodneſs. Therefore we ſhall ſtill be encumbred, unleſs we call to mind that which Paul ſaith, who maketh thee to differ? Whereby he ſignifieth that ſome excel other ſome, not by their own vertue, but by the only grace of God.

The difference betweene one ſort and another dependeth upon the ſecret counſel and will of God, wherefore there is no higher cauſe than his will.

13. Why therefore doth he in granting grace to thoſe, paſs over theſe? Of thoſe Luke ſheweth a cauſe, becauſe they are ordained to life. Act. xiii. 48. Of theſe, what ſhall we think, but becauſe they are the veſſels of wrath unto diſhonour? Wherefore let it not grieve us to ſay with Auguſtine. God (ſaith he) might turn the will of the evil into good becauſe he is almighty. He might indeed. Why therefore doth he not? becauſe he would not. Why he would not, is in himſelf. For we ought to be no more wiſe than we ought to be. (*De Gen. ad lite. li.* 2. *c.* 10. And that is much better, than to ſhift with Chryſoſtom, and ſay that he draweth him that is willing and reacheth his hand, that the difference may not ſeem to ſtand in the judgment of God, but in the will of men only. *Ho. de converſ. Paul.*) Truly it ſo ſtandeth not in proper motion of man, that even the godly and they that fear God have need of a ſingular inſtruction of the ſpirit. Lydia the purple ſeller feared God, and yet it behoved that her heart ſhould be opened, that ſhe might hearken to the doctrine of Paul, Act. xvi. 14. and profit in it. This is not ſpoken of one woman alone, but that we ſhould know that the profiting of every man in godlineſs is the ſecret work of the ſpirit. This verily cannot be brought in queſtion, that the Lord ſendeth his word to many, whoſe blindneſs he will have to be more confirmed. For, to what purpoſe doth he bid ſo many commandments be carried to Pharaoh, was it becauſe he hoped that with often repeated meſſages he would be appeaſed? No, but before he began, he foreknew and foretold the end. Go (ſaid he to Moſes) and declare to him my will: but I will harden his heart, that he obey not. Exod. ii. So when he ſtirreth up Ezekiel: he warneth him aforehand that he ſendeth him to a rebellious and ſtubborn people: to the end that he ſhould not be afraid if he perceive himſelf to ſing to deaf men. Ezek. ii. 3. and xii. 2. So he foretelleth to Jeremiah, that his doctrine ſhould become a fire, to deſtroy and waſte the people like ſtubble. Jere. i. 10. but the prophecy of Iſaiah Iſa. vi. 9. yet more enforceth it. For he is thus ſent of the Lord: Go and ſay to the children of Iſrael: with hearing, hear ye, and underſtand not: with ſeeing ſee yee, and know not. Make obſtinate the heart of this people, and make heavy their ears, and ſhut their eyes, leſt peradventure they may ſee with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and underſtand with their heart, that being converted they may be healed. Behold he directeth his voice to them, but that they wax more deaf: he lighteth a light, but that they may be made more blind: he ſheweth forth doctrine, but that they may be made more dull: he layeth to them a remedy, but not that they may be healed. And John allegeing this prophecy, affirmeth that the Jews could not believe the doctrine of Chriſt, becauſe this curſe of God lay upon them. John xii. 39. Neither can this alſo be in controverſy, that thoſe whom God will not have to be enlightened, to them he delivered his doctrine wrapped up in dark ſpeeches, that they may not profit thereby but be thruſt into greater dulneſs. Chriſt alſo teſtifieth, that he doth therefore expound only to the apoſtles the parables in which he had ſpoken to the multitude, becauſe to them it was given to know the myſteries of the kingdom of God, but to the common people not ſo. Matth. xiii. 11. What meaneth the Lord (wilt thou ſay, in teaching them, of whom he provideth that he may not be underſtood? Conſider whence is the fault, and thou wilt ceaſe to aſk. For in the word how great darkneſs ſoever there be, yet there is always light enough to convince the conſcience of the wicked.

The unchangeable decree of God concerning the deſtruction of the wicked is the

14. Now remaineth for us to ſee, why the Lord doth that, which it is plain that he doth. If it be anſwered that it is ſo done becauſe men have ſo deſerved by their ungodlineſs, wickedneſs,

ground of their untoward diſpoſition to the means whereby men are ſaved.

and unthankfulneſs: the ſame ſhall indeed be well and truly ſaid: but becauſe there appeareth not yet the reaſon of this diverſity, why then ſome are inclined to obedience, other ſome continue hardened, in ſearching it, we muſt needs go to that which Paul hath noted out of Moſes, namely that God hath raiſed them up from the beginning, that he might ſhew his name in the whole earth. Rom. ix. 17. Whereas therefore the reprobate do not obey the word of God opened unto them, that ſhall be well imputed to the malice and perverſeneſs of their heart, ſo that this be therewithal added, that they are therefore given into this perverſeneſs, becauſe by the righteous, but yet unſearchable judgment of God they are raiſed up to ſet forth his glory with their damnation. Likewiſe when it is ſaid of the ſons of Eli that they hearkned not to uſe wholſom warnings, becauſe the Lord willed to kill them: 1 Sam. ii. 25. it is not denied that their ſtubbornneſs proceeded of their own naughtineſs: but it is therewithal touched why they were left in ſtubborneſs, when the Lord might have ſoftened their hearts, namely becauſe his unchangeable decree had once appointed them to deſtruction. To the ſame purpoſe ſerveth that ſaying of John, Joh. xii. 38. when he had done ſo great ſigns, no man believed in him: that the word of Iſaiah might be fulfilled, Lord, who hath believed our report? For though he do not excuſe the ſtiff necked from blame, yet he is content with that reaſon, that the grace of God is unſavoury to men, till the holy Ghoſt bring taſte. And Chriſt allegeing the prophecy of Iſaiah: they ſhall all be taught of God, John. vi. 45. tendeth to no other end but to prove that the Jews are reprobate and ſtrangers from the Church, becauſe they are unapt to learn: and he bringeth no other cauſe thereof, but for that the promiſe of God doth not pertain to them. Which thing this ſaying of Paul confirmeth, that Chriſt which to the Jews is an offence, and to the Gentiles fooliſhneſs, is to the called the power and wiſdom of God. 1 Cor. i. 23. For when he hath told what commonly happeneth ſo oft as the goſpel is preached, namely that ſome it maketh more obſtinate, and of ſome it is deſpiſed, he ſaith that it is had in eſteem of them only which are called. He had indeed a little before named them believers, but he meant not to take away the due degree from the grace of God which goeth before faith, but rather he addeth this ſecond ſaying by way of correction, that they which had embraced the goſpel ſhould give the praiſe of their faith to the calling of God: as alſo a little after he teacheth that they are choſen of God. When the ungodly hear theſe things, they cry out, that God with tyrannical power abuſeth his poor creatures for a ſport to his cruelty. But we who know that all men are ſo many ways liable to the righteous judgment of God, that being aſked of a thouſand things they can not ſatisfy in one, do confeſs that the reprobate ſuffer nothing which agreeth not with the moſt juſt judgment of God. Whereas we do not clearly attain the reaſon thereof, let us not be diſcontent to be iguorant of ſomewhat, where the wiſdom of God lifteth up it ſelf into ſo great height.

Places of ſcripture opened, wherein the deſtruction of the wicked, ſeemeth denied to be by the will and ordinance of God.

15. But foraſmuch as there are a few places of ſcripture wont to be objected, in which God ſeemeth to deny that it is done by his ordinance that the wicked do periſh, but by this that, he crying out againſt it, they wilfully bring death upon themſelves: let us briefly declaring theſe places, ſhew that they make nothing againſt the ſentence above ſet. There is brought forth a place of Ezekiel, that God willeth not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he may be turned and live, Ezek. xxxiv. 11. If they will extend this to all mankind: why doth he not move many to repentance, whoſe minds are more pliable to obedience, than theirs who at his daily allurements wax harder and harder? With the Sodomites (as Chriſt witneſſeth) the preaching of the goſpel and miracles would have brought forth more fruite than in Jewry, Matth. xiii. 23. How cometh it to paſs therefore, if God willeth all to be ſaved, that he openeth not the gate of repentance to thoſe miſerable men that would have been more ready to receive grace? Hereby we ſee that the place is violently wreſted, if the will of God, whereof the prophet maketh mention, be ſet againſt his eternal counſel, whereby he hath ſevered the eleſt from the reprobate. Now if we ſeek for the true natural meaning of the prophet: his purpoſe is to bring hope of pardon to the penitent. And this is the ſum, that it is not to be doubted but that God is ready to forgive ſo ſoon as the ſinner turneth. Therefore he willeth not his death, in ſo much as he willeth his repentance. But experience teacheth that he ſo willeth them to repent whom he generally calleth to him, that yet he toucheth not all their hearts. Yet is it not therefore to be ſaid that he dealeth decitfully, becauſe although the outward voice do but make them inexcuſable who hear and do not obey it, yet it is truly accounted the teſtimony

timony of the grace of God, by which teſtimony he reconcileth men to himſelf. Therefore let us hold this for the meaning of the prophet, that the death of a ſinner pleaſeth not God: that the godly may have affiance, that ſo ſoon as they ſhall be touched with repentance, there is pardon ready for them with God, and the wicked may feel that their fault is doubled, becauſe they anſwer not to ſo great merciful kindneſs and gentleneſs of God. The mercy of God therefore will alway meet repentance, but to whom repentance is given, both all the prophets, and apoſtles, and Ezekiel himſelf doth plainly teach. Secondly, there is alleged a place in Paul, where he ſaith, That God willeth all men to be ſaved, (1 Tim. ii. 4.) which although it have a diverſe meaning from the other, yet in ſome thing they agree together. I anſwer, firſt, that by the reſt of the text it is made plain how he willeth. For Paul joineth together, that he willeth them to be ſaved, and to come to the knowlege of the truth. If they will have this to be determined, by the eternal counſel of God that they receive the doctrine of ſalvation, what meaneth that ſaying of Moſes, What nation is ſo noble, that God cometh near to it as he doth to thee? Deut. iv. 7. How came it to paſs that God reſtrained from many peopels the light of the goſpel, which others enjoyed? How came it to paſs that the pure knowlege of godlineſs never came to ſome, and ſome ſcarcely taſted ſo much as any dark principles of it? Hereof it ſhall now be eaſy to gather, whereto Paul tendeth. He had commanded Timothy to make ſolemn prayers in the church for kings and princes. But when it ſeemed ſomewhat abſurd that prayers ſhould be made to God for a kind of men in a manner deſperate (becauſe they were not only ſtrangers from the body of Chriſt, but alſo endeavoured with all their forces to oppreſs his kingdom) he added, that the ſame is acceptable to God, who willeth all men to be ſaved. Whereby verily he ſignifieth nothing elſe but that he hath ſtopped up the way to ſalvation to no degree of men: but rather that he hath ſo poured out his mercy that he willeth no man to be void of it. The other ſentences do not declare what God hath by his ſecret judgment determined of all men: but do ſhew that there is pardon ready for all ſinners which do only turn themſelves to require it. For if they more ſtiffly ſtand upon this that it is ſaid that he will have mercy upon all, I will on the contrary ſide anſwer them with that which is written in another place. That our God is in heaven where he doth whatſoever he will, Pſal. cxv. 3. This word therefore muſt ſo be expounded that it may agree with the other, I will have mercy upon whom I will have mercy, and I will ſhew mercy to whom I will ſhew mercy, Exod. xxxiii. 19. He that chooſeth out them whom he will have mercy on, doth not give it to all. But ſince it clearly appeareth that in that place it is ſpoken not of all particular men, but of degrees of men, we will make no longer diſputing about it. However it is alſo to be noted, that Paul doth not affirm what God doth alway and every where and in all men: but leaveth it to him at his liberty at length to make kings and magiſtrates partakers of the heavenly doctrine, although by reaſon of their blindneſs they do now rage againſt it. They ſeem to preſs us more ſtrongly with objecting the place of Peter, that God willeth none to periſh, but receiveth all to repentance. But the undoing of this knot doth by and by offer itſelf in the ſecond word, becauſe the will to receive cannot be underſtanded to be any other than that which is every where taught. Truly the turning is in the hand of God: whether he will turn all or no, let himſelf be aſked, when he promiſeth that he will give to a certain few men a fleſhly heart, leaving to other ſome a ſtony heart, Ezek. xxxvi. 26. It is true indeed, that unleſs he were ready to receive them which call upon his mercy, this ſaying ſhould be falſe. Turn to me, and I will turn to you, Zech. i. 3. But I ſay that none of all mortal men doth come to God but he that is prevented of God: and if repentance were in the will of man, Paul would not ſay, If peradventure he give them repentance, 2 Tim. ii. 15. Yea unleſs the ſame God which with word exhorteth all men to repentance, did with ſecret moving of his ſpirit bring the choſen to it: Jeremiah would not ſay, Turn me, Lord, and I ſhall be turned: for when thou haſt turned me, I have repented, Jer. xxxi. 18.

No repugnancy between the promiſes of ſalvation offered univerſally unto all and the purpoſe of God concerning the condemnation of ſome.

16. But (thou wilt ſay) if it be ſo, there ſhall be ſmall truth in the promiſes of the goſpel, which when they teſtify of the will of God, affirm that he willeth that which is againſt his inviloable decree. Not ſo. For howſoever the promiſes of ſalvation be univerſal, yet they nothing diſagree with the reprobation of the reprobate, ſo that we direct our minds to the effect of them. We know that then and not till then the promiſes are effectual to us, when we receive them by faith, on the other ſide when faith is made void the promiſe is therewithal aboliſhed. If this be the nature of them, let us then ſee whether theſe things diſagree together: that it is ſaid that

God hath from eternity ordained whom he will embrace with love, and upon whom he will exercise wrath: and that he promiseth salvation to all without difference. Truly I say that they agree very well. For in so promising he meaneth nothing else than that his mercy is set open for all which do desire and crave it: which thing none do but they whom he hath enlightened. And them he enilghtneth, whom he hath predestinate to salvation. They (I say) have the truth of the promises sure and unshaken, so as it cannot be said that there is any disagreement between the eternal election of God, and the testimony of his grace which he offereth to the faithful. But why nameth he all? verily that the consciences of the godly may the more safely rest, when they understand that there is no difference of sinners, so that faith be present: and that they want a sanctuary whereunto they may that the wicked may not cavil for their excuse, withdraw themselves from the bondage of sin, when with their own unthankfulness they refuse it being offered them. Therefore when the mercy of God is by the gospel offered to both sorts, it is faith, it is faith, that it is to say, the enlightning of God, which maketh difference between the godly and ungodly, so as the one sort feeleth the effectualness of the gospel, and the other sort obtain no fruit thereof. The enlightening itself also hath the eternal election of God for the rule thereof. The complaint of Christ, which they alleged, Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how oft have I willed to gather together thy chickens, (Matth. xxiii. 37.) but thou wouldest not? maketh nothing for them. I grant that Christ there speaketh not only in the person of man, but also reproacheth them that in all ages they have refused his grace. But we must define that will of God which is treated of. For neither is it unknown, how diligently God endeavoured to keep still that people, and with how great stiffness they even from the first to the last being given to their wandering desires refused to be gathered together: but it followeth not thereof that the counsel of God was made void by the malice of men. They answer and say that nothing less agreeth with the nature of God than to have a double will in him. Which I grant to them, so that they fitly expound it. But why do they not consider so many testimonies, where God putting upon him the affections of man descendeth beneath his own majesty? He saith that he hath with stretched out arms called the rebellious people, (Isaiah lxv. 2.) that he hath early and late laboured to bring them back to him. If they will apply all these things to God, and not consider the figure, there shall arise many superfluous contentions which this one solution bringeth to agreement, that the property of man is figuratively applied to God. Howbeit the solution which we have brought in another place largely sufficeth, that although the will of God be, as to our sense manifold: yet he doth not in himself diversly will this and that, but according to this wisedom, which is diversly manifold (as Paul calleth it, Eph. iii. 10.) he amazeth our senses, till it shall be given us to know that he marvellously willeth that which now seemeth to be against his will. They also mock with cavils that since God is the Father of all, it is unrighteous that he should disinherit any that hath not before with his own fault deserved this punishment. As though the liberality of God extendeth not even to hogs and dogs. But if they speak only of mankind, let them answer why God bound himself to one people, to be the Father thereof: and why also out of the same people he picked a small number as it were a flower. But their own lust of evil speaking hindereth these railers that they consider not that God so bringeth forth his sun to shine upon the good and evil, (Matth. v. 45.) that the inheritance is laid up for a few, to whom it shall one day be said, Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom, &c. Matth. xxv. 34. They object also that God hateth none of these things that he hath made. Which although I grant them, yet this remaineth safe which I teach, that the reprobate are hateful to God, and that very justly, because they being destitute of his Spirit can bring forth nothing but cause of curse. They say further, that there is no difference of the Jew and the Gentile, and therefore that the grace of God is without difference set before all men: namely, if they grant (as Paul determineth) that God calleth as well out of the Jews as out of the Gentiles, according to his good pleasure, so that he is bound to no man, Rom. ix. 24. After this manner also is that wiped away which they object in another place, that God hath concluded all under sin, that he may have mercy upon all, (Rom. xi. 22.) namely because he willeth that the salvation of all them that are saved be ascribed to his mercy, although this benefit be not common to all. Now when many things are alleged on both parts, let this be our conclusion, to tremble with Paul at so great depth, and if wanton tongues should be busy, that we be not ashamed of this his crying out, O man, what art thou that strivest with God? Rom. ix. 20. For

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Auguſtine truly affirmeth that they do perverſly which meaſure the righteouſneſs of God by the meaſure of the righteouſneſs of man. (*De prædeſt. & gratia. cap.* 2.)

CHAP. XXV.

Of the laſt reſurrection.

The uſe and neceſſity of meditating continually upon the reſurrection of the dead.

ALTHOUGH Chriſt the ſun of righteouſneſs, having overcome death, ſhining by the goſpel, giveth us the light of life (as Paul witneſſeth, 2 Tim. i. 20.) whereby alſo it is ſaid, that by believing we have paſſed from death into life, (John v. 24.) being now not foreigners and ſtrangers, but citizens with the ſaints, and of the houſhold of God, Eph. ii. 19. who hath made us to ſit with the only begotten Son himſelf in heavenly places, that nothing may be wanting to perfect felicity: yet leaſt it ſhould be grievous unto us to be exerciſed under this hard warfare, as though we had no fruit of the victory which Chriſt hath gotten, we muſt hold faſt that which is in another place taught of the nature of hope. For, becauſe we hope for thoſe things which appear not, (Rom. viii. 28.) and (as it is ſaid in another place) faith is a demonſtration of things inviſible, (Heb. xi. 1.) ſo long as we are incloſed in the priſon of the fleſh, we are abſent from the Lord, 2 Cor. v. 6. For which reaſon the ſame Paul ſaith in another place that we are dead, and that our life is hidden with Chriſt in God, and that when he which is our life, ſhall appear, then ſhall we alſo appear with him in glory. (Col. iii. 3.) This therefore is our condition, that with living ſoberly and juſtly and godly in this world, we look for the bleſſed hope, and the coming of the glory of the great God, and of our ſaviour Jeſus Chriſt. (Tit. ii. 12.) Here we need a ſingular patience, that we be not wearied and either turn back our courſe or forſake our ſtanding. Therefore whatſoever hath been hitherto ſet out concerning our ſalvation, requireth minds lifted up to heaven, that we may love Chriſt whom we have not ſeen and believing in him may rejoice with unſpeakable and glorious joyfulneſs till we receive the end of our faith, as Peter telleth us, 1 Pet. i. 8. After which manner, Paul ſaith that the faith and charity of the godly hath reſpect to the hope which is laid up in heaven, Col. i. 5. When we thus with our eyes faſtened upon Chriſt do hang of heaven, and nothing withhold them in earth from carrying us to the promiſed bleſſedneſs: then is that truly fulfilled, Our heart is where our treaſure is, Matth. vii. 21. Hereupon cometh that faith is ſo rare in the world, becauſe nothing is more hard to our dulneſs than through innumerable ſteps to climb up above them with preſſing forward to the prize of our heavenly calling. To the great heap of miſeries wherewith we are almoſt overwhelmed, are added the mockings of ungodly men, wherewith our ſimplicity is railed at, when voluntarily forſaking the allurements of preſent good things, we ſeem to follow the bleſſedneſs hidden from us, as it were a dying ſhadow. Finally above and beneath us, before and behind us, violent tentations beſiege us, to the ſuſtaining of the fear whereof our courage ſhould be far too weak unleſs being uncumbered of earthly things they were faſt bound to the heavenly life, which in appearance is far from us. Wherefore only he hath ſoundly profited in the goſpel, who is inured to a continual meditation of the bleſſed reſurrection.

The felicity or ſovereign good of man, and the chearful labour which he ſhould undertake for the attaining thereunto.

2. Of the ſovereign end of good things, the philoſophers have in old time curiouſly diſputed, and alſo ſtrived among themſelves: yet none except Plato acknowleged the ſovereign good of man to be his union with God. But what manner of union that was, he could not perceive ſo much as with any ſmall taſte, and no marvel, ſince he had never learned the holy bond thereof. To us the only and perfect felicity is known even in this earthly wayfaring: but, ſuch as daily more and more enkindleth our hearts with deſire of it, till the full enjoying may ſatisfy us. Therefore I ſaid that none receive fruit of the benefits of Chriſt, but they that lift up their minds to the reſurrection. For, Paul ſetteth up this mark to the faithful, toward which he ſaith that he preſſeth, and forgetteth all things till he come to it, Phil. iii. 8. And ſo much the more chearfully ought we to travel toward it, leaſt if this world withold us, we ſuffer grievous puniſhment for our ſlothfulneſs. Wherefore in another place he marketh the faithful with this mark, that their converſation is in heaven, from whence alſo they

look for their Saviour. And that their courages ſhould not faint in this race, he joineth all creatures companions with them. For, becauſe every where are ſeen deformed ruins, he ſaith that all things in heaven and earth do endeavour to the renewing. For ſince Adam by his fall diſſolved the perfect order of nature to the creatures, their bondage is painful and grievous, whereunto they are ſubject by reaſon of the ſin of man, not for that they are indued with any feeling, but for that they naturally covet the perfect eſtate from which they are fallen. Therefore Paul ſaith that they groan, and are travelling in pain, (Rom. viii. 19.) that we to whom are given the firſt fruits of the Spirit, may be aſhamed to pine away in our corruption, and not at the leaſt to follow the dead elements, which bear pain of another's ſin. And the more to prick us forward, he calleth the laſt coming of Chriſt our redemption. It is true indeed that all the the parts of our redemption are already fulfilled: but becauſe Chriſt hath once been offered for ſins, he ſhall be ſeen again without ſin unto ſalvation, Heb. x. With what miſeries ſoever we be preſſed, let this redemption ſuſtain us even until the performance of it.

The doctrine of the reſurrection of the fleſh weighty and hard: the weight a motive to make us careful to retain the faith thereof: Chriſt a mean to take away the hardneſs of believing.

3. The very weight of the thing it ſelf ſhall whet our endeavour. For neither doth Paul without cauſe affirm that the holy goſpel is void and deceitful, unleſs the dead do riſe again: becauſe our ſtate ſhould be more miſerable than the ſtate of all men, namely ſince we lying open to the hatreds and reproaches of many: are every hour in danger, yea and are as ſheep appointed to the ſlaughter: and therefore the authority thereof ſhould fall away not only in one part, but alſo in the whole ſum which both our adoption and the effect of our ſalvation containeth. And ſo let us be heedfully bent to the moſt earneſt thing of all, that no continuance of time may make us weary. For which purpoſe I have deferred to this place that which I had briefly to treat of it, that the readers may learn, when they have received Chriſt the author of their ſalvation, to riſe up higher, and may know that he is clothed with heavenly immortality and glory, that the whole body may be made like faſhioned to the head, as alſo the holy Ghoſt oftentimes ſetteth forth in his perſon an example of he reſurrection. 1 Cor. xv. 14. It is a thing hard to be believed, that bodies when they have been conſumed with rottenneſs, ſhall at their appointed time riſe up again. Therefore where many of the philoſophers have affirmed ſouls to be immortal, the reſurrection of the fleſh hath been allowed of few: wherein although there was no excuſe, yet we are thereby put in mind, that it is too hard a thing to draw mans ſenſes to believe it. That faith may overcome ſo great a ſtop, the ſcripture miniſtreth two helps: the oue is in the likeneſs of Chriſt, the other is the almightineſs of God. Now ſo oft as the reſurrection is thought of, let the image of Chriſt come into our minds: which in the nature that he took of us, ſo ran out the race of mortal life, that now having obtained immortality, he is to us a pledge of the reſurrection to come. For in the miſeries wherewith we are beſieged, we carry about his mortifying in our fleſh, that his life may be openly ſhewed in us. 2 Cor. iv. 10. And we may not ſever him from us, neither can we poſſibly, but that he muſt be torn in ſunder. Whereupon cometh that argument of Paul, if the dead do not riſe again, then neither is Chriſt riſen again, 1 Cor. xv. 13. becauſe verily he taketh that principle for confeſſed, that Chriſt was not made ſubject to death, nor obtained victory of death by riſing again, privately for himſelf: but, that that was begun in the head which muſt needs be fulfilled in all the members, according to the degree and order of every one. For it were not right that they ſhould in all points be made equal with him. It is ſaid in the pſalm, Thou ſhalt not ſuffer thy holy one to ſee corruption: Pſal. xvi. 10. although a portion of this truſt pertain to us according to the meaſure of gift, yet the full effect hath not appeared but in Chriſt, which being free from all rotting, hath received again his body whole. Now leſt the fellowſhip of bleſſed reſurrection with Chriſt ſhould be doubtful to us, that we may be contented with this pledge, Paul expreſly affirmeth that he therefore ſitteth in heaven, and ſhall come at the laſt day a judge, that he may make our baſe and vile body like faſhioned to the glorious body. Phil. iii. 21. In another place alſo he teacheth, that God raiſed not up his ſon from death to the intent to ſhew a token of his power: but to ſtretch out the ſame effectual force of the ſpirit toward us which are faithful: whom he therefore calleth life while he liveth in us, becauſe he was given to this end that he ſhould make alive that which is mortal in us. I ſum up in a brief abridgement thoſe things which might both be more largely handled, and are worthy to be more gorgeouſly ſet out: and yet I truſt

that

that the godly readers ſhall in few words find matter enough which may ſuffice to edify their faith. Chriſt therefore is riſen again, that he might have us companions of the life to come. He was raiſed up of the father, in ſo much as he was the head of the church, from which he doth in no wiſe ſuffer himſelf to be plucked away. He was raiſed up by the power of the ſpirit, which is common to us unto the office of quickening. Finally he was raiſed up, that he ſhould be reſurrection and life. But as we have ſaid that in this mirror, there is to be ſeen of us a lively image of the reſurrection, ſo let it be to us a ſure foundation to ſtay our mind, ſo that yet we be not lothful or weary of long tarrying: becauſe it is not our part to meaſure the ſeaſons of times by our will, but patiently to reſt, till God at his own fit time repair his kingdom. To which purpoſe ſeemeth that exhortation of Paul: 1 Cor. xv. the firſt fruits is Chriſt: and then they that are Chriſt's, every one in his order. But that no queſtion ſhould be moved of the reſurrection of Chriſt, upon which the reſurrection of us all is founded, we ſee by how many and how diverſe means he hath made it approved by witneſs to us. Fine noſed men will laugh at the hiſtory which the evangeliſts rehearſe, as at a childiſh mockery. For of what importance ſhall the meſſage be which fearful ſilly women bring, and afterward the diſciples confirm, being in a manner aſtoniſhed? Why did not Chriſt rather ſet up the triumphing enſigns of his victory in the midſt of the temple and the market place? Why came he not forth terrible into the ſight of Pilate? Why doth he not alſo prove himſelf to the prieſts, and to the whole of Jeruſalem that he is riſen up alive again? As for the witneſſes which he choſe, prophane men will ſcarcely grant them to be ſufficient I anſwer, that although in theſe beginnings the weakneſs thereof was contemptible, yet all this was governed by the wonderful providence of God: that partly the love of Chriſt and zeal of godlineſs, and partly their own hardneſs of belief ſhould carry them in haſte to the ſepulchre which had lately been diſmayed for fear, that they might not only be ſeeing witneſſes of the thing, but alſo ſhould hear of the angels that which they ſaw with their eyes. How ſhall we ſuſpect their credit, who thought it to be a fable which they had heard of the women, till they were brought to the preſent ſight of the thing it ſelf? As for all the people and the ruler himſelf, after that they had been largely convinced, it is no marvel if as well the ſight of Chriſt, as other ſigns was not granted them. The ſepulchre was ſealed up, the watchmen watched it, the third day the body was not found. The ſoldiers corrupted with money ſcattered a rumour that his diſciples had ſtolen him away. Matth. xxvii. 66. and xxxiii. 11. As though they had power to gather a band together, or had armour, or were practiſed men to enterpriſe any ſuch feat. If the ſoldiers had not courage enough to drive them away, why did they not purſue them, that with the help of the people they might have taken ſome of them? Pilate therefore with his ring truly ſealed the reſurrection of Chriſt: and the watchmen which were ſet at the ſepulchre both in their holding their peace and in their lying, were made publiſhers of the ſame reſurrection. In the mean time the voice of angels ſounded, he is riſen, he is not here. Luk. xxiv. 6. The heavenly gliſtering plainly ſhewed that they were not men but angels. Afterward, if there remained any doubting, Chriſt himſelf took it away. The diſciples ſaw him oftener than once, and alſo felt his feet and his hands, that their hardneſs of believing not a little profited to the ſtrengthning of our faith. He diſputeth among them of the myſteries of the kingdom of God, and at the laſt in their ſights beholding him, he aſcended into heaven. Act. i. 3. And not only this ſight was ſhewed to the xi. Apoſtles, but alſo he was ſeen at once of more than five hundred brethren. 1 Cor. xv. 6. Now when he ſent the holy Ghoſt, he ſhewed a ſure proof not only of life, but alſo of the ſovereign power: as he had ſaid before, it is profitable for you that I go: otherwiſe the holy Ghoſt ſhall not come. John. xvi. But now Paul was overthrown by the way, not by the ſtrength of a dead man, but he felt him whom he perſecuted to have moſt high power. Act. ix. 4. To Stephen he appeared for another end, namely, that with aſſuredneſs of life he might overcome the fear of death. Act. vii. 55. To diſcredit ſo many authentic witneſſes, is not only a part of diſtruſtfulneſs, but alſo of froward and furious ſtubborneſs.

The infinity of the power of God confirmeth in the aſſured certainty of the reſurrection.

4. This which we have ſaid, that in proving the reſurrection our ſenſes muſt be directed to the infinite power of God, Paul briefly teacheth, that he may make (ſaith he) our vile body faſhioned like to his glorious body according to the working of his power, by which he may ſubdue all things to himſelf. Phil. iii. 20. Wherefore nothing is more unmeet, than here to have reſpect to what may naturally be done, where an ineſtimable miracle is ſet before us, which with the greatneſs thereof ſwalloweth up our ſenſes. Yea, Paul by ſetting forth an example

example of nature, reproveth their dulneſs who deny the reſurrection. Thou fool (ſaith he) that which thou ſoweſt is not quickened unleſs it firſt die, &c. He ſaith that in ſeed is ſeen a form of the reſurrection, becauſe out of rottenneſs groweth corn. Neither were it ſo hard a thing to believe, if we were as heedful as we ought to be to the miracles which throughout all the coaſts of the world do offer themſelves to our eyes. But let us remember that none is truly perſuaded of the reſurrection to come, but he which being raviſhed into admiration, giveth to the power of God his glory. Iſaiah lifted up with this affiance, crieth out, thy dead ſhall live, my carcaſe ſhall riſe again. Awake ye, and praiſe, ye dwellers of the duſt. Iſa. xxvi. 19. In deſperate caſe he lifteth up himſelf to God the author of life, in whoſe hand are the iſſues of death, as it is ſaid in the Pſalm. Pſal. lxviii. Job alſo being liker to a carrion than to a man, Job. xix 25. truſting upon the power of God, ſticketh not as though he were whole and ſound to lift up himſelf to that day, ſaying, I know that my redeemer liveth: and in the laſt day he ſhall riſe upon the duſt (namely to ſhew forth his power therein) and I ſhall again be compaſſed with my ſkin, and in my fleſh I ſhall ſee God, I ſhall ſee him, and none other. For albeit that ſome do ſubtilly wreſt theſe places, as though they ought not to be underſtood of the reſurrection, yet they ſtrengthen that which they deſire to overthrow: becauſe the holy men in their evils ſeek comfort from no where elſe than from the likeneſs of the reſurrection. Which better appeareth by the place of Ezekiel. Ezek. xxxvii. 8. For when the Jews believed not the promiſe of their return, and objected that is was no more likely that a way ſhould be made open for them, than that dead men ſhould come out of their graves: there was a viſion ſhewed to the prophet, a field full of dry bones: thoſe the Lord commanded to take again fleſh and ſinews. Although under that figure he raiſeth up the people to hope of return: yet the matter of hoping he gathereth of the reſurrection: as it is to us an exemplar of the deliverances which the faithful do experience in this world. So Chriſt when he had taught that the voice of the goſpel giveth life: becauſe the Jews received not this, he by and by ſaid further: marvel not at this, becauſe the hour cometh in which all that are in the graves ſhall hear the voice of the ſon of God, and ſhall come forth. John. v. 27. Therefore after this example of Paul, let us already chearfully triumph in the midſt of battles, becauſe he who hath promiſed life to come, is mighty to keep that which is committed to him: 2 Tim. iv. 3. and ſo let us glory that a crown of righteouſneſs is laid up for us, which the juſt judge ſhall deliver us. So ſhall it come to paſs, that whatſoever griefs we ſuffer, they ſhall be to us a ſhewing of the life to come, becauſe it agreeth with the nature of God to render affliction to the wicked which afflict us: but to us which are unjuſtly afflicted, reſt at the appearing of Chriſt with the angels of his power, in a flame of fire. But that is to be holden which he addeth by and by afterward, that he ſhall come that he may be glorified in his ſaints, and admired in all them that have believed, becauſe the goſpel hath been believed.

The Sadducees and others denying the reſurrection of the dead refuted.

5. But although the minds of men ought to have been continually occupied in this ſtudy: yet as though they would of ſet purpoſe deſtroy all remembrance of the reſurrection, they have called death the uttermoſt bond of all things and the deſtruction of man. For verily Solomon ſpeaketh of the common and received opinion, when he ſaith that a living dog is better than a dead lion. Eccl. ix. 4. And in another place: who knoweth whether the ſoul of a man go upward, and the ſoul of a beaſt downward? Eccl. iii. 21. But in all ages this brutiſh ſenſeleſs error hath been common in the world, yea and hath broken into the church it ſelf: for the Sadducees have preſumed to profeſs openly that there is no reſurrection, yea and that ſouls are mortal. Mar. xii. 18. Luk. xx. 27. Act. ii. 8. But that this groſs ignorance ſhould not help to excuſe any man, the infidels even by very inſtinct of nature have always had an image of the reſurrection before their eyes. For to what purpoſe ſerved that holy and inviolable manner of burying, but to be an earneſt of new life? Neither may it be anſwered that this ſprings of error: becauſe the religiouſneſs of burial was always in uſe among the holy fathers, and God willed the ſame manner to remain among the Gentiles, that an image of the reſurrection ſet before them might awake their drowſineſs. But although that ceremony wanted his uſe of profiting, yet it is profitable for us if we wiſely mark the end of it, becauſe it is no ſlender confutation of unbelief, that altogether profeſſed that which no man believed. But Satan hath not only aſtoniſhed the ſenſes of men, ſo that they have buried with the bodies the remembrance of the reſurrection, but alſo hath endeavoured to corrupt this part of doctrine with divers feigned inventions, that at length it might utterly

terly die. I paſs over how in Paul's time Satan began to pinch at it: but in a little after there followed the millenaries, which limited the reign of Chriſt to a thouſand years. Rev. xx. 4. This error is ſo childiſh, that it needeth not or is not worthy of any confutation. Neither doth the revelation make on their ſide, by which it is certain that they coloured their error: for as much as in the place where he mentioneth the number of a thouſand, he treateth not of the eternal bleſſedneſs of the church, but only of the divers troubles which were to come upon the church while it yet travelled in earth. But the whole ſcripture crieth out that there ſhall be no end of the bleſſedneſs of the elect, nor of the puniſhment of the reprobate. Now of all things which both are hidden from our ſight and do far ſurpaſs the capacity of our mind, either we muſt fetch the credit out of the certain oracles of God, or we muſt utterly caſt it away. They which aſſign to the children of God a thouſand years to enjoy the inheritance of the life to come, do not mark how great a diſhonour they do both to Chriſt and his kingdom. For if they ſhall not be clothed with immortality: then neither is Chriſt himſelf, to whoſe glory they ſhall be newly faſhioned, received into the immortal glory. If their bleſſedneſs ſhall have any end: then the kingdom of Chriſt, upon the ſtedfaſtneſs whereof it ſtandeth, endureth but for a time. Finally, either they are moſt unſkilful of all matter concerning God, or they go about with perverſe maliciouſneſs to overthrow the whole grace of God, and power of Chriſt the fulfilling whereof is no otherwiſe perfect, but when ſin being blotted out and death ſwallowed up, eternal life is fully reſtored. But very blind men may ſee how fooliſhly they play the fools: which fear that they ſhould aſcribe to God too great cruelty if the reprobate be condemned to everlaſting pains. The Lord forſooth ſhall do wrong, if he deny his kingdom to them which have by their unthankfulneſs made themſelves unworthy of it. But (ſay they) their ſins endure but for a time. I grant: but the majeſty, yea and the righteouſneſs of God which they have offended by ſinning, is eternal. Worthily therefore the remembrance of iniquity dieth not: but ſo the pain exceedeth the meaſure of the fault. This is a blaſphemy not to be ſuffered, when the majeſty of God is ſo little ſet by, when the deſpiſing thereof is eſteemed at no greater value than the deſtruction of one ſoul. But let us leave theſe trifles, leaſt contrary to that which we have before ſaid, we may ſeem to judge their dotages worthy of confutation.

Their error who have thought that man is utterly extinguiſhed by death and that the ſouls ſhall as well be raiſed again as the bodies.

6. Beſide theſe, there have been two other doting errors brought in by men perverſly curious. The one ſort thought, as though the whole man died, that the ſouls ſhall riſe again with the bodies. The other foraſmuch as they grant that the ſouls are immortal ſpirits, ſay that they ſhall be clothed with new bodies: whereby they deny the reſurrection of the fleſh. Of the firſt ſort, becauſe I have touched ſomewhat in ſpeaking of the creation of man, it ſhall be enough for me to warn the readers again, how beaſtly an error it is to make of a ſpirit faſhioned after the image of God, a vaniſhing blaſt which doth nothing but quicken the body in this frail life, and to bring the temple of the holy Ghoſt to nothing. Finally, to ſpoil that part of us wherein divineneſs chiefly ſhineth and marks of immortality appear, to ſpoil it (I ſay) of this gift: ſo that the eſtate of the body ſhould be better and more excellent than the eſtate of the ſoul. The ſcripture teacheth far otherwiſe, which compareth the body to a cottage, out of which it ſaith that we remove when we die, becauſe it eſteemeth us by that part which maketh us differing from brutes beaſts. So Peter being nigh to death, ſaith that the time is come, when he muſt lay away his tabernacle. 1 Pet. i. 14. And Paul ſpeaking of the faithful, after that he hath ſaid: that when our earthly houſe ſhall be diſſolved, there is a building for us in heaven, adjoineth that we are abſent from the Lord ſo long as we abide in the body, but do deſire the preſence of God in the abſence of the body 2 Cor. v. 1. If the ſouls do not outlive the bodies, what is it that hath God preſent when it is ſevered from the body? but the apoſtle taketh away all doubting, when he teacheth that we are joined in fellowſhip to the ſpirits of the righteous. Heb. xii. 23. By which words he ſheweth, that we are joined in fellowſhip to the holy fathers, which even being dead do keep the ſame godlineſs with us, ſo that we cannot be the members of Chriſt unleſs we grow together with them. Unleſs alſo the ſouls being uncloathed of the bodies, did keep ſtill their ſubſtance and were able to receive bleſſed glory, Chriſt would not have ſaid to the thief: This day thou ſhalt be with me in paradiſe. Luk. xxiii. 43. Having ſo clear teſtimonies, let us not doubt after the example of Chriſt when we are dying, to commend our ſouls to God, or after the example of Stephen to commit them to Chriſt to keep, Act. vii. 59.

vii. 59. which not unworthily is called a faithful ſhepherd and biſhop of them. 1 Pet. ii. 25. To enquire of their mean ſtate, is neither lawful nor expedient. Many do much cumber themſelves with diſputing what place they keep, and whether they do now enjoy the heavenly glory or no. But it is folly and raſhneſs, to ſearch deeper of unknown things, than God doth give us leave to know. When the ſcripture hath ſaid that Chriſt is preſent with them, and receiveth them into paradiſe that they may enjoy comfort, Matth. v. 8. and 26. on the other ſide that the ſouls of the reprobate do ſuffer ſuch pains as they have deſerved: John. xii. 32. it goeth no further. What teacher or maſter ſhall now open to us that which God hath hidden? Of the place, the queſtion is no leſs fooliſh and vain: foraſmuch as we know that there is not the ſame dimenſion of the ſoul which is of the body. Whereas the bleſſed gathering together of holy ſpirits is called the boſom of Abraham, it is enough for us after this way faring to be received of the common father of the faithful, that he may communicate with us the fruit of his faith. In the mean time ſince the ſcripture every where biddeth us to depend upon the expectation of Chriſt's coming, and deferreth the crown of glory till then: let us be content with theſe bounds appointed us of God: namely, that the ſouls of the godly having ended the labour of their warfare do go into a bleſſed reſt, where with happy joyfulneſs they look for the enjoying of the promiſed glory: and that ſo all things are holden in ſuſpenſe till Chriſt the redeemer appear. As for the reprobate, it is no doubt that they have the ſame eſtate which Jude aſſigneth to the devils, to be holden bound with chains, till they be drawn to the puniſhment whereunto they are condemned. Jude. 6.

Their error which have imagined that we ſhall in the day of the reſurrection receive not the ſame bodies which die but others for them.

7. No leſs monſtrous is their error which imagine that ſouls ſhall not receive again the ſame bodies wherewith they are now clothed, but ſhall have new and other bodies. And the reaſon of the Manichees was very trifling, that is, that it is not meet that fleſh which is unclean ſhould riſe again. As though there were no uncleanneſs of ſouls, which yet they debarred not from the hope of everlaſting life. It was therefore all one as if they ſhould ſay that that which is infected with the filth of ſin cannot be cleanſed by God. For I now paſs over that dotage, that fleſh was naturally unclean, becauſe it was create of the devil: only I ſhew that whatſoever is now in us unworthy of heaven, it hindereth not the reſurrection. And firſt whereas Paul biddeth the faithful to cleanſe themſelves from all filthineſs of the fleſh and of the ſpirit, 2 Cor. vii. 1. thereupon followeth the judgment which he in another place pronounceth, that every man ſhall receive by his body either good or evil. 2 Cor. v. 10. Wherewith agreeth that which he writeth to the Corinthians, that the life of Jeſus Chriſt may be openly ſhewed in our mortal fleſh. 2 Cor. iv. 10. For which reaſon in another place he doth no leſs pray that God preſerve the bodies whole unto the day of Chriſt, than the ſouls and ſpirits. 1 Theſ. v. 23. And no marvel, becauſe it were a moſt great abſurdity that the bodies which God hath dedicate to be temples to himſelf, ſhould fall away into rottenneſs without hope of riſing again. What ſay we to this, that they are alſo the members of Chriſt? that God commandeth all the parts of them to be ſanctified to himſelf? 1 Cor vi. 15. that he willeth his name to be praiſed with tongues, pure hands to be lifted up to him, ſacrifices to be offered? 2 Tim. ii. 8. What madneſs is it therefore that that part to which the heavenly judge hath vouchſafed to grant ſo great honour, ſhould be brought from a mortal man into duſt without any hope of reſtoring? Likewiſe when Paul exhorteth us to ſerve the Lord as well in body as in ſoul, becauſe both belong to God, 1 Cor vi. 20. verily he ſuffereth not that which he challengeth to God as holy, to be adjudged to eternal rottenneſs. Neither is there a plainer determination of the ſcripture for any thing, than for the riſing again of this fleſh which we bear. This corruptible (ſaith Paul 1 Cor. xv. 53.) muſt put on incorruption, and this mortal muſt put no immortality. If God did make new bodies, where is this changing of quality? If it had been ſaid that we muſt be renewed, the doubtful ſpeech peradventure might have given occaſion to their cavil. But now when pointing with his finger to the bodies wherewith we are clothed, he promiſeth to them incorruption, he plainly enough denieth any new bodies to be made. Yea he could not (ſaith Tertullian) ſpeak more plainly, unleſs he had holden his own ſkin in his hand. And they can by no cavil eſcape from this, that where in another place he ſaith that Chriſt ſhall be the judge of the world, he allegeth this teſtimony of Iſaiah, I live (ſaith the Lord) every knee ſhall bow to me: Iſa. xlix. 18. for as much as he plainly pronounceth that they to whom he ſpeaketh ſhall be ſubject to yield

yield an account of their life, which could not agree, if new bodies should be brought before the judgment seat. Now in the words of Daniel there is no doubtfulness. Dan. xii. And many of them that sleep in the earth of dust, shall awake, some to eternal life, and some to reproaches and to everlasting contempt: since he fetched not new matter out of the four elements to make men, but called dead men out of their graves. And this very plain reason teacheth. For if mortality which took beginning at the fall of man, be accidental: then the repairing which Christ brought, pertaineth to the same body which began to be mortal. And truly, whereas the Athenians laughed when Paul affirmed the resurrection, thereupon we may gather what manner of resurrection he preached: and that same laughing not smally availeth to strengthen our faith. The saying of Christ also is worthy to be noted. Fear them not which kill the body, and cannot kill the soul: but fear him which can throw both the soul and the body into hell fire, Matt. x. 28. For there is no cause to fear, unless the body which we now bear be subject to punishment. And no less plain is another saying of the same Christ, The hour cometh, when all they that are in their graves, shall hear the voice of the son of God, and shall come forth: they that have done good, into the resurrection of life: but they that have done evil, into the resurrection of condemnation. John. v. 28. Shall we say that souls rest in the graves, that they lying there may hear Christ? and not rather that at his commandment the bodies shall return into the livelineſs which they had lost? Moreover, if we shall have new bodies given us, where is the like fashioning of the head and the members? Christ rose again: was it with forging to himself a new body? No, but as he had said before, destroy this temple, and in three days I will build it up: John. ii. 19. he took again the same body which he had before born mortal. For he had not much profited us, if a new body being put in place, the old body had been destroyed which was offered up for a sacrifice of satisfactory cleansing. We must also hold fast that fellowship which the apostle preacheth. That we rise again, because Christ hath risen again. 1 Cor. xv. 12. for nothing is less probable than that our flesh in which we bear about the mortifying of Christ, should be deprived of the resurrection of Christ. Which verily appeared by a notable example, when at the rising again of Christ many bodies of the saints came out of the graves. Matth. xxvii. 52. For it cannot be denied that this was a foreshewing, or rather an earnest of the last resurrection which we hope for: such as was before in Enoch and Elias, whom Tertullian calleth new possessors of the resurrection: because they being in body and soul delivered from corruption, were received into the keeping of God.

The scripture teacheth every where the resurrection of the same flesh which perisheth, and not the creation of new.

8. I am ashamed in so clear a matter to spend so many words: but the readers shall contentedly bear this trouble with me, that no hole may be open for froward and bold wits to deceive the simple. The fleeing spirits with whom I now dispute, bring forth a feigned invention of their own brain that at the resurrection there shall be a creation of new bodies. What reason moveth them to think so, but because it seemeth to them incredible, that a carrion consumed with so long rottenness should return into his ancient state? Therefore only unbelief is the mother of this opinion. But us on the other side the Spirit of God every where in the scripture exhorteth to hope for the resurrection of the flesh. For this reason baptism (as Paul witnesseth) is to us a seal of the resurrection to come: Col. ii. 12. and likewise the holy supper allureth us to the trust thereof, when we receive with our mouth the signs of spiritual grace. 2 Cor. vi. 4. and 7. And truly the whole exhortation of Paul, that we give our members to be weapons unto the obedience of righteousness, should be cold unless that were joined which he addeth afterward. He that hath raised up Christ from the dead, shall quicken also your mortal bodies. Rom. viii. For, what should it profit to apply our feet, hands, eyes, and tongues, unto the service of God, unless they were partakers of the fruit and reward? Which thing Paul plainly confirmeth with his own words, saying: The body is not for fornication, but for the Lord: and the Lord for the body. And he that hath raised up Christ, shall also raise us up by his power. More plain are those words which follow: that our bodies are the temples of the holy Ghost and the members of Christ, 1 Cor. vi. 12. and xv. 19. In the mean time we see how he joineth the resurrection with chastity and holiness, as a little after he saith that the price of redemption pertaineth also to the bodies. Now it were not reasonable that the body of Paul, in which he hath born the prints of Christ, Gal. vi. 17. and in which he honourably glorified Christ, should lose the reward of the crown. Where-

upon alſo came that glorying. We look for the redeemer from heaven, which ſhall make our vile bodies like faſhioned to his glorious body. Phil. iii. 21 And if this be true, that we muſt by many afflictions enter into the kingdom of God, Act. xiv. 22. no reaſon ſuffereth to debar the bodies from this entry which God both exerciſeth under the ſtandard of the croſs, and honoureth with the praiſe of victory. Therefore of this matter there aroſe among the ſaints no doubting, but that they hoped to be companions of Chriſt, which removeth into his own perſon all the afflictions wherewith we are proved, to teach that they bring life. Yea and under the law he exerciſed the holy fathers in this faith with an outward ceremony. For to what purpoſe ſerved the uſage of burying, as we have already ſhewed, but that they ſhould know that there is new life prepared for the bodies that are laid up? Hereunto alſo tended the ſpices and other ſigns of immortality, wherewith under the law the darkneſs of faith was aſſiſted even as it was by the ſacrifices. Neither was that manner bred by ſuperſtition, foraſmuch as we ſee that the ſpirit doth no leſs diligently rehearſe burials than the chief myſteries of faith. And Chriſt commendeth that work as a ſpecial work, Matth xxvi. 10. truly for none other reaſon but becauſe it lifteth up our eyes from beholding of the grave which corrupteth and deſtroyeth all, to the ſight of the renewing. Moreover the ſo diligent obſerving of the ceremony which is praiſed in the fathers, ſufficiently proveth that it was to them a rare and precious help of faith. For neither would Abraham have ſo carefully provided for the burying place of his wife, Gen. xxiii. 4. and 19. unleſs there had been ſet before his eyes a religion and a profit higher than the world, namely that garniſhing the dead body of his wife with the ſigns of the reſurrection he might confirm both his own faith and the faith of his houſhold. But a clearer proof of this thing appeareth in the example of Jacob, which to teſtify to his poſterity that the hope of the promiſed land was not even by death fallen out of his mind, commanded his bones to be carried thither. Gen. xlvii. 30. I beſeech you, if he was not to be clothed with a new body, ſhould he not have given a fooliſh commandment concerning duſt that ſhould be brought to nothing? Wherefore if the authority of the ſcripture be of any force with us, there can be required of no doctrine either a more clear or more certain proof. For this even children underſtand by the words of reſurrection, and raiſing up again. For neither can we call it the reſurrection that which is now firſt created, neither ſhould that ſaying of Chriſt ſtand faſt, whatſoever the father hath given me, it ſhall not periſh but I will raiſe it up in the laſt day. John vi. 33. To the ſame purpoſe ſerveth the word of ſleeping, which pertaineth only to the bodies. Whereupon alſo burying places were called Cœmeteria, ſleeping places. Now it remaineth that I ſpeak ſomewhat of the manner of the reſurrection. I uſe this word, becauſe Paul calling it a myſtery 1 Cor. xv. 51. exhorteth us to ſobriety, and bridleth the liberty to diſpute like philoſophers freely and ſubtilly of it. Firſt we muſt hold, as we have ſaid, that we ſhall riſe again in the ſame fleſh which we bear, as touching the ſubſtance, but the quality ſhall be other. As when the ſame fleſh of Chriſt which had been offered for ſacrifice, was raiſed up again, yet it excelled in other qualities as if it had been altogeher another fleſh. Which thing Paul declareth by familiar examples. For as there is all one ſubſtance of the fleſh of a man, and of a beaſt, but not all one quality: as all ſtars have like matter, but not like brightneſs: ſo he teacheth that though we ſhall keep ſtill the ſubſtance of our body, yet there ſhall be a change, that the ſtate of it may be much more excellent. The body therefore, that we may be raiſed up again, ſhall not periſh nor vaniſh away: but putting off corruption, it ſhall put on incorruption. But for as much as God hath all the elements ready at his beck, no difficulty ſhall hinder him, but that he may command both the earth and waters and fire, to render that which ſeemeth to be conſumed by them. Which alſo Iſaiah teſtifieth though not without a figure, where he ſaith, Behold, the Lord ſhall go forth of his place, that he may viſit the iniquity of the earth: and the earth ſhall diſcover her blood, and ſhall no more hide her dead. Iſa. xxvi. 21. But there is to be noted a difference between them that have been dead long before, and thoſe whom that day ſhall find alive. For we ſhall not all ſleep (as Paul ſaith) but we ſhall all be changed, 1 Cor. xv. 51. that is to ſay, it ſhall not be of neceſſity that there be a diſtance of time between death and the beginning of the ſecond life: becauſe in a moment of time, and in the twinkling of an eye the ſound of the trumpet ſhall pierce, to raiſe up the dead incorruptible, and with a ſudden change to faſhion again the living into the ſame glory. So in another place he comforteth the faithful which muſt die; becauſe they which ſhall then remain alive ſhall not go before the dead, but rather

they

they ſhall firſtriſe again which have ſlept in Chriſt. 1 Theſ. iv. 15. If any object that ſaying of the apoſtle, that it is appointed to all mortal men once to die, it is eaſy to anſwer it, with ſaying that when the ſtate of nature is changed, it is a kind of death, and is fitly ſo called. And therefore theſe things agree well together, that all ſhall be renewed by death when they ſhall put off their mortal body: and yet that it is not neceſſary that there be a ſevering of the body and the ſoul where there ſhall be a ſudden changing.

How it cometh to paſs that the wicked are to be raiſed from the dead as well as the juſt and righteous.

9. But here riſeth a harder queſtion; by what right the reſurrection which is the ſingular benefit of Chriſt is common alſo to the wicked and the accurſed of God. We know that all were in Adam condemned to the death. Chriſt came the reſurrection and life. Came he to give life to all mankind univerſally without choice? But what is more againſt reaſon than that, they ſhould by their oſtinate blindneſs obtain that which the godly worſhippers of God do obtain only by faith? Yet this remaineth certain, that there ſhall be one reſurrection unto condemnation, and another reſurrection unto life, and that Chriſt ſhall come to ſevere the lambs from the goats, John xi. 25. Matth. xxv. 31. I anſwer, that this ought not to ſeem ſtrange, the likeneſs whereof we ſee in daily experience. We ſee that in Adam we were deprived of the inheritance of the whole world, and that we are by no leſs juſt reaſon debarred from common food, than from the eating of the tree of life. Whence then cometh it to paſs, that God doth not only make his ſun to riſe upon the good and evil, (Mat. v. 45.) but as touching the uſes of this preſent life, his ineſtimable liberality continually floweth forth to them with large plentiouſneſs? Hereby verily we know that thoſe things which properly belong to Chriſt and his members, do alſo overflow to the wicked, not that it is their rightful poſſeſſion, but that they may be made the more inexcuſable. So the wicked do often times find God beneficial, by more than mean proofs, yea, ſuch as ſometimes do darken all the bleſſings of the godly, but yet do turn to their greater damnation. If any man object, that the reſurrection is not fitly compared to fading and earthly benefit: here alſo I anſwer that ſo ſoon as they were eſtranged from God the fountain of life, they deſerved the death of the devil, whereby they ſhould be utterly deſtroyed. Yet by the marvellous counſel of God there was found a middle ſtate that out of life they might live in death. No more abſurd ought it to ſeem, if the reſurrection happen to the wicked, which draweth them againſt their wills to the judgment ſeat of of Chriſt, whom now they refuſe to hear for their maſter and teacher. For it were a ſmall pain to be conſumed away with death, if they were not to ſuffer puniſhment for their obſtinacy, brought before the judge, whoſe vengeance they have without end and meaſure provoked againſt themſelves. But although we muſt hold that which we have ſaid, and which that notable confeſſion of Paul before Fœlix containeth, that he looketh for the reſurrection of the righteous, and wicked, Acts xxiv. 15. Yet the ſcripture oftentimes ſetteth forth election together with the heavenly glory to the children of God only: becauſe Chriſt properly came not to the deſtruction, but to the ſalvation of the world. Therefore in the creed there is made mention of the bleſſed life only.

The incomprehenſible excellency of that eternal bleſſedneſs whereof we have herein taſte given us, and look for the perfect fruition hereafter in the world to come.

10. But foraſmuch as the prophecy of death ſwallowed up by victory, (Hoſea xiii. 14.) ſhall then and not till then be fulfilled: let us alway have in mind the eternal felicity, the end of the reſurrection: of the excellency whereof, if all things were ſpoken which the tongues of men were able to ſpeak, yet ſcarcely the ſmalleſt parcel thereof ſhould be expreſſed. For howſoever we truly hear that the kingdom of God ſhall be filled full with brightneſs, joy, felicity, and glory: yet thoſe things that are ſpoken of are moſt far removed from our ſenſe, and remain as it were wrapped in dark ſpeeches, until that day come when he himſelf ſhall give to us his glory to be ſeen face to face. We know (ſaith John) that we are the children of God, but it doth not yet appear what we ſhall be. But when we ſhall be like to him, then we ſhall ſee him ſuch as he is, 1 John iii. 2. Wherefore the prophets, becauſe they could by no words expreſs the ſpiritual bleſſedneſs in it ſelf, did in a manner groſly pourtray it out under bodily things. But foraſmuch as the ferventneſs of deſire muſt with ſome taſte of that ſweetneſs be kindled in us, let us chiefly continue in this thought, that if God do as a certain fountain which cannot be drawn dry, contain in him the fulneſs of all good things, nothing is beyond him to be deſired of them that tend toward the ſovereign good and the full perfection of felici

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ty: as we are taught in many places. Abraham, I am thy exceeding great reward, Gen. xv. 2. With which saying accordeth David. The Lord is my portion, the lot hath very well fallen to me, Psal. xvi. 6. Again in another place, I shall be satisfied with thy countenance, Psal. xvii. 15. But Peter pronounceth that the faithful are called to this end, that they may be made partakers of the divine nature.. How so? because he shall be glorified in all his saints, and shall be admired in them that have believed. If the Lord will impart his glory, power and righteousness to his elect, yea and will give himself to them to be enjoyed, and (which is better) will after a certain manner become one with them: let us remember that under this benefit is contained all kind of felicity. And when we have much profited in this meditation, let us confess that we yet stay beneath at the bottom of the roots, if the conceiving of our mind be compared with the highness of this mystery. Wherefore in this behalf we must keep sobriety, lest with how much greater boldness we shall fly up on high being unmindful of our own small measure, so much more the brightness of the heavenly glory overwhelm us. We feel also how the insatiable greediness to know more than is lawful, tickleth us: from whence both trifling and hurtful questions do spring from time to time: trifling I call those of which there can no profit be gathered. But this second kind is worse, because they which give themselves to them, do entangle themselves with pernicious speculations, and therefore I call them hurtful. That which the scriptures do teach, ought to be out of all doubt with us: namely that as God diversly distributing his gifts to the saints in this world, doth unequally enlighten them, so the measure of glory shall not be equal in heaven where God shall crown his gifts. For neither doth this belong indifferently to all which Paul saith: ye are my glory and crown in the day of Christ, 1 Thess. ii. 19. Nor also that saying of Christ to the apostles: ye shall sit judging the twelve tribes of Israel, Matth. xix. 28. But Paul (which knew that as God enricheth the saints with spiritual gifts on earth, so he beautifieth them with glory in heaven) doubteth not that there is a peculiar crown laid up for him according to the rate of his labours. And Christ to set forth to the apostles the dignity of the office which they did bear, telleth them that the fruit thereof is laid up for them in heaven. So Daniel also saith, But the wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever, Dan. xii. 3. And if a man heedfully consider the scriptures, they do not only promise eternal life to the faithful, but also special reward to every one. Whereupon cometh that saying of Paul, The Lord render to him in that day, 2 Tim. iv. 14. Which the promise of Christ confirmeth, Ye shall receive a hundred fold in the eternal life, Matth. xii. 29. Finally, as Christ beginneth in this world the glory of his body with manifold diversity of gift, and increaseth it by degrees: so he shall also make it perfect in heaven.

Curious questions concerning the different degrees of blessedness.

11. But as all the godly will receive this with one consent, because it is sufficiently testified by the word of God: so on the other side leaving difficult questions, which they shall know to be a hindrance to them, they will not pass their appointed bounds. As for my part, I do not only privately forbear superfluous searching of unprofitable things, but I also think that I ought to beware that I do not with answering nourish the lightness of other. Men desirous of vain knowlege do ask how great shall be the distance between the prophets and the apostles, and again between the apostles, and the martyrs: how many degrees virgins differ from married folks: finally, they leave no corner of heaven unsearched. Then it cometh to their minds to enquire to what purpose serveth the repairing of the world, since the children of God shall need nothing of all this so great and incomparable plenty: but shall be like to the angels, whose not eating is a sign of the eternal blessedness. But I answer that in the very sight there shall be so great pleasantness, so great sweetness in the knowlege only without any use, that this felicity shall far pass all the helps wherewith we be now assisted. Let us imagine our selves to be set in the most wealthy coast of the world, and where we shall want no pleasure: yet who is there whom his sickness do not sometime hinder and not suffer to use the benefits of God? who is there whose course his own intemperance doth not oft break in sunder? Whereupon followeth that a clear enjoying and pure from all fault, although there be no use of corruptible life, is the perfection of felicity. Some go further and ask whether dross and other corruptions in metals, be not far from restoring and are contrary to it. Which though in some respects I grant, yet I look with Paul for the repairing of these faults which took their beginning at sin, toward which repairing

ing they groan and are in travel, Rom. viii. 22. Yet they proceed further, and aſk what better eſtate is prepared for man, ſince the bleſſing of iſſue ſhall then be at an end. This knot is alſo eaſy to be looſed. Whereas the ſcripture ſo honourably ſetteth out that kind of bleſſing, that is referred to the increaſes wherewith God continually draweth forward the order of nature to her mark: but in the perfection it is known that there is another manner. But ſince the unwary are eaſily taken with allurements, and then the maze draweth them in deeper, and at length when every man's devices pleaſe himſelf there is no end of ſtriving: therefore let this be a ſhort way for us, to be contented with the glaſs and dark ſpeech until we ſhall ſee face to face. For few of a great multitude care which way they may go to heaven: but all do before their time covet to know what is done there. All being commonly ſluggiſh and ſlow to enter into battles, do already paint out to themſelves imagined triumphs.

The grievous torments which God hath prepared for the wicked.

12. Now becauſe no deſcription can match the grievouſneſs of the vengeance of God upon the reprobate, their torments and pains are figured to us by bodily things, namely, by darkneſs, weeping, gnaſhing of teeth, unquenchable fire, and a worm endleſly gnawing the heart, Matth. viii. 12. and xxii. 13. Mark ix. 43. For by ſuch manners of ſpeech it is certain that the holy Ghoſt meant to trouble all our ſenſes with horror: as when it is ſaid that there is prepared from eternity a deep hell, that the fuel thereof are fire and much wood: that the blaſt of the Lord, as a ſtream of brimſtone doth kindle it, Iſa. lxvi. 24. Iſa. xxx. 33. As by ſuch things we muſt be aſſiſted after a certain manner to conceive the miſerable ſtate of the wicked, ſo we ought chiefly to faſten our thought upon this, how wretched a thing it is to be eſtranged from the fellowſhip of God: and not that only, but alſo to feel the majeſty of God ſo bent againſt thee, that thou canſt not eſcape but be ſore cruſhed of it. For firſt his diſpleaſure is like a moſt violent fire, with touching whereof all things are devoured and ſwallowed up. Then, all creatures ſo ſerve him to execute his judgment, that they to whom the Lord ſhall ſo ſhew his wrath, ſhall feel the heaven, earth, ſea, and beaſts, as it were with cruel indignation inflamed againſt them, and armed to their deſtruction. Whereof it is no ſmall thing that apoſtle pronounceth, when he ſaith, that the unbelieving ſhall ſuffer eternal puniſhment by dying from the face of the Lord, and from the glory of his power, 1 Theſſ. i. 9. And ſo oft as the prophets do caſt us in fear with bodily figures, although they ſpeak nothing exceſſively for our dulneſs, yet they add foreſhewings of the judgment to come, in the ſun and the moon and the whole frame of the world. Wherefore the unhappy conſciences do find no reſt, from being vexed and toſſed with a terrible whirlwind, from feeling themſelves to be torn in pieces by God being angrily bent againſt them, for being pierced and lanced with deadly ſtings, from trembling at the lightning of God, and being bruiſed with the weight of his hand; ſo that it is much more eaſy to enter into all bottomleſs depths and devouring pits, than to ſtand one moment in thoſe terrors. What and how great then is this, to be preſſed with everlaſting and never ceaſing ſiege of him? Of which thing the xc. Pſalm containeth a notable ſentence: that although with a ſight only he ſcatter abroad all mortal men and bringeth them to nought, yet his worſhippers, how much more fearful they are in the world, ſo much more he enforceth them and pricketh them forward loaden with the croſs, until he be all in all.

THE END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

THE INSTITUTION OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

BOOK FOURTH

Which treateth of the OUTWARD MEANS or HELPS, whereby God allureth us into the fellowship of Christ, and holdeth us therein.

CHAP. I.

Of the true church with which we ought to keep unity, because it is the mother of all the godly.

The sum of the former book, and the drift of this which concerneth the Church.

THAT by faith of the gospel, Christ is become ours, and we are made partakers of the salvation brought by him, and of eternal blessedness, is already declared in the last book. But because our rudeness and slothfulness, yea and vanity of wit, do need outward helps whereby faith in us may both be ingendred, and grow and increase in proceeding toward the mark whereunto it tendeth: God hath also added them thereby to provide for our weakness. And that the preaching of the gospel might flourish, he hath left this treasure with the church. He hath appointed pastors and teachers, by whose mouth he might teach them that are his: Eph. iv. 11. he hath furnished them with authority, finally, he hath left nothing undone that might avail to the holy consent of faith, and right order. First of all he hath ordained sacraments, which we feel by experience to be more than profitable helps to nourish and confirm faith. For being inclosed in the prison of our flesh, we do not yet attain to the degree of angels, God suiting himself to our capacity according to his wonderful providence, hath appointed a mean whereby we being far distant from him might come unto him, Wherefore the order of teaching requireth that now we treat of the church, and of the government, orders and power of it, and then of the sacraments,

ſacraments, and laſtly of the civil order: and therewithal that we call away the godly readers from thoſe corruptions wherewith Satan and the papacy hath depraved all things that God hath appointed for our ſalvation. I will begin at the church, into whoſe boſom God will have his children to be gathered together, not only that they ſhould by her help and miniſtry be nouriſhed while they are infants and young children, but alſo be ruled by her motherly care till they grow to riper age, and at length come to the mark of faith. For it is not lawful that thoſe things be ſevered which God hath conjoined, Matth. x. 9. that to whom he is a father, the church be alſo their mother: and that not only under the law, but alſo ſince the coming of Chriſt, as Paul witneſſeth, who teacheth, that we are the children of the new and heavenly Jeruſalem. Gal. iv. 26.

The church inviſible which in the creed we profeſs that we believe.

2. In the Creed, where we profeſs that we believe the church, that is not ſpoken only of the viſible church whereof we now treat, but of all the elect of God in whoſe number they are alſo comprehended that are departed by death. And therefore this word *believe* is there ſet, becauſe oftentimes there can no other difference be noted between the children of God, and the ungodly, between his peculiar flock, and ſavage beaſts. For whereas many do interlace this word, *In*, that is without probable reaſon. I grant indeed that it is the more commonly uſed, and alſo wanteth not the conſenting teſtimony of antiquity, foraſmuch as even the Nicene creed, as it is reported in the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, addeth the propoſition, *In*. But therewithal we may mark by the writings of the ancient fathers, that it was received without controverſy to ſay, that they believed the church and not *in* the church. For Auguſtine, and that ancient writer whatſoever he was, whoſe work remaineth under the name of Cyprian concerning the expoſition of the creed, do not only ſo ſpeak themſelves, but alſo do expreſly note that it would be an unproper manner of ſpeaking if the prepoſition were adjoined, and they confirm their opinion with no trifling reaſon. For we therefore teſtify that we believe in God, becauſe upon him as a true ſpeaker our mind repoſeth it ſelf, and in him our confidence reſteth, which could not ſo conveniently be ſpoken to ſay in the church no more than it could be ſaid, I believe in the forgiveneſs of ſins, or in the reſurrection of the fleſh. Therefore although I would not ſtrive about words, yet I had rather follow the propriety of ſpeaking that ſhould be fitteſt to expreſs the matter, than curiouſly to ſeek for forms of ſpeech whereby the matter may without cauſe be darkened. But the end is, that that we ſhould know that although the devil attempt all means to overthrow the grace of Chriſt, and though the enemies of God be carried with violent rage to the ſame intent: yet it cannot be extinguiſhed, nor the blood of Chriſt be made barren but that it will bring forth ſome fruit. And ſo is both the ſecret election of God and his inward calling to be conſidered: becauſe he alone knoweth who be his, and holdeth them incloſed under a ſeal as Paul termeth it: ſaying that they bear his tokens whereby they may be ſeverally known from the reprobate. Ephe. i. 13. But becauſe a ſmall and contemptible number lieth hid under a huge multitude, and a few grains of wheat are covered with a heap of chaff, to God only is to be left the the knowlege of his church, the foundation whereof is his ſecret election. But it is not ſufficient to conceive in thought and mind the multitude of the elect, unleſs we think upon ſuch an unity of the church into which we be truly perſuaded that we our ſelves be ingraffed. For unleſs we be under our head Chriſt united together with all the reſt of his members, there abideth for us no hope of the inheritance to come. It is therefore called catholic or univerſal, becauſe we cannot find two or three churches but that Chriſt muſt be torn in ſunder, which cannot be done. But all the elect of God are ſo knit together in Chriſt, that as they depend upon one head, ſo they may grow together as it were into one body, cleaving together with ſuch a compacting of joints as the members of one ſelf body: being truly made one, which with one hope, faith, charity, with one ſelf ſame ſpirit of God do live together, being called not only into one inheritance of eternal life, but alſo into one partaking of one God and Chriſt. Wherefore although the ſorrowful deſolation that on each ſide preſenteth it ſelf in ſight, crieth out that there is nothing left of the church,, yet let us know that Chriſt's death is fruitful, and that God marvellouſly as it were in ſecret corners preſerveth his church. As it was ſaid to Elias, I have kept to my ſelf ſeven thouſand men that have not bowed their knee before Baal. 1 Kings xix. 18.

The article of the creed touching the church, concerneth, af-

3. Altho' this article of the creed doth in ſome reſpect belong to the outward church, that every one of us ſhould hold himſelf in brotherly conſent with all

ter a ſort the viſible church, whereunto the communion of ſaints being added containeth four ſpecial ſtays of faith.

the children of God, ſhould yield unto the church that authority which it deſerveth, finally ſhould ſo behave himſelf as a ſheep of the flock. And therefore is adjoined the communion of ſaints. Which parcel, although commonly the old writers do leave it out, yet is not to be neglected: becauſe it very well expreſſeth the quality of the church: as if it had been ſaid that the ſaints are gathered together into the fellowſhip of Chriſt with this condition, that whatſoever benefits God beſtoweth upon them, they ſhould continually communicate them one to another. Whereby yet the diverſity of graces is not taken away. As we know that the gifts of the holy Ghoſt are diverſly diſtributed: neither is the order of civil government diſturbed, by which it is lawful for every man privately to enjoy his own poſſeſſions, as it is neceſſary, that for preſervation of peace among men, they ſhould have among themſelves peculiar and divided properties of things. But there is a community affirmed, ſuch as Luke deſcribeth, that of the multitude of the believers there was one heart and one ſoul. Act. iv. 31. and Paul, when he exhorteth the Epheſians to be one body, one ſpirit as they be called in one hope. Eph. iv. 4. For it is not poſſible, if they be truly perſuaded that God is the common father, and the common head to them all, but that being united among themſelves with brotherly love, they ſhould continually communicate thoſe things that they have. Now it much behoveth us to know what profit thereupon returneth unto us. For we believe the church to this end, that we may be certainly perſuaded that we are the members of it. For by this means, our ſalvation reſteth upon ſure found ſtays, that it, although the whole frame of the world be ſhaken, cannot come to ruin and fall down. Firſt it ſtandeth with God's election, neither can it vary or fail but together with his eternal providence. Then, it is after a certain manner joined with the ſtedfaſtneſs of Chriſt, which will no more ſuffer his faithful to be plucked from him, than his own members to be rent and torn in pieces. Beſide that, we are aſſured that truth ſhall alway abide with us, ſo long as we are holden in the boſom of the church. Laſt of all, that we feel that theſe promiſes belong to us, there ſhall be ſalvation in Sion, Joel. ii. 32. God ſhall for ever abide in Jeruſalem, that it may not at any time be moved. Pſal. xlvi. 6. So much can the partaking of the church do, that it holdeth us in the fellowſhip of God. Alſo in the very word communion is much comfort: becauſe while it remaineth certain, that whatſoever the Lord giveth to his and our members, belongeth to us, our hope is by all their good things confirmed. But in ſuch ſort to embrace the unity of the church, it is not needful (as we have already ſaid) to ſee the church it ſelf with our eyes, or feel it with our hands: but rather by this that it conſiſteth in faith, we are admoniſhed that we ought no leſs to think it to be, when it paſſeth our underſtanding, than if it openly appeared. Neither is our faith therefore the worſe, becauſeth it conceiveth it unknown: foraſmuch as we are not herein commanded to diſcern the reprobate from the elect (which is the office of God only, and not ours) but to determine aſſuredly in our minds, that all they that by the merciful kindneſs of God the father through the effectual working of the holy Ghoſt, are come into the peculiar right and proper poſſeſſion of Chriſt: and that, foraſmuch as we be in the number of thoſe, we are partakers of ſo great a grace.

The church the mother of the faithful.

4. But ſince it is now our purpoſe to treat of the viſible church, let us learn even by this one title of mother, how much the knowlege thereof is profitable, yea neceſſary for us: foraſmuch as there is no other entry into life, unleſs ſhe conceive us in her womb, unleſs ſhe bring us forth, unleſs ſhe feed us with her breaſts, finally, unleſs ſhe keep us under her cuſtody and government until ſuch time as being unclothed of mortal fleſh we ſhall be like unto angels. Matth. xxii. 30. For our weakneſs ſuffereth us not to be diſmiſſed from ſchool, till we have been ſcholars throughout the whole courſe of our life Beſide that out of her boſom there is no forgiveneſs of ſins, and no ſalvation to be hoped for, as witneſſeth Iſaiah and Joel, with whom agreeth Ezekiel when he declareth that they ſhall not be in the number of God's people whom he putteth away from the heavenly life. Iſa. xxxvii. 31. Joel. ii. 32. Ezek. xiii. 9. As on the contrary ſide, they are ſaid to write their names among the citizens of Jeruſalem, that turn themſelves to the following of true godlineſs, After which manner it is alſo ſaid in another Pſalm: Pſal. cvi. 4. Remember me, Lord, in the good will of thy people: viſit me in thy ſalvation that I may ſee the benefits of thy elect, that I may be merry in the mirth of thy people, that I may rejoice with thy inheritance. In which words the fatherly favour of God, and

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the peculiar teſtimony of the ſpiritual life is reſtrained to his flock, ſo that the departing from the church is always damnable.

The miniſtry of the church together with the neceſſity and uſe thereof.

5. But let us proceed to proſecute that which properly belongeth to this place. Paul writeth that Chriſt, that he might fulfil all things, gave ſome apoſtles, ſome prophets, ſome evangeliſts, and ſome paſtors and teachers, for the perfecting of the ſaints, into the work of the miniſtry, unto the edification of the body of Chriſt, until we all come into the unity of faith and of the knowlege of the ſon of God, unto a perfect man, and to the meaſure of the full grown age of Chriſt. Eph. iv. 11. We ſee how God, who was able to make them that be his perfect in a moment, yet will not have them grow into manly age but by the bringing up of the church. We ſee the mean expreſſed, for that unto the paſtors is enjoined the preaching of the heavenly doctrine. We ſee how all, not one excepted, are brought into one rule, that they ſhould with mild ſpirit and willing to learn, yield themſelves to the teachers appointed for that uſe. And by this mark Iſaiah had long before ſet out the kingdom of Chriſt, where he ſaith: Iſa. lix. 21. my ſpirit which is in thee, and the words that I have put in thy mouth ſhall never depart, neither out of thy mouth nor out of the mouth of thy ſeed and thy childrens children. Whereupon followeth that they are worthy to periſh with famine and pining hunger, whoſoever they be that refuſe the ſpiritual meat of the ſoul reached unto them of God by the hands of the church. GOD doth breathe faith into us, but by the inſtrument of his goſpel, as Paul ſaith that faith is by hearing. Rom. x. 17. As alſo with God remaineth his power to ſave, but (as the ſame Paul witneſſeth) he uttereth and diſplayeth the ſame in the preaching of the goſpel. For this reaſon in old time he willed that there ſhould be made holy aſſemblies to the ſanctuary, that doctrine uttered by the mouth of the prieſt ſhoud nouriſh the conſent of faith. And to no other end thoſe glorious titles have reſpect, where the temple is called the reſt of God, and the ſanctuary his houſe, where he is ſaid to ſit between the cherubims: Pſal. cxxxii. 14. Pſal. lxxx. 2. but to bring eſtimation, love, reverence and dignity to the miniſtry of the heavenly doctrine, which otherwiſe the ſight of a mortal and deſpiſed man would not a little diminiſh. Therefore that we ſhould know, that out of earthen veſſels is brought forth unto us ineſtimable treaſure, 1 Cor. iv. 7. God himſelf cometh forth, and in as much as he is the author of this degree, ſo he will have himſelf to be acknowleged preſent in his inſtitution. Therefore after that he hath forbidden his to give themſelves to judgment by flying of birds, to ſoothſayings, magical arts, necromancy and other ſuperſtitions, he immediately addeth that he will give them that which ought to ſuffice inſtead of all, that is to ſay, that they ſhall never be deſtitute of prophets. Levit. xix. 31. But like as he ſent not the old people to angels, but raiſed up teachers out of the earth, which might truly perform the office of angels: ſo at this day alſo his will is to teach us by men. And as in the old time he was not content with the law only, but added prieſts for expoſitors, at whoſe lips the people ſhould enquire for the true meaning thereof: ſo at this day he not only willeth us to be heedfully bent to reading, but alſo appointeth maſters over us, by whoſe labour we may be aſſiſted: whereof cometh double profit. For on the one part by a very good trial it proveth our obedience, when we hear his miniſters ſpeaking even as it were himſelf. On the other ſide it alſo provideth for our weakneſs, while after the manner of men, he had rather ſpeak unto us by interpreters to allure us unto him, than with thundering drive us away from him. And truly how expedient this familiar manner of teaching is for us, all the godly do feel by the fear wherewith the majeſty of God doth worthily aſtoniſh them. But they that think that the authority of the doctrine is abaſed by the contempt of the men that are called to teach, do bewray their unthankfulneſs, becauſe among ſo many excellent gifts wherewith God hath garniſhed mankind: this is a ſingular prerogative, that he vouchſafeth to conſecrate the mouths and tongues of men to himſelf, that his own voice ſhould ſound in them. Wherefore on our behalfs let us not be grieved obediently to embrace the doctrine of ſalvation ſet forth by his commandment and by his own mouth: becauſe although the power of God is not bound to outward means, yet he hath bound us to the ordinary manner of teaching: which while frantic men refuſe to keep, they wrap themſelves in many deadly ſnares. Either pride, or diſdainfulneſs, or envy moveth many to perſuade themſelves that they can ſufficiently profit by their own private reading and ſtudy, and ſo to deſpiſe public aſſemblies, and to account preaching ſuperfluous. But ſince they do as much as in them to looſe or break in ſunder the holy bond of unity, no man eſcapeth the due puniſhment of this divorce, but he bewitcheth himſelf with peſtilent errors and

moſt wicked dotages. Wherefore, that the pure ſimplicity of faith may flouriſh among us, let us not be grieved to uſe this exerciſe of godlineſs, which God by his inſtitution hath ſhewed to be neceſſary for us and ſo earneſtly commendeth. But there was never yet found any even of the moſt wanton dogs which would ſay that we ought to ſtop our ears againſt God: but in all ages the prophets and godly teachers have had a hard ſtrife againſt the wicked, whoſe ſtubborneſs can never come under this yoke, to be taught by the mouth of the miniſtry of men. Which is as much as to blot out the face of GOD which ſhineth to us in doctrine. For in old time the faithful were commanded to ſeek the face of God in the ſanctuary, Pſal. cxv. 4. and the ſame is ſo oft repeated in the law for no other cauſe, but for that the doctrine of the law and the exhortations of the prophets were to them a lively image of God: as Paul affirmeth that in his preaching ſhineth the glory of God in the face of Chriſt. 1 Cor. iii. 6. How much the more deteſtable are the apoſtates, which greedily ſeek to divide churches, as though they did drive ſheep from their folds and caſt them into the mouths of wolves. But we muſt hold that which he hath alleged out of Paul, that the church is no otherwiſe builded but by outward preaching, and that the holy ones are holden together with no other bond but when with learning and profiting with one conſent they keep the order appointed by God to the church. To this end principally, as I have ſaid, the faithful in old time under the law were commanded to reſort to the ſanctuary. Becauſe when Moſes ſpeaketh of the dwelling place of God, he doth therewithal call it the place of name, where God hath ſet the memory of his name. Exod. xx. 24. Whereby he plainly teacheth that without the doctrine of godlineſs there is no uſe thereof. And it is not doubtful but that for the ſame reaſon David with great bitterneſs of ſpirit complaineth that he is by the tyrannous cruelty of his enemies kept from entring into the tabernacle. It ſeemeth commonly to many a childiſh lamentation, becauſe it ſhould be but a very ſmall loſs, and alſo no great pleaſure ſhould be foregone thereby, to want the entry of the temple, ſo that there were enough of other delightful things. But he bewaileth that with this one grief, anguiſh and ſorrow, he is fretted and vexed and in a manner waſted. For nothing is of greater eſtimation with the faithful, than this help whereby God by degrees lifteth up his on high. For this is alſo to be noted, that God in the mirror of his doctrine always ſo ſhewed himſelf to the holy fathers, that the knowlege was ſpiritual. Wherefore the temple is called not only his face, but alſo (to take away all ſuperſtition) his footſtool. And this is that happy meeting into unity of faith, while from the higheſt even to the loweſt all do aſpire to the head. All the temples that ever the gentiles upon any other purpoſe builded to God, were but a mere prophaning of his worſhip: whereunto though not with like groſſneſs, yet in ſome degree the Jews fell. Pſal. cxxxii. 7. Pſal. xcix. 5. 1 Pet. ii. 8 Whereof Stephen out of the mouth of Iſaiah reproacheth them where he ſaith, that God dwelleth not in temples made with hands, &c. Act. vii. 48. Becauſe only God doth by his word ſanctify to himſelf temples to the lawful uſe. And if we raſhly attempt any thing without his commandment, by and by to an evil beginning do cleave new devices by which the evil is ſpread abroad without meaſure. Yet Xerxes, when by the counſel of the magicians he burned up or plucked down all the temples of Greece, indiſcreetly ſaid, that the gods to whom all things ought to be freely open were incloſed within walls and tiles. As though it were not in the power of God, to the intent he might be near us, after a certain manner to deſcend unto us, and yet neither to change place, nor to faſten us to earthly means: but rather by certain chariots to carry us up to his heavenly glory, which with the immeaſurable greatneſs thereof filleth all things, yea and in height ſurmounteth the heavens.

The force of eccleſiaſtical miniſters.

6. Now foraſmuch as at this time there hath been great ſtrife about the effectualneſs of the miniſtry, while ſome exceſſively amplify the dignity thereof: and ſome others affirm that that which is properly belonging to the holy Ghoſt is wrongfully given away to mortal man, if we think that miniſters and teachers do pierce to the minds and hearts, to amend as well the blindneſs of the minds as the hardneſs of hearts: it is meet that we give a right determination of this controverſy. All that they contend on both parts ſhall eaſily be accorded by expreſly noting the places where God the author of preaching joining his Spirit with it promiſeth fruit thereof: or again, when ſerving himſelf from outward helps he challengeth to himſelf alone as well the beginnings of faith as the whole courſe thereof. It was the office of the ſecond Elias (as Malachi witneſſeth, Mal. iv. 6.) to enlighten the minds and to turn the hearts of fathers to the children, and unbelievers

believers to the wisdom of the righteous. Christ pronounceth that he sendeth the apostles, that they should bring fruit of their labour, John xv. 16. But what that fruit is Peter shortly defineth, saying that we are regenerate with incorruptible seed, 1 Pet. i. 23. And therefore Paul glorieth that he by the gospel begat the Corinthians, and that they were the seal of his apostleship, 1 Cor. iv. 15. Yea that he was not a literal minister, 1 Cor. ix. 2. such as did only beat the ears with sound of voice, but that there was given him an effectualness of spirit, that his doctrine should not be unprofitable, 2 Cor. iii. 6. In which meaning also in another place he saith, that his gospel was not in word only, but in power, 1 Cor. ii. 4. He affirmeth also that the Galatians by hearing received the spirit of faith, Gal iii. 2. Finally in many places he maketh himself not only a worker together with God, but also assigneth himself the office of giving salvation. 1 Cor. iii 9. Truly he never brought forth all these things to this intent to give unto himself any thing were it never so little separately from God: as in another place he briefly declareth, saying, our labour was not unprofitable in the Lord, according to his power mightily working in me, 1 Thess. iii. 5. Again in another place he that was mighty in Peter toward the circumcision, was also mighty in me toward the gentiles, Gal. ii. 8. But how he leaveth nothing severally to the ministers, appeareth by other places, as, he that planteth is nothing, and he that watereth is nothing, but God that giveth the increase, 1 Cor. iii. 7. Again, I have laboured more than all: yet not I, but the grace of God that is with me. And truly we must hold fast those sayings, where God ascribing to himself the enlightning of the mind, and the renewing of the heart teacheth that it is a robbery of God if man take upon himself any part of either of them. In the mean time if any man offer himself to the ministers whom God ordaineth, willing to learn, he shall know by the fruit, that this manner of teaching not in vain pleased God, and that this yoke of modesty was not in vain laid upon the faithful.

The scripture speaketh both of a visible church, and of a church which is invisible.

7. But as for the church visible and which is within the compass of our knowlege, what judgment is meet to be given thereof, I think it already appeareth evidently by that which we have before said. For we have said, that the holy scripture speaketh of the church after two sorts. Sometimes, when it nameth the church, it meaneth that church which is indeed before God, into which none are received but they that are both by grace of adoption the children of God, and by sanctification of the Spirit the true members of Christ. And then truly it comprehendeth not only the saints that dwell in earth, but also all the elect that have been since the beginning of the world. But oftentimes under the name of the church it signifieth the universal multitude of men scattered abroad in the world, which profess that they worship one God, and Christ, by baptism enter into his faith, by partaking of the supper testify their unity in true doctrine and charity, have an agreement in the word of the Lord, and for the preaching thereof do keep the ministry ordained by Christ, but the name and outward shew: there be many ambitious, covetous, envious, evil speakers, some of unclean life which be suffered for a time, either because they cannot by lawful order of judgment be convinced or because there is not always in use that severity of discipline that ought to be. Therefore as we must needs believe that the church which is invisible to us, is to be seen with the eyes of God only so are we commanded to regard this church which is called a church in respect of men, and to keep the communion of it, 2 Tim. ii. 19.

Properly, truly and infallibly God alone knoweth who are his.

8. Therefore so much as behooved us to know it, the Lord hath set it out by certain marks and as it were signs unto us. This is indeed the singular prerogative of God himself, to know who are his, as we have already alleged out of Paul. And truly that the rashness of men should not creep so far, it is provided by the very success of things daily putting us in mind, how far his secret judgments do surmount our understanding. For even they that seemed most desperate, and accounted utterly past hope, are by his goodness called back into the way: and they that seemed to stand fast in comparison of others, do oftentimes fall. Therefore according to the secret predestination of God (as Augustine saith, *Hom. in Joan.* 45.) there are many sheep without, and many wolves within. For he knoweth them, and hath them marked that know neither him nor themselves. But of those that openly bear his badge, his eyes only do see who are both holy without feigning, and who will continue even to the end, which is the very chief point of salvation. Yet on the other side, forasmuch as he foresaw it to be somewhat expedient, that we should know who were to be accounted his children, he hath in this part applied himself to our capacity. And because the certain-

ty of faith was not neceſſary, he hath put in place thereof a certain judgment of charity: whereby we ſhould acknowlege for members of the church thoſe that both with confeſſion of faith, and with example of life, and with partaking of ſacraments, do profeſs the ſame God and Chriſt with us. But as for the knowlege of the body thereof, how much more that he knew it to be neceſſary for our ſalvation, with ſo much the more certain marks he hath ſet it out.

One way to know what church is true and another who are the true members of the church.

9. Lo hereupon groweth and ariſeth unto us, a face of the church viſible to our eyes. For whereſoever we ſee the word of God to be purely preached and heard, and the ſacraments to be adminiſtred according to the inſtitution of Chriſt, there it is in no wiſe to be doubted that there is ſome church of God: foraſmuch as his promiſe cannot deceive, Whereſoever two or three are gathered together in my name, there I am in the midſt of them, Mat. xviii. 20. But that we may evidently underſtand the ſum of this matter, we muſt proceed by theſe as it were by degrees: that is to ſay, that the univerſal church is a multitude gathered together out of all nations whatſoever they be, which being ſundered and ſeverally ſcattered by diſtances of places yet doth agree in one truth of godly doctrine, and is bound together with the bond of the ſelf ſame religion. And that ſo under this are comprehended all particular churches, which are in all towns and ſtreets according to the order of men's neceſſity, ſo that every one of them may rightfully have the the name and authority of a church: and that all particular men which by profeſſion of godlineſs are reckoned among ſuch churches, although they be indeed ſtrangers from the church, yet do after a certain manner belong unto it, till by public judgment they may be baniſhed out of it. Howbeit there is ſomewhat a diverſe manner in judging of private men and of churches. For it may fall in experience, that ſuch men as we ſhall think not to be altogether worthy of the company of the godly, yet we muſt uſe like brethren and account them among the faithful, for the common conſent of the church, whereby they are ſuffered and born withal in the body of Chriſt. We do not by our teſtimony allow ſuch to be members o the church: but we leave them the place that they have among the people of God, till it be by orderly right of law taken away from them. But of the multitude itſelf we muſt otherwiſe think: which if it hath and honoureth the miniſtry of the word, and the adminiſtration of ſacraments, it deſerveth without doubt to be eſteemed and judged a church: becauſe it is certain that thoſe things are not without fruit So we do alſo preſerve to the univerſal church her unity, which deviliſh ſpirits have always travelled to cut in ſunder: neither do we defraud of their authority thoſe lawful aſſemblies which are diſpoſed according to the fitneſs of places.

The face, communion, and reverence of the church, and how it is termed the pillar of truth.

10. We have ſet for ſigns to diſcern the church by, the preaching of the word and the obſerving of the ſacraments. For thoſe can be no where but they muſt bring forth fruit, and be proſpered with the bleſſing of God. I do not ſay, that whereſoever the word is preached, there by and by ſpringeth up fruit: but I ſay that no where it is received and hath a ſtayed ſeat, but that it bringeth forth the effectualneſs thereof. Where the preaching of the goſpel is reverently heard, and the ſacraments are not neglected, howſoever it be, therefore that time appeareth, not a deceitful and doubtful face of the church, whereof no man may unpuniſhed either deſpiſe the authority, or refuſe the admonitions, or reſiſt the counſels, or mock at the corrections: much leſs to depart from it, and to break in ſunder the unity of it. For the Lord ſo highly eſteemeth the communion of his church, that he counteth him for a traiterous run-away and forſaker of religion, whoſoever ſhall ſtubbornly eſtrange himſelf from any chriſtian fellowſhip, ſo that it be ſuch a one as hath the true miniſtry of the word and ſacraments. He ſo commendeth the church's authority, that when it is violate, he judgeth his own diminiſhed. Neither is it of ſmall importance that the church is called the pillar and ſtrong ſtay of truth and the houſe of God. 1 Tim. iii. 15. By which words Paul ſignifieth, that to the end the truth of God ſhould not decay in the world, the church is a faithful keeper thereof: becauſe God's will was to have the preaching of his word kept pure, and to ſhew himſelf unto us a father of houſhold by her miniſtry and labour, while ſhe feedeth us with ſpiritual nouriſhments, and procureth all things that make for our ſalvation. It is alſo no ſlender praiſe, that it is ſaid, that ſhe is choſen and ſevered by Chriſt to be his ſpouſe, that ſhould be without wrinkle and ſpot, the body and fulneſs of him. Eph. i. 23. Whereupon followeth, that departing from the church is a denying of God and of Chriſt. Therefore ſo much the more we muſt beware

ware of so wicked disagreement. For while we go about, so much as in us lieth, to procure the ruin of God's truth, we are worthy that he should send down his lightning with the whole violent force of his wrath to destroy us. Neither can there be imagined any fault more hainous, than with wicked breach of faith to defile the marriage that the only begotten son of God hath vouchsafed to contract with us.

Satan laboureth either to abolish, or to bring in contempt the marks of the true church, whereupon a double mischief groweth, that either the true church is despised, or the false reverenced.

11. Wherefore let us diligently keep these marks imprinted in our minds, and let us esteem them according to the Lord's will. For there is nothing that Satan more endeavoureth than to take away, and abolish the one of these, or both sometimes, that when these marks are rased and blotted out, he may take away the true and natural distinction of the church: sometimes that when they are brought in contempt, he may with open apostacy pluck us from the church. By this craft it is brought about, that in certain ages past, the pure preaching of the word hath vanished away: and now he doth with as great importunity labour to overthrow the ministry which yet Christ hath so established in the church, that when it is taken away, the edification of the church perisheth. But now, how dangerous, yea how deadly a temptation is it when it doth but come in our mind to depart from that congregation wherein are seen the signs and tokens by which the Lord thought his church sufficiently described? We see how great heed is to be taken on both sides. For, that we should not be deceived under the title of the church, every congregation that pretendeth the name of the church must be examined by that manner of trial, as by a touchstone. If it have in the word and sacraments the order appointed by the Lord, it will not deceive us: let us boldly yield unto it the honour due to churches. But contrariwise if it boast it self without the word and sacraments, we must no less with fearful conscience beware of such deceits, than one the other side we must flee rashness and pride.

Where the signs of a true church are, from that society we may not separate our selves, and cease to have communion, though in doctrine and administration of sacraments, there be some fault.

12. Whereas we say that the pure ministry of the word and the pure usage in celebrating the sacraments, is a sufficient pledge and earnest, so that we may safely embrace as the church any fellowship wherein both these shall be: this extendeth so far, that it is never to be cast off so long as it shall continue in those although it swarm full of many other faults. Yea and there may some faultiness creep into it, in the administration either of doctrine, or of the sacraments, which ought not to estrange us from the communion of it. For all the articles of true doctrine are not of one sort. Some are so necessary to be known, that they ought to be certain and undoubted to all men, as the proper principles of religion: of which sort are, that there is one God, that Christ is God, and the son of God. That our salvation consisteth in the mercy of God: and such like. There be others that being in controversy between churches, yet do not break the unity of faith. For those churches that disagree about this one point, if without desire of contention, without stubborness of affirming, the one think that souls when they depart from the bodies do flee up into heaven, and the other church dare determine nothing of the place, but yet certainly holdeth that they live to the Lord: the words of the apostle are: let all us that be perfect think all one thing: but if ye think any thing otherwise, this the Lord shall also reveal unto you. Phil. iii. 19. Doth he not sufficiently shew that diversity of opinion about these matters, that are not so necessary, ought to be no ground of disagreement among Christians: it is indeed a principal point, that we agree in all things. But forasmuch as there is no man that is not warped with some little cloud of ignorance, either we must be in no church at all, or we must pardon a being deceived in such things as may be unknown without violating the sum of religion, and without loss of salvation. But I mean not here to defend any errors be they never so little, so as I would think that they should be cherished with flattering and winking at them: but I say that we ought nor rashly for every light offension forsake the church, in which at least that doctrine is retained safe and uncorrupted, wherein standeth the safety of godliness, and the use of sacraments is kept as it was institute by the Lord. In the mean time if we endeavour to amend that which displeaseth us, we do therein according to our duty. And hereunto belongeth that saying of Paul: if any thing better be revealed to him that sitteth, let the first hold his peace, 1 Cor. xiv. 30. Whereby it is evident, that all the members of the church are every one charged with endeavour to

public edification, according to the meaſure of his grace, ſo that it be done comely and according to order: that is, that we neither do forſake the communion of the church, nor abiding in it, do trouble the peace and well ordered diſcipline thereof.

Imperfection in the lives and corruption in the manners of ſome men, muſt not cauſe us to leave the fellowſhip of the church.

13. But in bearing with the imperfection of life, our gentle tenderneſs ought to go much further. For herein is a very ſlippery eaſineſs to fall: and herein with no ſmall devices doth ſatan lay wait for us. For there have been always ſome, who filled with falſe perſuaſion of perfect holineſs as though they were already made certain airy ſpirits, deſpiſed the company of all men, in whom they ſaw remaining any thing of the nature of man. Such in old time were the Cathary, and they that were as mad as they, the Donatiſts. Such at this day are ſome of the Anabaptiſts, who would ſeem to have profited above the reſt. Some there be that offend more by an undiſcreet zeal of righteouſneſs, than by that mad pride. For when they ſee among them to whom the goſpel is preached, the fruit of life not agreeably anſwering to the doctrine thereof, they by and by judge that there is no church. It is indeed a moſt juſt diſpleaſure, and ſuch a one whereunto in this moſt miſerable age of the world, we give too much occaſion. Neither may we excuſe our accurſed ſlothfulneſs, which the Lord will not ſuffer unpuniſhed: as even already he beginneth with grievous ſcourges to chaſtiſe it. Wo therefore to us, who with ſo diſſolute licentiouſneſs of wicked doings, make that weak conſciences be wounded by reaſon of us. But in this again they offend whom I have ſpoken of, becauſe they cannot meaſure their being diſpleaſed. For where the Lord requireth clemency, they leaving it, do give themſelves wholly to immeaſurable rigorouſneſs. For, becauſe they think that there is no church where is no ſound pureneſs and uprightneſs of life, for hatred of ſins they depart from the lawful church, while they think that they ſwerve from a company of wicked men. They allege that the church of Chriſt is holy. But that they may alſo underſtand that it is mingled of good and evil men, let them hear this parable out of the mouth of Chriſt, wherein it is compared to a net, in which fiſhes of all kinds are gathered together: and are not choſen out till they be laid abroad upon the ſhore. Matth. xiii. 47. Let them hear that it is like unto a corn field, which being ſown with good grain, is by the enemy's fraud ſcattered with tares, of which it is not cleanſed until the crop be brought into the barn floor. Matth. iii. 12. Finally, let them hear that it is like unto a floor, wherein the wheat is ſo gathered together, that it lieth hidden under the chaff, till being cleanſed with fan and ſieve, it be at length laid up in the garner. Matth. xiii. 23. If the Lord pronounce that the church ſhall even to the day of judgment be troubled with this evil, to be burdened with mingling of evil men: they do in vain ſeek for a church ſprinkled with no ſpot.

The ſtate of the church of Corinth in the Apoſtle's own times.

14. For they cry out that it is an intolerable thing, that the peſtilence of vices ſo rangeth abroad. What if the ſaying of the apoſtle do here alſo anſwer them? Among the Corinthians not only a few had gone out of the way, but the inſtinction had in a manner poſſeſſed the whole body: there was not only one kind of ſin, but many: neither were they light offences, but certain horrible outrageous doings: it was not only corruption of manners, but alſo of doctrine. What in this caſe ſaith the holy apoſtle, that is to ſay, the inſtrument of the holy Ghoſt, by whoſe teſtimony the church ſtandeth and falleth? Doth he require a diviſion from them? Doth he baniſh them out of the kingdom of Chriſt? Doth he ſtrike them with the extremeſt thunderbolt of curſe? He not only doth none of all theſe things: but he both acknowlegeth and reporteth it a church of Chriſt and fellowſhip of ſaints. If there remain a church among the Corinthians, where contentions, ſects, and envious partakings do broil: where quarrels and brawlings be in uſe, with a greedineſs of having, where that wicked doing is openly allowed, which were abominable among the very Gentiles: where Paul's name is unjuſtly railed at, whom they ought to have honoured as their father: where ſome ſcorn at the reſurrection of the dead, with ruin whereof the whole goſpel falleth: 1 Cor. i. 11. and iii. 3. and v. 1. and vi. 7. and ix. 1. and xv. 12. where the gracious gifts of God ſerve to ambition and not to charity: where many things are uncomely and unorderly done: and if therefore there ſtill remain a church, becauſe the miniſtry of the word and of the ſacraments is there not refuſed, who dare take away the name of the church from them that cannot be charged with the tenth part of theſe faults? They that with ſo great preciſeneſs deal ſo cruelly againſt the churches of this preſent time: what (I pray you) would they have done

done to the Galatians, which were almoſt utter forſakers of the goſpel, among whom yet the ſame apoſtle found churches? Gal. i.

One thing to ſhun the private company of a wicked man, and another for hatred thereof to forſake the fellowſhip of the church.

15. They object alſo, how that Paul grievouſly rebuketh the Corinthians for ſufferiug in their company a man that was a hainous ſinner, 1 Cor. v. 2. and then he ſetteth a general ſentence wherein he pronounceth, that it is unlawful even to eat bread with a man of reproachful life. Here they cry out: if it be not lawful to eat common bread, how may it be lawful to eat with them the bread of the Lord? I confeſs indeed that it is a great diſhonour, if hogs and dogs have place among the children of God: it is alſo a much more diſhonour if the holy body of Chriſt be given forth to them. And truly if they be well ordered churches, they will not ſuffer wicked men in their boſom, and will not without choice admit both worthy and unworthy together to that holy banquet. But foraſmuch as the paſtors do not always ſo diligently watch, yea and ſometimes are more tender in bearing with men than they ought to be, or are hindered ſo that they cannot uſe that ſeverity that they would: it cometh to paſs that even they that are openly evil, are not always thruſt out of the company of the ſaints. This I grant to be a fanlt: neither will I diminiſh it, ſince Paul doth ſo ſharply rebuke it in the Corinthians. But although the church be ſlack in her duty, it ſhall not be therefore immediately in the power of every private man, to take upon himſelf the judgment to ſeparate him. I do indeed not deny that it is the doing of a godly man, to withdraw himſelf from all private company of evil men, to intangle himſelf in no willing familiarity with them. But it is one thing to flee the company of evil men, and another thing for hatred of them to forſake the communion of the church, But whereas they think it ſacrilege to be partakers of the Lord's bread with them; they are therein much more rigorous than Paul is. For where he exhorteth us to a holy and pure partaking, he requireth not that one ſhould examine another, or every man the whole church, but that they ſhould each one prove himſelf. 1 Cor. xi. 18. If it were unlawful to communicate with an unworthy man, then truly Paul would bid us to look circumſpectly, whether there were any in the multitude by whoſe uncleanneſs we might be defiled. Now when he requireth only of every man the proof of he mſelves, he ſheweth that it nothing hurteth us if any unworthy do thruſt themſelves in among us. And nothing elſe is meant by this which he ſaith afterward. He that eateth unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment to himſelf. 1 Cor. xi. 29. He doth not ſay, to other, but to himſelf. And rightfully, For it ought not to ſtand in the choice of every particular man, who be to be received, and who to be rejected. The knowlege hereof belongeth to the whole church, which knowlege cannot be had without lawful order, as hereafter ſhall be ſaid more at large. Therefore it ſhould be unrighteous, that any private man ſhould be defiled with the unworthineſs of another, whom he neither can, nor ought to keep back from coming to it.

The ſurlineſs of ſome by reaſon of pride, and a vain opinion of their own holineſs, which by five eſpecial conſiderations may be abated.

16. But although by this undiſcreet zeal of righteouſneſs this temptation doth ſometimes alſo enter into good men: yet this we ſhall find that too much preciſeneſs, groweth rather of pride, diſdainfulneſs, and falſe opinion of holineſs, than of true holineſs and true zeal thereof. Therefore they that are bolder than other, and as it were ſtandard bearers to make any departing from the church, for the moſt part do it upon no other cauſe, but in deſpiſing of all men to boaſt themſelves to be better than others. Therefore Auguſtine ſaith well and wiſely: [*Contra. Par. lib. iii. cap. i.*] when godly order and manner of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline ought principally to have regard unto the unity of ſpirit in the bond of peace: which the apoſtle commanded to be kept by bearing one with another: and which being not kept, the medicine of revenge is proved to be not only ſuperfluous, but alſo pernicious, and therefore now to be no medicine at all: thoſe evil children which not for hatred of other mens iniquities, but for affection of their own contentions do greedily labour either wholly to draw or at leaſt to divide the weak common people intangled with the boaſting of their name, ſwelling with pride, mad with ſtubornneſs, treacherous with ſtanders, trouble ſome with ſeditions, leaſt they ſhould ſeem to want the light of truth, do pretend a ſhadow of rigorous ſeverity: and thoſe things that are in the holy ſcriptures commanded to be done with a gentler kind of healing, ſaving the ſincerity of love, and keeping the unity of peace, to correct the faults of brethren, they abuſe it to ſacrilege of ſchiſme, and to occaſion of cutting of. But to godly and

quiet men he giveth this counſel, that they mercifully correct that which they can, and that which they cannot, patiently bear, and groan and mourn with love, until God either amend and, correct them, or at the harveſt root up the tares and fan out the chaff. Let the godly travel to fortify themſelves with theſe armours, leſt while they ſeem to themſelves ſtrong and courageous revengers of righteouſneſs, they depart from the kingdom of heaven, which is the only kingdom of righteouſneſs. For ſince it is God's will to have the communion of his church to be kept in this outward fellowſhip: he that for hatred of evil men doth break the token of that fellowſhip, entereth into a way whereby is a ſlippery falling from the communion of ſaints. Let them think that in a great multitude there be many truly holy and innocent before the eyes of the Lord, whom they ſee not. Let them think that even of them that be diſeaſed there be many that do not pleaſe or flatter themſelves in their faults, but being now and then awaked with earneſt fear of God do aſpire to a greater uprightneſs. Let them think that judgment ought not to be given of a man by one deed: foraſmuch as the holieſt do ſometimes fall away with a moſt grievous fall. Let them think that to gather a church there leaveth more weight both in the miniſtry of the word and in the partaking of the holy myſteries, than that all that force ſhould vaniſh away by the fault of ſome wicked men. Laſt of all let them conſider, that in judging the church, the judgment of God is of greater value than the judgment of man.

The church in ſuch ſort holy that neither it can be at any time altogether pure and faultleſs, nor being faulty ceaſeth thereby to be a church.

17. Where alſo they pretend that the church is not without cauſe called holy, it is meet to weigh with what holineſs it excelleth: leſt if we will admit no church, but ſuch a one as is in all points perfect, we leave no church at all: it is true indeed which Paul ſaith, that Chriſt gave himſelf for the church to ſanctify it: that he cleanſed it with the laver of water with the word of life, to make her unto himſelf a glorious ſpouſe having no ſpot, or wrinkle, &c. Eph. v. 15. Yet this is alſo nothing leſs true, that the Lord daily worketh in ſmoothing her wrinkles and wiping away her ſpots. Whereupon followeth that her holineſs is not yet fully finiſhed. Therefore the church is ſo holy, that it daily profiteth and is not yet perfect: daily proceedeth, and is not yet come to the mark of holineſs: as alſo in another place ſhall be more largely declared. Whereas therefore the prophets prophecy that there ſhall be a holy Jeruſalem, through which ſtrangers ſhall not paſs: and a holy temple whereinto unclean men ſhall not enter: Joel iii. 17. Iſa. xxxv. 8. let us not ſo take it, as if there were no ſpot in the members of the church: but for that with their whole endeavour to aſpire to holineſs and ſound pureneſs, by the goodneſs of God cleanneſs is aſcribed unto them, which they have not yet fully obtained. And although oftentimes there be but rare tokens of ſuch ſanctification among men: yet we muſt determine that there hath been no time ſince the creation of the world wherein the Lord hath not had his church, and that there ſhall alſo be no time to the very end of the world, wherein he ſhall not have it. For altho' immediately from the beginning, the whole kind of men is corrupted and defiled by the ſin of Adam: yet out of this, as it were a polluted maſs, God always ſanctifieth ſome veſſels unto honour, that there ſhould be no age without feeling of his mercy. Which he hath teſtified by certain promiſes, as theſe: I have ordained a teſtament to my elect: I have ſworn to David my ſervant, I will for ever continue thy ſeed: I will build thy ſeat in generation. Pſal. lxxxix. 4. Again, the Lord hath choſen Sion, he hath choſen it for a dwelling to himſelf: this is my reſt for ever, &c. Pſal. cxxxii. 13. Again theſe things ſaith the Lord which giveth the ſun for the light of the day, the moon and ſtars for the light of the night. If theſe laws ſhall fail before me, then the ſeed of Iſrael ſhall alſo fail. Jer. xxxi. 35.

The corruption of the church in the prophets times.

18. Hereof Chriſt himſelf, the apoſtles, and in a manner all the prophets have given us example. Horrible are thoſe deſcriptions wherein Iſaiah, Jeremiah, Joel, Habbakuk, and others do lament the ſickneſſes of the church of Jeruſalem. In the common people, in the magiſtrate, in the prieſts all things were ſo corrupt, that Iſaiah doubteth not to match Jeruſalem with Sodom and Gomorrah. Religion was partly deſpiſed, partly defiled: in their manners, are commonly reported thefts, extortions, breaches of faith, murders and like miſchiefs. But therefore the prophets did neither erect to themſelves new churches, nor build up new altars on which they might have ſeveral ſacrifices: but of whatſoever manner of men they were, yet becauſe they conſidered, that God had left his word

word with them, and ordained ceremonies whereby he was there worshipped, in the midst of the assembly of the wicked they held up pure hands unto him. Truly if they had thought that they did gather any infection thereby, they would rather have died a hundred times than have suffered themselves to be drawn thereunto. Therefore nothing withheld them from departing, but desire to the keeping of unity. But if the prophets thought it against conscience, to estrange themselves from the church for many and great wicked doings, not of one or two men, but in a manner of the whole people: then we take too much upon us, if we dare by and by depart from the cummunion of that church, where not all mens manners do satisfy either our judgment, yea or the christian profession.

The church of Jerusalem in the days of Christ and his apostles.

19. Now what manner of world was there in the time of Christ and the apostles? And yet that desperate ungodliness of the Pharisees, and the dissolute licentiousness of living, which then each where reigned, could not hinder, but that they used the same ceremonies with the people, and assembled with the rest into one temple to the public exercises of religion. Whereof came that, but because they knew that the fellowship of evil men did not defile them, which with a pure conscience did communicate at the same ceremonies? If any man be little moved with the prophets and apostles, let him yet obey the authority of Christ. Therefore Cyprian well saith, [*Lib.* 3. *epi.* 5.] though there be seen tares or unclean vessels in the church, yet there is no cause why we should depart from the church: we must only labour that we may be wheat; we must use diligence and endeavour as much as we may that we may be a golden or silver vessel. But to break the earthen vessels, is the only work of the Lord, to whom also is given an iron rod. And let no man challenge to himself that which is properly belonging to the Son only, to be able alone to fan the floor, and cleanse the chaff, and severe all the tares by man's judgment, This is a proud obstinacy, and presumption full of sacrilege, which a perverse fury taketh to it self, &c. Therefore let both these things remain certainly fixed. First he that hath no excuse, that of his own will forsaketh the outward communion of the church. Where the word of God is preached and the sacraments ministred: then that the faults of a few or of many are no hinderance, but that we may therein rightly profess our faith by the ceremonies institute by God: because a godly conscience is not hurt by the unworthiness of any other either pastor or private man, and the mysteries are to a holy and upright man nevertheless pure and wholsome tho they are altogether handled of unclean men.

Anabaptistical affectation of purity.

20. Their preciseness and disdainfulness proceedeth yet further: because they acknowlege no church but such a one as is pure from all spots be they never so small; yea they are angry with good teachers, for that in exhorting the faithful to go forward, they teach them all their life long to grone under the burden of vices, and to flee unto pardon. For they prate that by this mean men are led from perfection. I grant indeed that in earnest calling upon perfection we ought not slowly or coldly to labour, much less to be idle, but to fill our minds with confidence thereof while we be yet in our course, I say, it is a devilish invention. Therefore in the creed the forgiveness of sins is aptly adjoined next after the church. For none do attain it, but only they that are citizens and of the household of the church as it is read in the prophet. Isa xxxiii. 24. Therefore the building of the heavenly Jerusalem ought to go before, wherein afterward this mercifulness of God may have place, that whatsoever come into it, their iniquity may be taken away. I say that it ought first to be builded, not for that there can be any church without the forgiveness of sins, but because the Lord hath not promised his mercy but in the communion of saints. Therefore the first entry for us into the church and kingdom of God, is the forgiveness of sins, without which we have no covenant or union with God. For thus he saith by the prophet, In that day I will strike you a covenant with the beast of the field, with the fowl of the air, and with the vermin of the earth. I will break the sword of war from out of the earth, and I will make men to sleep without fear. I will espouse you unto me for ever I will espouse you (I say) in righteousness, in judgment, in mercy, and in compassions. Hos. ii. 18. We see how by his mercy the Lord reconcileth us to himself. And so in another place, when he foresaith that the people shall be gathered together again, whom he had scattered abroad in his wrath, he saith, I will cleanse them from all wickedness wherewith they have sinned against me. Jer. xxxiii. 8. Wherefore by the sign of washing we enter into the fellowship of the church, whereby we may be taught tha there is no entry open for us

into the houſhold of God, unleſs our filthineſs be firſt wiped away with his goodneſs.

By remiſſion of ſins men not only received into, but alſo kept and continued in the church of Chriſt.

21. But by the forgiveneſs of ſins the Lord doth not only receive and adopt us once into the church, but by the ſame he alſo preſerveth and maintaineth us ſtill in it. For to what purpoſe were it, to have ſuch a pardon granted us, as ſhould ſerve for no uſe? But every one of the godly is a witneſs to himſelf that the mercy of God ſhould be vain and mocking, if it ſhould be granted only but once: becauſe there is none that is not in his own conſcience privy throughout his whole life of many weakneſſes, which need the mercy of God. And truly not in vain God promiſeth this grace peculiarly to them of his own houſhold: and not in vain he commandeth the ſame meſſage of reconciliation to be daily offered unto them. Therefore as throughout all our life we carry about us the remnants of ſin, unleſs we be ſuſtained with the continual grace of the Lord in forgiving our ſins, we ſhall ſcarcely abide one moment in the church. But the Lord hath called his unto eternal ſalvation. Therefore they ought to think that there is pardon always ready for their ſins. Wherefore we ought to hold aſſuredly, that by the liberality of God by mean of Chriſt's deſerving through the ſanctification of the Spirit, ſins have been and are daily pardoned to us who are called and graffed into the body of the church.

The keys committed to the church not for remiſſion of ſins to be warranted as well unto faithful men when they ſin, as unto ſinners when they firſt become faithful.

22. To deal this benefit unto us, the keys were gived to the church. Matth. xvi. 19. and xviii. 18. For when Chriſt gave the apoſtles commandment, and delivered them power to forgive ſins, John. xx. 23. he meant not this only, that they ſhould looſe them from ſins that were from ungodlineſs converted to the faith of Chriſt: but rather that they ſhould continually execute this office among the faithful. Which thing Paul teacheth, when he writeth that the miniſtry of reconciliation was left with the miniſters of the church, whereby they ſhould oftentimes in Chriſt's name exhort the people to reconcile themſelves to God. 1 Cor. v. 20. Therefore in the communion of ſaints, by the miniſtry of the church it ſelf, ſins are continually forgiven us, when the prieſts or biſhops, to whom that office is committed, do with the promiſes of the goſpel confirm godly conſciences in hope of pardon and forgiveneſs: and that as well publicly as privately, according as neceſſity requireth. For there be very many, who for their weakneſs do need a ſingular atonement. And Paul reporteth that not only in common preaching, but alſo in houſes he had teſtified the faith in Chriſt, and ſeverally admoniſhed every one of the doctrine of ſalvation. Act. xx. 20. Therefore we have here three things to be noted. Firſt, that with how great holineſs ſoever the children of God do excel, yet they are always in this eſtate, ſo long as they dwell in a mortal body, that without forgiveneſs of ſins they cannot ſtand before God. Secondly, that this benefit is ſo proper to the church, that we cannot otherwiſe enjoy it, but if we abide in the communion thereof. Thirdly, that it is diſtributed unto us by the miniſters and paſtors, either by preaching of the goſpel, or by miniſtring of the ſacraments: and that in this behalf principally appeareth the power of the keys, which the Lord hath given to the fellowſhip of the faithful. Wherefore let every one of us think this to be his duty, no where elſe to ſeek forgiveneſs of ſins, than where the Lord hath ſet it. Of public reconciliation which belongeth to diſcipline we ſhall ſpeak in place fit for it.

The error of Novations and Anabaptiſts, who, as if baptiſm did make men Angels, deny pardon unto ſinners that are baptiſed.

23. But for as much as thoſe frantic ſpirits that I have ſpoken of, do go about to pluck away from the church this only anchor of ſalvation, conſciences are the more ſtrongly to be confirmed againſt ſo peſtilent an opinion. The Novatians in old time troubled the church with this doctrine: but not much unlike to the Novatians our age alſo hath many of the Anabaptiſts which fall to the ſame dotages. For they feign that the people of God are in baptiſm regenerate into a pure and angelic life, that is corrupted with no filthineſs of the fleſh. But if any man offend after baptiſm, they leave unto him nothing but the unappeaſeable judgment of God. Briefly they grant no hope of pardon to a ſinner fallen after grace received: becauſe they acknowlege no other forgiveneſs of ſins but that whereby we are firſt regenerate. But although there be no lie more clearly confuted by the ſcriptures: yet becauſe theſe men find ſome whom they may deceive (as alſo in old time Novatus had many followers) let us ſhortly ſhew how mad they are to their own and others deſtruction. Firſt, whereas by the commandment of the Lord, the ſaints do daily repeat this prayer, Forgive us our debts, Matth. vi. 12.: truly they do confeſs themſelves

ſelves debtors. Neither do they crave it in vain becauſe the Lord hath always appointed no other thing to be aſked, than that which he himſelf would give. Yea, whereas he hath teſtified that the whole prayer ſhould be heard of his Father, yet he hath alſo ſealed this abſolution with a peculiar promiſe. What will we more? The Lord requireth of the ſaints all their life long a confeſſion of ſins, yea, and that continual, and promiſeth pardon. What boldneſs is it, either to exempt them from ſin, or if they have ſtumbled, utterly to exclude them from grace? Now whom doth he will us to forgive ſeventy times ſeven times? not to our brethren? To what end did he command it, but that we ſhould follow his clemency? He forgiveth therefore not once or twice; but as often as being ſtricken down with the acknowleging of ſins they ſigh unto him.

Pardon granted to the patriarchs which ſold their brother, to Simeon and Levi, to Reuben, to David, to the people of Iſrael after circumciſion.

24. But (that we may begin in a manner at the very ſwadling cloaths of the church) the patriarchs were circumciſed, being allured into partaking of the covenant having undoubtedly by their fathers diligence been taught righteouſneſs and innocency, when they conſpired to murder their brother, Gen. xxxvii. 18.: this was a miſchievous act, to be abhorred even of the moſt deſperate thieves. At the laſt being meekned with the admonitions of Judah, they ſold him: this was alſo an intollerable hainouſneſs. Simeon and Levi with wicked revenge, and ſuch as was alſo condemned by their own fathers judgment, uſed cruelty againſt the Sichemites, Gen. xxxiv. 25. Reuben with moſt unclean luſt defiled his father's bed, Gen. xxxv. 22. Judah when he would give himſelf to fornication againſt the law of nature, went to his ſon's wife, Gen. xxxviii. 16. And yet ſo far are they from being wiped out of the choſen people, that they are rather raiſed up to be heads of it. But what did David? when he was a governor of juſtice, with how great wickedneſs did he by ſhedding of innocent blood open the way to his blind luſt, 2 Sam. xi. 4. and xv. He was already regenerate and among the regenerate garniſhed with notable praiſes of the Lord: nevertheleſs he committed that hainous offence, which is ſo horrible even among the Gentiles: and yet he obtained pardon. And (that we may not tarry upon ſingle examples) how many promiſes there are in the law and the prophets of God's mercy toward the Iſraelites, ſo oft it is proved that the Lord ſheweth himſelf propitious to the offences of his people. For what doth Moſes promiſe to come to paſs, when the people being fallen into apoſtacy ſhall return unto the Lord? He ſhall bring thee back out of captivity, and ſhall have mercy on thee, and ſhall gather thee together out of the peoples to whom thou haſt been diſperſed. If thou be ſcattered even to the borders of the heaven, I will from thence again gather thee together, Deut. xxx. 3.

Pardon offered by the prophets to the people covered with infinite ſins.

25. But I will not begin a recital that ſhould never be ended. For the prophets are full of ſuch promiſes, which do yet offer mercy to the people covered with infinite wicked doings. What offence is there more hainous than rebellion? for it is called a dvorce between God and the church. But this is overcome by the goodneſs of God. What man is there (ſaith he by Jeremiah) that if his wife give forth her body in common to the adulterers, can abide to return into favour with her? but with thy fornication all thy ways are polluted, O Judah, the earth hath been filled with thy filthy loves. But return unto me, and I will receive thee. Return thou, turn away, I will not turn away my face from thee: becauſe I am holy, and am not angry for ever, Jer. xxxi. and xii. And truly he can be no otherwiſe minded, which affirmeth that he willeth not the death of a ſinner, but rather that he ſhould be converted and live, Ezek. xviii. 23. and xxxii. Therefore when Solomon did dedicate the temple, he appointed it alſo to this uſe, that the prayers made for obtaining pardon of ſins ſhould be heard from thence. If (ſaid he) thy ſons ſhall ſin (for there is no man that ſinneth not) and thou being angry ſhalt deliver them to their enemies, and they ſhall repent in their heart, and being turned ſhall intreat thee in their captivity, ſaying, we have ſinned, we have done wickedly, and ſhall pray toward the land which thou haſt given to their fathers, and toward this holy temple: thou ſhalt hear their prayers in heaven, and ſhalt be made merciful to thy people that hath ſinned againſt thee, and to all their wickedneſſes wherewith they have offended thee, 1 Kings viii. 46. And not vainly the Lord ordaineth in the law daily ſacrifices for ſins, Numb. xxviii. 2. For if the Lord had not foreſeen that his people ſhould be troubled with continual

diſeaſes of ſins, he would never have appointed theſe remedies for them.

The grace of pardoning ſins not diminiſhed by Chriſt's coming.

26. Was this benefit taken away from the faithful, by the coming of Chriſt, wherein the fulneſs of grace was ſhewed forth, ſo that they dare not now pray for pardon of ſins? that if they offend the Lord they may not obtain any mercy? What ſhall this be elſe, but to ſay that Chriſt came to the deſtruction of them that are his, and not to their ſalvation, if that mercifulneſs of God in pardoning ſins which in the Old Teſtament was continually ready for the ſaints, be now ſaid to be utterly taken away? But if we believe the ſcriptures which expreſly cry out, that in Chriſt only the grace and kindneſs of the Lord fully appeared, Tit. i. 9. and iii. 4. that the plentifulneſs of mercy was poured out, that the reconciliation of God and men was fulfilled: let us not doubt that there floweth unto us a more bountiful mercifulneſs of the heavenly Father, than that it is cut off or ſhortned, 2 Tim. i. 9. And hereof there want not examples. Peter who had heard that he ſhould be denied before the angels of God that confeſſed not the name of Chriſt before men, (Matth. x. 33. Mark vi. 38.) denied him thrice in one night, and that not without execration: yet he was not put away from pardon, Matth. xxvi. 39. They that lived ordinately among the Theſſalonians are ſo chaſtiſed, that yet they are gently called to repentance, 2 Theſ. iii. 6. Even Simon the magician himſelf is not caſt in deſperation, but he is rather commanded to hope well, when Peter counſelleth him to flee to prayer, Acts viii. 22.

Whole churches wrapped in ſin and not yet excluded from pardon.

27. Yea moſt hainous ſins have ſometimes poſſeſſed whole churches, out of which Paul rather gently unwrapped them, than pronounced them accurſed. The falling away of the Galatians was no mean offence, Gal. i. 6. and iii. 1. and iv. 9. The Corinthians were ſo much leſs excuſable than they, as they abounded in more, and thoſe nothing lighter ſins: yet neither of them are excluded from the mercy of God. Yea, even they that had ſinned above the reſt in uncleanneſs, fornication and unchaſtity, are eſpecially called to repentance, 2 Cor. xii. 21. For the covenant of the Lord remaineth, and ſhall remain for ever inviolable, which he ſolemnly made with Chriſt the true Solomon and his members, in theſe words, (Pſal. lxxxix. 32.) If his ſons ſhall forſake my law, and ſhall not walk in my judgments, if they ſhall defile my righteouſneſſes, and not keep my commandments, I will viſit their iniquities with a rod, and their ſins with ſtripes: but my mercy I will not take away from him. Finally by the very order of the creed we be taught, that there remaineth in the church of Chriſt continual pardon of ſins: For that when the church is as it were eſtabliſhed, yet forgiveneſs of ſins is adjoined.

Sin after baptiſm not only through ignorance but willingly committed, yet pardonable.

28. Some that be ſomewhat wiſer, when they ſee the doctrine of Novatus to be confuted with ſo great plainneſs of ſcripture, make not every ſin unpardonable, but wilful tranſgreſſing of the law, into which a man wittingly and willingly falleth. Now they that ſay ſo, do vouchſafe to grant pardon to no ſin, but where a man hath erred by ignorance. But whereas the Lord in the law commanded one ſort of ſacrifices to be offered for cleanſing of the wilful ſins of the faithful, and others to redeem their ignorances, Levit. iv.: how great lewdneſs ſhall it be to grant no cleanſing to wilful ſin? I ſay that there is nothing plainer than that the ſacrifice of Chriſt only availeth to forgive the wilful ſins of the ſaints: foraſmuch as the Lord hath teſtified the ſame by carnal ſacrifices as by ſigns. Again, who can excuſe David by ignorance, whom it is evident to have been ſo well inſtructed in the law? Did David not know how great was the fault of adultery and manſlaughter, who daily puniſhed the ſame in others? Did brother ſlaughter ſeem to the patriarchs a lawful thing? Had the Corinthians ſo ill profited that they thought that wantonneſs, uncleanneſs, whoredom, hatred and contentions pleaſed God? Did Peter being ſo diligently admoniſhed not know how great a matter it was to forſwear his maſter? Therefore let us not with our own enviouſneſs ſtop up the way againſt the mercy of God that ſo gently uttereth itſelf.

In what ſenſe the fathers do ſometimes teach that repentance is no more iterable than baptiſm.

29. Truly I am not ignorant that the old writers expound thoſe ſins that are daily forgiven to the faithful, to be the light offences that creep in by weakneſs of the fleſh: and that they thought that the ſolemn repentance which was then required for hainous miſdeeds might no more be reiterate than baptiſm. Which ſaying is not ſo to be taken, as though they would either throw them down headlong into deſperation that after their firſt repentance had fallen

fallen again, or extenuate thoſe other ſins as though they were ſmall in the ſight of God. For they knew that the ſaints do oftentimes ſtagger by infidelity, that ſuperfluous oaths do ſometimes fall from them, they now and then are chaffed unto anger, yea, that they break out even into manifeſt railings, and beſide theſe are troubled with other evils which the Lord not ſlenderly abhorreth: but they ſo called them, to put a difference between them and public crimes that with great offence came to the knowlege of the church. But whereas they did ſo hardly pardon them that had committed any thing worthy of eccleſiaſtical correction, th y did not this therefore, becauſe they thought that ſuch ſhould hardly have pardon with the Lord: but by this ſeverity they meant to make others afraid that they ſhould not raſhly run into wicked doings, by the deſerving whereof they might be eſtranged from the communion of the church: howbeit truly the word of the Lord which herein ought to be the only rule unto us, appointeth a great moderation. For it teacheth that the rigour of diſcipline is ſo far to be extended, that he that ought chiefly to be provided for be not ſwallowed up with heavineſs: as we have before declared more at large.

CHAP. II.

A compariſon of the falſe church with the true church.

Some faults do corrupt and deſtroy the church.

OF how great value the miniſtry of the word and ſacraments ought to be with us, and how far the reverence of it ought to proceed, that it be unto us a perpetual token whereby to diſcern the church, it hath been already declared. That is to ſay, whereſoever the miniſtry abideth whole and uncorrupted, there the faults or diſeaſes of manners are no impediment but that it may bear the name of a church. Then, that the very miniſtry it ſelf is by ſmall errors not ſo corrupted, but that it may be eſteemed lawful. Moreover we have ſhewed that the errors that ought ſo to be pardoned are thoſe whereby the principal doctrine of religion is not hurt, whereby thoſe chief points of religion that ought to be agreeably holden among the faithful are not deſtroyed, and in the ſacrament, thoſe that do not aboliſh nor impair the lawful inſtitution of him that ordained them. But ſo ſoon as lying is broken into the chief tower of religion, ſo ſoon as the ſum of neceſſary doctrine is perverted, and the uſe of the ſacraments faileth: truly the deſtruction of the church foloweth: like as a man's life is at an end, when his throat is thruſt through or his heart deadly wounded. And this is clearly proved by the words of Paul, when he teacheth, that the foundation of the church is laid upon the doctrine of the apoſtles and prophets, Chriſt himſelf being the head corner ſtone. Eph. ii. 20. If the foundation of the church be the doctrine of the prophets and apoſtles, by which the faithful are commanded to repoſe their ſalvation only in Chriſt: then take away that doctrine, and how ſhall the building ſtand any longer? Therefore the church muſt needs fall down where that ſum of religion falleth which is only able to uphold it. Again, if the true church be the pillar and ground of the truth, 2 Tim. iii. 15. it is certain, that there is no church, where lying and falſhood have uſurped the dominion.

What manner of church under the papacy.

2. Since it is in ſuch caſe under the papiſtry, we may underſtand how much of the church is there remaining. Inſtead of the miniſtry of the word, there reigneth a perverſe government and made of lies mingled together, which partly quencheth and partly choaketh the pure light: in the place of the Lord's ſupper is entred a moſt filthy ſacrilege: the form of worſhipping God is deformed with a manifold and intolerable hea p of ſuperſtitions: the doctrine, without which Chriſtianity cannot ſtand is altogether buried and driven out: the public aſſemblies are the ſchools of idolatry and ungodlineſs. Therefore there is no peril leſt in departing from a damnable partaking of ſo many miſchiefs we be plucked from the church of Chriſt. The communion of the church was not ordained to this end that it ſhould be a bond whereby we ſhould be intangled with idolatry, ungodlineſs, ignorance of God, and other kinds of evils: but rather whereby we ſhould be faſt holden in the fear of God, and obedience of truth. They do indeed gloriouſly ſet out their church unto us, that there ſhould ſeem to be no other church in the world: and afterward, as though the victory were gotten, they decree that all are ſchiſmatics that dare withdraw themſelves from the obedience of that church that they paint out: and that all are heretics that dare once mutter againſt the doc-

trine thereof. But by what proofs do they confirm that they have the true church? They allege out of the ancient chronicles, what in old time was in Italy, in France, in Spain. They say that they fetch their beginning from those holy men that with sound doctrine founded and raised up churches, and stablished the same doctrine and edifying of the church with their blood. And that so the church hath been among them so consecrate both with spiritual gifts, and with the blood of Martyrs, and preserved with continual succession of bishops, that it might not fall away. They rehearse how much Ireneus, Tertullian, Origen, Augustine, and other esteemed this succession. But how trifling these things are, and how they are but mere mockeries, I will make them very easy to understand that will be content a little to weigh them with me. Truly I would also exhort themselves earnestly to take heed hereunto, if I did trust that I might any thing prevail with them by teaching. But forasmuch as they, leaving all regard of truth, do bend themselves to this purpose only, by all the ways that they can, to defend their own cause, I will only speak a few things whereby good men and those that love the truth, may wind themselves out of their subtile cavils. First I ask of them, why they do not allege Africa, and Ægypt, and all Asia? Even because in all those countries this holy succession of bishops hath ceased, by mean whereof they boast that they have preserved churches. They come therefore to this point to say, that they therefore have a true church, because since it first began to be, it hath not been destitute of bishops: for in perpetual course they have succeeded one another. But what if I cast Greece in their way? Therefore I ask again of them, why they say that the church is lost among the Grecians, among whom that succession of bishops was never interrupted, which in their opinion is the only keeper and preserver of the church. They make the Grecians schismatics, and by what right? because in departing from the apostolic see, they have lost their privilege. What? Do not they much more deserve to lose it that depart from Christ himself? It followeth therefore, that the pretence of succession is but vain, unless the posterity do keep fast and abide in the truth of Christ, which they have received of their fathers from hand to hand.

The church amongst the Jews vainly measured by outward things, as the glory of the temple, the pomp of ceremonies, the succession of Priests.

3. Therefore the Romanists at this day do allege nothing else but that which it appeareth that the Jews in old time alleged when they were by the prophets, of the Lord reproved of blindness, ungodliness, and idolatry. For they gloriously boasted of the temple, ceremonies and priesthoods, by which things, by great reason as they think they measured the church. So instead of the church, they shew certain outward vziors, that oftentimes are far from the church, and without which the church may very well stand. Therefore we need to confute them with no other argument, than that wherewith Jeremiah fought against the foolish presumptuousness of the Jews, that is, that they should not boast in lying words: saying: the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, it is the temple of the Lord. Jer. vii. 4. For as much as the Lord doth now here acknowlege any thing for his, but where his word is heard, and reverently observed. So when the glory of God did sit between the cherubims in the sanctuary, and he had promised them that that should be his stedfast seat: yet when the priests once corrupted the worshipping of him with perverse superstitions, he removed else where, and left the place without any holiness. Ezek. x. 4. If the same temple which seemed to be consecrated to the perpetual dwelling of God, might be forsaken of God and become unholy: there is no cause why these men should feign to us that God is so bound to persons or places, and so fast tied to outward observtations, that he must needs abide with them that have only the the title and shew of the church. And this is it about which Paul contendeth in the epistle to the Romans, from the ninth chapter to the twelfth. For this did sore trouble weak consciences, that the Jews when they seemed to be the people of God, did not only refuse the doctrine of the gospel, but also persecuted it. Therefore after that he hath set out the doctrine, he removeth this doubt, and denieth that those Jews being enemies of the truth are the church, howsoever they wanted nothing that otherwise might be required to the outward form of the church. And therefore he denieth it, because they embrace not Christ. But somewhat more expresly in the epistle to the Galations: wherein comparing Ishmael with Isaac, he saith that many hold place in the church, to whom the inheritance belongeth not, because they are not begotten of the free mother. From whence also he descendeth to the comparison of two Jerusalems. Gal. iv. 22. Because as the law was given in the mount Sinai, but the gospel came out of Jerusalem:

so

ſo many being ſervilely born and brought up do without doubting boaſt themſelves to be the children of God and of the church, yea they proudly deſpiſe the natural children of God, when themſelves be but baſtards. On the other ſide alſo, when we hear that is was once pronounced from heaven: caſt out the bondwoman and her ſon, Gen. xxi. 10. let us, ſtanding upon this inviolable decree, boldly deſpiſe their unſavory boaſtings. For if they be proud by reaſon of outward profeſſion, Iſhmael was alſo circumciſed: if they contend by antiquity, he was the firſt begotten, and yet we ſee that he is put away. If the cauſe be demanded, Paul aſſigneth it, for that none are accounted children, but they that are begotten of the pure lawful ſeed of doctrine Rom. ix. 6. According to this reaſon God denieth that he is bound to wicked prieſts by this that he covenanteth with their father Levi that he ſhould be his angel or interpreter: yea, he turneth againſt themſelves their falſe boaſting, wherewith they were wont to riſe up againſt the prophets, that the dignity of prieſthood was to be had in ſingular eſtimation. This he willingly admitteth, and with the ſame condition he debateth with them, becauſe he is ready to keep his covenant, but when they do not mutually perform their part to him, they deſerve to be rejected. Lo what ſucceſſion availeth, unleſs therewithal be alſo joined an imitation and evenly continuing courſe: even to this effect, that the ſucceſſors, ſo ſoon as they are proved to have ſwerved from their original, be deprived of all honour. Unleſs perhaps becauſe Caiaphas ſucceeded many godly biſhops (yea there was even from Aaron to him a continualy unbroken courſe of ſucceſſion) therefore that ſame miſchievous aſſembly was worthy the name of the church. But this were not tolerable even in earthly dominions, that the tyranny of Caligula, Nero, Heliogabalus and ſuch others, ſhould be called a true ſtate of common weal, for that they ſucceeded the Brutus's, Scipios, and Camillus's. But ſpecially in the government of the church there is nothing more fooliſh, than leaving the doctrine to ſet the ſucceſſion in the perſons only. But neither did the holy doctors whom they falſely thruſt in unto us, mean any thing leſs, than to prove that preciſely as it were by right of inheritance churches are there, where biſhops are ſucceſſively placed one after another. But whereas it was then out of controverſy, that from the very beginning to that age nothing was changed in doctrine, they alleged that which might ſuffice to make an end of all new errors, that is, that by thoſe was that doctrine oppugned, which had been even from the apoſtles conſtantly and with one agreeing conſent retained. There is therefore no cauſe, why they ſhould any longer go forward to deceive by pretending a falſe colour under the name of the church, which we do reverently eſteem as becometh us: but when they come to the definition of it, not only water (as the common ſaying is) cleaveth unto them, but they ſtick faſt in their own mire becauſe they put a ſtinking harlot in place of the holy ſpouſe of Chriſt. That this putting in of a changeling ſhoud not deceive us, beſide other admonitions, let us remember this alſo of Auguſtine. For ſpeaking of the church, he ſaith: it is it that is ſomewhat darkened and covered with multitude of offences as with a cloud: ſometimes in calmneſs of time appeareth quiet and free: ſometimes is hidden and troubled with waves of tribulations and temptations. [*Ad Vincent. epiſt.* 48.] He bringeth forth examples, that oftentimes the ſtrongeſt pillars either valiantly ſuffered baniſhment for the faith, or were hidden in the whole world.

Like pretences uſed by Romaniſts to dazle the eyes of the ſimple, and to uphold the eſtimation of their Church.

4. In like manner the Romaniſts do vex us, and make afraid the ignorant with the name of the church, whereas they be the deadly enemies of Chriſt. Therefore although they pretend the temple, the prieſthood, and other ſuch outward ſhews, this vain gliſtering wherewith the eyes of the ſimple be dazzled ought nothing to move us to grant that there is a church where the word of God doth not appear. For this is the perpetual mark wherewith God hath marked them that be his. He that is of the truth (ſaith he) heareth my voice. Again, I am that good ſhepherd, and I know my ſheep, and am known of them. John. x. 14. My ſheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me. And a little before he had ſaid, that the ſheep follow their ſhepherd, becauſe they knew his voice: but they follow not a ſtranger, but run away from him becauſe they knew not the voice of ſtrangers. Why are we therefore wilfully mad in judging the church, whereas Chriſt hath marked it with an undoubtful ſign, which whereſoever it is ſeen cannot deceive, but that it certainly ſheweth the church to be there: but where it is not, there remaineth nothing that can give a true ſignification of the church. For Paul rehearſeth that the church was builded, not upon the judgments of men, nor upon prieſthoods, but upon the doctrine of the apoſtles and prophets. Eph. ii. 20 But rather Jeruſalem is to be ſeverally known from Babylon, and the church

of Christ from the conspiracy of Satan, by that difference wherewith Christ hath made them different one from the other. He that is of God (saith he) heareth the words of God: ye therefore hear not, because ye are not of God. John. viii. 47. In a sum, forasmuch as the church is the kingdom of Christ, and he reigneth not but by his word, can it be now doubtful to any man, but that those be the words of lying, by which Christs kingdom is feigned to be without his sceptre, that is to say without his holy word?

Our churches by Romanists without just cause accused of heresy and of schism.

5. But now whereas they accuse us of schism and heresy, because we both preach a contrary doctrine to them, and obey not their laws, and have our assemblies to prayers, to baptism, to the ministration of the supper and other holy doings, severally from them: it is indeed a very sore accusation, but such as needeth not a long or labourſome defence. They are called heretics and schismatics, which making a division do break in sunder the communion of the church. And this communion is holden together with true bonds, that is to say, the agreement of true doctrine, and brotherly charity. Whereupon Augustine putteth this difference between heretics and schismatics, that heretics indeed do with false doctrine corrupt the pureness of faith, but the schismatics sometimes even where there is like faith, do break the bond of fellowship. [*Lib. quæsti. Evang. sec. Matth.*] But this is also to be noted, that this enjoining of charity so hangeth upon the unity of faith, that faith ought to be the beginning thereof, the end, and finally the only rule; let us therefore remember that so oft as the unity of the church is commended unto us, this is required, that while our minds agree in Christ, our wills also may be joined together with mutual well willing in Christ. Therefore Paul when he exhorteth us to that well willing, taketh for his foundation that there is one God, one faith, and one baptism. Eph. iv. 5. Yea wheresoever he teacheth us to be of one mind, and of one will, Phil. ii. 2. and 5. he by and by addeth in Christ, or according to Christ: meaning, that it is a factious company of the wicked, and not agreement of the faithful which is without the word of the Lord.

The undividable unity of the church: the ground and bond thereof is truth.

6. Cyprian also following Paul deriveth the whole fountain of the agreement of the church, from the only bishoprick of Christ. He afterward addeth the church is but one, which spreadeth abroad more largely into a multitude with increase of fruitfulness: like as there be many sun beams, but one light: and many branches of a tree, but one body grounded upon a fast root: and when many streams do flow from one fountain, although the number seem to be scattered abroad by largeness of overflowing plenty, yet the unity abideth in the original. [*De simpl. prælat.*] Take away a beam of the sun from the body, the unity can suffer no division. Break a branch from the tree, the broken branch cannot spring. Cut off the stream from the spring head, being cut off it drieth up. So also the church being overspread with the light of the Lord, is extended over the whole world: yet there is but one light that is spread every where. Nothing could be said more fitly to express that undividual knitting together, which all the members of Christ have one with another. We see how he continually calleth us back to the very head. Whereupon he pronounceth that heresies and schisms do arise hereof, that men do not return to the original of truth, nor do seek that head, nor keep the doctrine of the heavenly master. Now let them go and cry that we be heretics that have departed from their church: since there hath been no cause of our estranging from them but this one, that they can in no wise abide the pure profession of the truth: but I tell not how they have driven us out with cursings and cruel execrations. Which very self doing doth abundantly enough acquit us, unless they will also condemn the apostles for schismatics, with whom we have all one cause. Christ (I say) did foretel to his apostles, that the time should come when they should be cast out of the synagogues for his name's sake. John. xvi. 2. And those synagogues of which he speaketh, were then accounted lawful churches. Since therefore it is evident that we be cast out, and we be ready to shew that the same is done for the name's sake of Christ, truly the cause ought first to be inquired of, before that any thing be determined upon us, either one way or other. Howbeit, if they will, I am content to discharge them of this point. For it is enough for me, that it behoved that we should depart from them, that we might come to Christ.

The church and the defection of the church of Is-

7. But it shall appear yet more certainly in what estimation we ought to have all the churches, whom the tyrranny of that Ro-

rael.

miſh idol hath poſſeſſed, if it be compared with the old church of the Iſraelites, as it is deſcribed in the prophets. There was then a true church among the Jews and Iſraelites, when they continued in the laws of the covenant, for they obtained thoſe things by the benefit of God, whereupon the church conſiſteth. They had the truth of doctrine in the law: the miniſtry thereof was among the prieſts and prophets: with the ſign of circumciſion they entered into religion: by other ſacraments they were exerciſed to the confirmation of faith. It is no doubt that thoſe titles wherewith the Lord hath honoured his church, fitly pertained to their fellowſhip. After that, forſaking the law of the Lord they went out of kind to idolatry and ſuperſtition, they partly loſt that prerogative. For who dare take away the name of the church from them, with whom God hath left the preaching of his word and obſervation of his myſteries? Again, who dare call that the church without ony exception, where the word of the Lord is openly and freely troden under foot? where the miniſtry thereof, the chief ſinew yea the very ſoul of the church is deſtroyed.

What was remaining of the church in Juda and Iſrael when they were fallen to idoltary.

8. What then? will ſome man ſay: was there therefore no parcel of a church remaining among the Jews after that they fell away to idolatry? The anſwer is eaſy. Firſt I ſay that in the very falling away there were certain degrees. For we will not ſay that there was all one fall of Juda, and Iſrael, at ſuch time as they both firſt ſwerved from the pure worſhipping of God. When Jeroboam firſt made calves, againſt the open prohibition of God, and did dedicate an unlawful place for worſhipping, he did utterly corrupt religion. The Jews did firſt defile themſelves with wicked and ſuperſtitious manners, before that they wrongfully changed the order in the outward form of religion. For although under Rehoboam they had already gotten them many perverſe ceremonies: yet becauſe there tarried at Jeruſalem both the doctrine of the law, and the prieſthood, and the ceremonious uſages in ſuch ſort as God had ordained them, the godly had there a tolerable ſtate of church. Among the Iſraelites unto the reign of Ahab, there was no amendment of things, and from thence forth they fell from worſe to worſe. They that ſucceeded afterward, to the very deſtruction of the kingdom, partly were like unto him, and partly (when they minded to be ſomewhat better than he; they followed the example of Jeroboam: but they all every one were wicked and idolaters. In Judæa there were now and then diverſe changes, while ſome kings perverted the worſhipping of God with falſe and forged ſuperſtition, ſome others reſtored religion that was decayed: until the very prieſts themſelves defiled the temple of God with prophane and abominable uſages.

The church of Rome more corrupt than the church of Iſrael under Jeroboam.

9. Now let the Papiſts if they can how much ſoever they extenuate their own faults, deny that among them the ſtate of religion is as corrupt and defiled as it was in the kingdom of Iſrael under Jeroboam. But they have a groſſer idolatry: and in doctrine they are not one drop purer: unleſs peradventure even in it alſo they be more impure. God, yea all men that are endued but with a mean judgment, ſhall be witneſſes with me, and the thing it ſelf alſo declareth, how herein I tell nothing more than truth. Now when they will drive us to the communion of the church, they require two things of us: firſt, that we ſhould communicate with all their prayers, ſacraments, and ceremonies: then that whatſoever honour, power and juriſdiction Chriſt giveth to his church we ſhould give the ſame to their church. As to the firſt point, I grant that all the prophets that were at Jeruſalem, when things were there very much corrupted, did neither ſeparately ſacrifice, nor had aſſemblies to pray ſeparate from other men. For they had a commandment of God, whereby they were commanded to come together into Solomon's temple: they knew that the levitical prieſts, howſoever they were unworthy of that honour, yet becauſe they were ordained by the Lord miniſters of the holy ceremonies, and were not as then depoſed, did yet ſtill rightfully poſſeſs that place. Exod. xxix. 9. But (which is the chief point of this queſtion) they were compelled to no ſuperſtitious worſhipping, yea they took in hand to do nothing but that which was ordained by God. But among theſe men, I mean the papiſts, what like thing is there? For we can ſcarcely have any meeting together with them, wherein we ſhall not defile our ſelves with open idolatry. Truly the principal bond of their communion is in the maſs, which we abhor as the greateſt ſacrilege. And whether we do this rightfully or wrongfully, ſhall be ſeen in another place. At this preſent it is enough to

ſhew that in this behalf we are in other caſe than the prophets were, which although they were preſent at the ceremonies of the wicked, were not compelled to behold or uſe any ceremonies but ſuch as were inſtituted by God. And, if they will needs have an example altogether like, let us take it out of the kingdom of Iſrael. After the ordinance of Jeroboam circumciſion remained,, the ſacrifices were offered, the law was accounted holy, the ſame God was called upon whom they had received of their fathers: but for the forged and forbidden forms of worſhipping, God diſallowed and condemned all that was there done. 1 King. xii. 31. Shew me one prophet, or any one godly man that once worſhipped or ſacrificed in Bethel. For they knew they could not do it, but that they ſhould defile themſelves with ſome ſacrilege. We have then thus much, that the communion of the church ought not ſo far to be of force with the godly, that if it ſhould degenerate to prophane and filthy uſages, they ſhould forthwith of neceſſity follow it.

A church degenerated and made prophane is no ſuch church as we ought of neceſſity to have communion and fellowſhip with.

10. But about the other point we contend yet more earneſtly. For if the church be ſo conſidered to be ſuch, whoſe judgment we ought to reverence, whoſe authority to regard, whoſe admonitions to obey, with whoſe chaſtiſements to be moved, whoſe communion in all things we ought religiouſly to obſerve: then we cannot grant them a church, but that we muſt of neceſſity be bound to ſubjection and obedience unto it. Yet we will willingly grant them that which the prophets granted to the Jews and Iſraelites of their time: when things were there in as good, yea or better ſtate. But we ſee how each where they cry out, that their aſſemblies are unholy, to which it is no more lawful to conſent than it is to deny God. And truly if thoſe were churches, it followeth therefore that in Iſrael Helias, Micheas, and ſuch other: in Jewry, Iſaiah, Jeremiah, Hoſea, and ſuch other of that ſort, whom the prophets, prieſts, and people of that time hated and deteſted worſe than any uncircumciſed men, were ſtrangers from the church of God. If thoſe were churches, then the church was not the pillar of truth, 1 Tim. iii. 15. but the ſtay of lying: not the tabernacle of the living God, but the receptacle of idols. Therefore it was needful for them to depart from the conſent of thoſe aſſemblies, which was nothing elſe but a wicked conſpiracy againſt God. In like manner if any man acknowlege the aſſemblies at theſe days being defiled with idolatry, ſuperſtition, and wicked doctrine, to be ſuch in whoſe full communion a chriſtian man ought to continue even to the conſent of doctrine, he ſhall greatly err. For if they be churches, then they have the power of the keys. But the keys are unſeparably knit with the word, which is from thence quite driven away. Again, if they be churches, then the promiſe of Chriſt is of force among them, whatſoever ye bind, &c. But they contrariwiſe do baniſh from their communion all ſuch as do profeſs themſelves unfeignedly the ſervants of Chriſt. Therefore either the promiſe of Chriſt is vain, Matth. xvi. 19. and xviii. 18. John. xx. 23. or at leaſt in this reſpect they are not churches. Finally, inſtead of the miniſtry of the word they have ſchools of ungodlineſs, and a ſink of all kinds of errors. Therefore either in this reſpect they are not churches, or there ſhall remain no token whereby the lawful aſſemblies of the faithful may be ſeverally known from the meeting of Turks.

The ſteps of a church remainning as of old in the corrupt ſtate of Iſrael, ſo at this day amongſt thi Romaniſts.

11. But as in the old time there yet remained among the Jews certain peculiar prerogatives of the church, ſo at this day alſo we take not from the papiſts ſuch ſteps as it pleaſed the Lord to have remaining among them after the diſſipation of the church. The Lord had once made his covenant with the Jews. That ſame rather being upholden by the ſtedfaſtneſs of it ſelf did continue with ſtriving againſt their ungodlineſs, than was preſerved by them. Therefore (ſuch was the aſſuredneſs and conſtancy of Gods goodneſs) there remained the covenant of the Lord, neither could his faithfulneſs be blotted out by their unfaithfulneſs: neither could circumciſion be ſo prophaned with their unclean hands, but that it ſtill was the ſign and ſacrament of that covenant. Whereupon the children that were born of them, the Lord called his own, which unleſs it were by ſpecial bleſſing, belonged nothing to him. So when he hath left his covenant in France, Italy, Germany, Spain, England: ſince thoſe provinces have been oppreſſed with the tyranny of Antichriſt, yet that his covenant might remain inviolable, firſt he there preſerved baptiſm, the teſtimony of his covenant, which being conſecrate by his own mouth retaineth her own force notwithſtanding the ungodlineſs of man: then, with his providence he hath wrought that

there

there ſhould remain other remnants, leſt the Church ſhould be utterly deſtroyed. And as oftentimes buildings are ſo pulled down, that the foundations and ruins remain: ſo he hath not ſuffered his church either to be overthrown by Antichriſt from the very foundation, or to be laid even with the ground (howſoever to puniſh the unthankfulneſs of men that had deſpiſed his word, he ſuffereth horrible ſhaking and diſſipation to happen) but even after the very waſting he willed that the building half pulled down ſhould yet remain.

The church of Rome not ſimply a church, nor utterly no church, but a church prophaned and unlawfully ordered.

12. Whereas therefore we will not ſimply grant to the Papiſts the title of the church, we do not therefore deny that there be churches among them: but only we contend for the true and lawful ordering of the church: which is required in the communion both of the ſacraments which are the ſigns of profeſſion, and alſo ſpecially of doctrine. Daniel and Paul foretold that Antichriſt ſhould ſin in the temple of God. Dan. ix. 27. 2 Theſ. ii. 4. With us we account the biſhop of Rome the captain and ſtandard bearer of that wicked and abominable kingdom. Whereas his ſeat is placed in the temple of God, thereby is meant that his kingdom ſhall be ſuch as cannot aboliſh the name of Chriſt nor of his church. Hereby therefore appeareth that we do not deny but that even under his tyranny remain churches, but ſuch as he hath prophaned with ungodlineſs full of ſacrilege, ſuch as he hath corrupted and in a manner killed with evil and damnable doctrines, as with poiſoned drinks: ſuch wherein Chriſt lieth half buried, the goſpel overwhelmed, godlineſs baniſhed, the worſhipping of God in a manner aboliſhed: ſuch finally wherein all things are ſo troubled, that therein rather appeareth the face of Babylon than of the holy city of God. In a ſum, I ſay that they are churches, in reſpect that the Lord there marvellouſly preſerveth the remnants of his people howſoever they were diſperſed and ſcattered abroad, in reſpect that there remain ſome tokens of the church, eſpecially theſe tokens, the effectualneſs whereof neither the craft of the devil, nor the maliciouſneſs of man can deſtroy. But on the other ſide becauſe theſe marks are blotted out, which in this diſcourſe we ought principally to have reſpect unto, I ſay, that every one of their aſſemblies and the whole body wanteth the lawful form of a church.

CHAP. III.

Of the teachers and miniſters of the church, and of their election and office.

The reaſon why God would have his church to be governed by men.

NOW it is meet that we ſpeak of the order, by which it was the Lord's will to have this church governed. For although in his church he only muſt rule and reign yea and bear preheminence or excel in it, and this government to be uſed or executed by his word only: yet becauſe he dwelleth not among us in viſible preſence, ſo that he can preſently with his own mouth declare his will unto us, we have ſaid that in this, he uſeth the miniſtry of men, and as it were the travel of deputies not in transferring his right and honour unto them, but only that by their mouth he might do his own work, like as a workman to do his work uſeth his inſtrument. I am compelled to repeat again thoſe things that I have already declared. He might indeed do it either by himſelf without any other help or inſtrument, or alſo by mean of angels: but there are many cauſes why he had rather do it by men. For by this mean firſt he declareth his good will toward us, when he taketh out of men them that ſhall do his meſſage in the world, that ſhall be the interpreters of his ſecret will, finally that ſhall repreſent his own perſon. And ſo by experience he proveth that it is not vain that commonly he calleth us his temples, when out of the mouths of men, as out of his ſanctuary, he giveth anſwers to men. Secondly, this is the beſt and moſt profitable exerciſe to humility, when he accuſtometh us to obey his word, howſoever it be preached by men like unto us, yea ſometime our inferiors in dignity. If he himſelf ſpeak from heaven, it were no wonder if his holy oracles were without delay reverently received with the ears and minds of all men. For who would not dread his power being in preſence? Who would not be thrown down at the firſt ſight of ſo great majeſty? Who would not be confounded with that infinite brightneſs? But when ſome ſilly man riſen out of the duſt ſpeaketh in the name of God, here with very good teſtimony we declare our godlineſs and reve-

rent obedience toward God himſelf, if to his miniſtry we yield our ſelves willing to learn, which yet in nothing excelleth us. Therefore for this cauſe alſo he hath hidden the treaſure of his heavenly wiſdom in brittle and earthen veſſels, 1 Cor. iv. 7. that he might have the certain proof how much he is eſteemed of us. Moreover there was nothing fitter for the cheriſhing of mutual charity, than that men ſhould be bound together one to another with this bond, when one is made a paſtor to teach the reſt, and they that are commanded to be ſcholars receive all one doctrine at one mouth. For if every man were able enough to ſerve himſelf, and needed not the help of another, ſuch is the pride of man's nature, that every one would deſpiſe other, and ſhould again be deſpiſed of them. Therefore the Lord hath bound his church with that knot, which he foreſaw to be the ſtrongeſt knot to hold unity together, when he hath left with men the doctrine of ſalvation, and of eternal life, that by their hands he might communicate it to the reſt. Hereunto Paul had reſpect when he wrote to the Epheſians, Eph. iv. 4. One body, one ſpirit, as alſo ye be called in one hope of your calling. One Lord, one faith, one baptiſm: One God, and the father of all, which is above all, and by all, and in us all. But unto every one of us grace is given according to the meaſure of the gift of Chriſt. Wherefore he ſaith: when he was gone up on high, he led captivity captive, he gave gifts to men. He that went down, is the ſelf ſame he that went up, that he might fulfil all things. And the ſame hath given ſome to be apoſtles, and ſome prophets, and ſome evangeliſts, and other ſome paſtors and teachers, unto the perfecting of the ſaints, to the work of miniſtration, to the edifying of the body of Chriſt, until we come all into the unity of faith, and of the knowlege of the ſon of God into a perfect man, into the meaſure of full grown age: that we be no more children that may be carried about with every wind of doctrine: but following truth in charity, let us in all things grow into him that is the head, even Chriſt, in whom the whole body conjoined and compacted together by all the joint of ſubminiſtration, according to the working in the meaſure of every part, maketh increaſe of the body, unto the edifying of it ſelf by charity.

They overthrow the church that impair the authority of man's miniſtry in the church.

2. By theſe words he ſheweth, that that miniſtry of men, which God uſeth in governing his church is the chief ſinew, whereby the faithful cleave together in one body: and alſo he ſheweth that the church cannot otherwiſe be preſerved ſafe, but if it be upholden by theſe ſtays, in which it pleaſed the Lord to repoſe the ſalvation of it. Chriſt (ſaith he) is gone up on high, that he might fulfil all things. This is the manner of fulfilling, that by his miniſters, to whom he hath committed that office, and hath given the grace to execute that work, he diſpoſeth and diſtributeth his gifts to the church, yea and after a certain manner giveth himſelf preſent, with extending the power of his Spirit in this inſtitution, that it ſhould not be vain or idle. So is the perfecting of the ſaints performed: ſo is the body of Chriſt edified, ſo do we by all things grow into him that is the head, and do grow together among our ſelves: Eph. iv. 12. ſo are we all brought into the unity of Chriſt, if prophecy flouriſh among us, if we receive the apoſtles, if we refuſe not the doctrine miniſtred unto us. Therefore he goeth about the diſſipation, or rather the ruin and deſtruction of the church, whoſoever he be, that either endeavoureth to aboliſh this order of whom we ſpeak, and this kind of government, or miniſheth the eſtimation of it as a thing not ſo neceſſary. For neither the light and heat of the ſun, nor meat and drink are ſo neceſſary to nouriſh and ſuſtain this preſent life, as the office of the apoſtles and paſtors is neceſſary to preſerve the church on earth.

The honour and neceſſity of church miniſtry.

3. Therefore I have above admoniſhed, that God hath oftentimes with ſuch titles as he could, commended the dignity thereof unto us, that we ſhould have it in moſt high honour and price, as the moſt excellent thing of all. He teſtifieth that he giveth to to men a ſingular benefit, in raiſing them up teachers where he commandeth the prophet to cry out, that beautiful are the feet, and bleſſed is the coming of them that bring tidings of peace, Iſa. lii. 7. And when he calleth the apoſtles the light of the world, and ſalt of the earth, Matth. v. 15. and xiv. Neither could this office be more honourably advanced, than it was when he ſaid: He that heareth you, heareth me: he that deſpiſeth you, diſpiſeth me, Luke x. 16. But there is no place more plain, than in Paul in his ſecond epiſtle to the Corinthians, where he as it were of purpoſe treateth of this matter. He affirmeth therefore, that there is nothing in the church more excellent or glorious than the miniſtry of the goſpel, foraſmuch as it is the miniſtration of the Spirit, and of righteouſneſs,

and

and of eternal life, 2 Cor. iv. 6. and iii. 9. Theſe and ſuch like ſayings, ſerve to this purpoſe, that that order of governing and preſerving the church by miniſters, which the Lord hath eſtabliſhed for ever, ſhould not grow out of eſtimation among us, and ſo at length by mere contempt grow out of uſe. And how great is the neceſſity thereof, he hath declared not only by words, but alſo by examples. When his will was to ſhine more fully to Cornelius with the light of his truth, he ſent an angel from heaven to ſend Peter unto him, Acts x. 3. When his will was to call Paul to the knowlege of himſelf, and to engraff him into the church, he ſpake not to him with his own voice, but ſent him to a man, of whom he ſhould receive both the doctrine of ſalvation, and the ſanctification of baptiſm, Acts ix. 6. If it be done without cauſe, that an angel which is the interpreter of God do himſelf abſtain from declaring the will of God, but commandeth that a man be ſent for, to declare it: and not without cauſe that Chriſt the only ſchoolmaſter of the faithful committeth Paul to the ſchooling of a man, yea even that ſame Paul whom he had determined to take up into the third heaven, and to vouchſafe to grant him miraculous revelation of things unſpeakable, 2 Cor. xii. 2: who is there now that dare deſpiſe that miniſtry, or paſs it over as a thing ſuperfluous, the uſe whereof it hath pleaſed God to make approved by ſuch examples?

Apoſtles, prophets, evangeliſts, appointed to have extraordinary, paſtors and teachers to have ordinary government of the church.

4. They that have rule of the government of the church according to the inſtitution of Chriſt, are named of Paul firſt apoſtles, then prophets, third evangeliſts, fourthly paſtors, laſt of all teachers, Eph. iv. 12. Of which the two laſt alone have ordinary office in the church: the other three the Lord raiſed up at the beginning of his kingdom, and ſometimes yet alſo raiſeth up, as the neceſſity of times requireth. What the apoſtle's office is appeareth by that commandment: Go, preach the goſpel to every creature, Mark xvi. 15. There are not certain bounds appointed unto them: but the whole world is aſſigned them, to be brought into the obedience of Chriſt: that in ſpreading the goſpel among all nations whereſoever they ſhall be able, they may every where raiſe up his kingdom. Therefore Paul, when he went about to prove his apoſtleſhip, rhearſeth that he hath gotten to Chriſt not ſome one city, but hath far and wide ſpread abroad the goſpel: and that he hath not laid his hands to another man's foundation, but planted churches where the name of the Lord had never been heard of, Rom. xv. 19. and 20. Therefore the apoſtles were ſent to bring back the world from falling away unto true obedience of God, and each where to eſtabliſh his kingdom by preaching of the goſpel: or (if you like that better) as the firſt builders of the church, to lay the foundations thereof in all the world, Eph. iv. 11. Prophets he calleth, not all expoſitors of God's will whatſoever they be, but thoſe that by ſingular revelation excelled, ſuch as at this time either be none, or are leſs notable. By evangeliſts I underſtand thoſe thoſe which when in dignity they were leſs than the apoſtles, yet in office were next unto them, yea and occupied their rooms. Such were Luke, Timothy, Titus, and others ſuch: and perhaps alſo the ſeventy diſciples whom Chriſt appointed in the ſecond place after the apoſtles, Luke x. 1. and xi. According to this expoſition (which ſeemeth to me agreeable both with the words and meaning of Paul) thoſe three offices were not ordained in the church to this end that they ſhould be perpetual, but only to ſerve for that time wherein churches were to be erected, where were none before or at leaſt to be removed from Moſes to Chriſt. Albeit I deny not, but that afterward alſo the Lord hath ſometimes raiſed up apoſtles, or at leaſt in their places evangeliſts, as it hath been done in our time. For it was needful to have ſuch, to bring back the church from the falling away of antichriſt. Yet the office itſelf I do nevertheleſs call extraordinary, becauſe it hath no place in the churches already well ſet in order. Next after theſe are paſtors and teachers, whom the church may never lack: between whom I think that there is this difference, that the teachers are not appointed to bear rule of diſcipline, nor for the miniſtration of ſacraments, nor admoniſhments or exhortations, but only to expound the ſcripture, that pure and ſound doctrine may be kept among the faithful. But the office of paſtor containeth all theſe things within it.

The ſame charge of apoſtles and paſtors, ſaving that theſe have each of them ſeveral churches to govern.

5. Now we have, which were thoſe miniſtrys in the church that continued but for a time, and which were thoſe that were ordained to endure perpetually. If we join the evangeliſts with the apoſtles, we ſhall have remaining two couples after a certain manner anſwering the one to the other. For as our teachers are like to the old prophets,

phets, in ſuch ſort are our paſtors like to the apoſtles. The office of prophets was more excellent by reaſon of the ſingular gift that they had of revelation: but the office of teachers hath in a manner like order, and altogether the ſame end. So thoſe twelve whom the Lord did chooſe, that they ſhould publiſh abroad to the world the new preaching of the goſpel, Luk. vi. 13. Gal. i. 1. in degree and dignity went before the reſt. For although by the meaning and property of the word, all the miniſters of the church may be rightly called apoſtles, becauſe they are ſent of the Lord, and are his meſſengers: yet becauſe it was very needful, that there ſhould be a certain knowlege had of the ſending of them that ſhould bring a thing new and unheard of, it was neceſſary that thoſe twelve (to whoſe number Paul was afterward added) ſhould be garniſhed with ſome peculiar title above the reſt. Paul himſelf indeed in one place giveth this name to Andronicus and Junias, whom he ſaith to have been notable among the apoſtles: Rom. xvi 7. but when he meaneth to ſpeak properly he referreth it to none other but to that principal degree. And this is the common uſe of the ſcripture. Yet the paſtors (ſaving that each of them do govern ſeveral churches appointed to them) have all one charge with the apoſtles Matth. x. 1. Now what manner of thing this is, let us hear it more plainly.

The office which the apoſtles did perform to the whole world, and which paſtors ought to perform to their ſeveral flocks, conſiſteth in preaching the word, and miniſtring the ſacraments.

6. The Lord when he ſent the apoſtles, gave them commandment (as we ſaid even now) to preach the goſpel, and to baptiſe them that believe unto forgiveneſs of ſins. Matth xxviii. 9. He had before commanded, that they ſhould diſtribute the holy ſigns of his body and blood, as he had done. Lo here is a holy, inviolable, and perpetual law laid upon them that ſucceed in the apoſtles place, whereby they receive commandment to preach the goſpel, and miniſter the ſacraments. Whereupon we gather, that they which neglect both theſe things, do falſely ſay that they bear the perſon of the apoſtles. But what of the paſtors? Paul ſpeaking not of himſelf only, but of them all, when he ſaith: let a man ſo eſteem us as the miniſters of Chriſt, and diſtributers of the myſteries of God. 1 Cor. iv. 1. Again in another place, a biſhop muſt be a faſt holder of that faithful word which is according to doctrine: that he may be able to exhort by ſound doctrine, and to convince the gainſayers. Tit. i. 9. Out of thoſe and like places, which are each where to be found, we may gather, that alſo in the office of the apoſtles theſe be the two principal parts, to preach the goſpel, and to miniſter the ſacraments. As for the order of teaching, it conſiſteth not only in public ſermons, but belongeth alſo to private admonitions. So Paul calleth the Epheſians to witneſs that he hath not fled from doing of any of thoſe things that were for their profit, but that he preached and taught them both openly and in every houſe, teſtifying both to the Jews and Grecians, repentance and faith in Chriſt. Act. xx. 20. Again a little after: that he hath not ceaſed with tears to admoniſh every one of them. Act. xx. 31. Neither yet belongeth it to my purpoſe at this preſent to expreſs all the qualities of a good paſtor, but only to point out what they profeſs that call themſelves paſtors: that is, that they are ſo made rulers of the church, not that they ſhould have an idle dignity, but that they ſhould with the doctrine of Chriſt inſtruct the people to true godlineſs, miniſter the holy myſteries, and preſerve and exerciſe upright diſcipline. For whoſoever be ſet to be watchmen in the church, the Lord declareth unto them, that if any by their negligence periſh through ignorance, he will require the blood at their hands. Ezek. xiii. 17. That alſo pertaineth to them all, which Paul ſaith of himſelf: wo to me unleſs I preach the goſpel, foraſmuch as the diſtributing thereof is committed to me. 1 Cor. ix. 16 Finally, what the apoſtles performed to the whole world, the ſame ought every paſtor to perform to his flock, to which he is appointed.

How far forth men are tied unto ſeveral charges.

7. Albeit when we aſſign to every one their ſeveral churches, yet in the mean while we do not deny but that he which is bound to one church may help other churches if any troubleſome thing do happen that requireth his preſence, or if he be aſked counſel of any dark matter. But foraſmuch as for the keeping of the peace of the church, this policy is neceſſary, that there be ſet forth to every man what he ſhould do, leſt all be confuſedly diſordered, run about without calling, or raſhly run altogether into one place, and leſt ſuch as are more careful for their private intereſt than for the edification of the church, ſhould at their own will leave their churches vacant: this ordering ought commonly to be kept ſo near as may be, that every man contented with his own bounds, ſhould not

not break into another man's charge. And this is no invention of man, but the ordinance of God himself. For we read that Paul and Barnabas ordained elders in all the several churches of Lystra, Antioch, Iconium: Act. xiv. 22. and Paul himself commandeth Titus that he should ordain elders in every city. Tit. i. 5. So in one place he speaketh of the bishops of Philippes, Phil. i. 1. and in another place of Archippus bishop of the Colossians. Col. iv. 17. And there remaineth a notable sermon of his in Luke, to the elders of the church of Ephesus. Act. xx. 18. Whosoever therefore shall take upon him the government and charge of the church, let him know that he is bound to this law of God's calling: not that as bound to the soil (as the lawyers term it) that is, made bound and fastened unto it, he may not once move his foot from thence, if the common profit do so require, so that it be done well and orderly: but he that is called into one place ought not himself to think of removing, nor seek to be delivered as he shall think to be good for his interest. Then if it be expedient that any be removed to another place, yet he ought not to attempt it of his own private advisement, but to tarry for public authority.

With officers appointed for teaching, elders joined to govern the church.

8. But whereas I have without difference called them bishops, and elders, and pastors, and ministers, that rule churches: I did that according to the usage of the scripture, which indifferently useth these words. For whosoever do execute the ministry of the word, to them he giveth the title of bishops. So by Paul, where Titus is commanded to ordain elders in every city, it is immediately added, For a bishop must be unreproveable, &c. Tit. i. 5. So in another place he saluteth many bishops in one church. Phil. i. 1. And in the Acts it is rehearsed, that he called together the elders of Ephesus, whom he himself in his own sermon calleth bishops. Act. xx. 7. Here now it is to be noted, that hitherto we have recited none but those offices that stand in the ministry of the word: neither doth Paul make mention of any other in that fourth chapter which we have alleged. But in the epistle to the Romans, Rom. xii 7. and in the first epistle to the Corinthians, 1 Cor. xii. 28. he reckoneth up other offices, as powers, the gift of healing, interpretation, government, caring for the poor. Of the which I omitted those that endured but for a time, because it is to no profitable purpose to tarry upon them. But there are two that do perpetually abide, that is to say, government and care of the poor. Governors I think were the elders chosen out of the people, that should together with the bishops have rule of the judgment of manners, and the using of discipline. For a man cannot otherwise expound that which he saith: let him that ruleth do it with carefulness. Rom. xii. 8. Therefore at the beginning every church had their senate, gathered of godly, grave, and holy men: which had that same jurisdiction in correcting of vices, whereof we shall speak hereafter. And that this was the order of more than one age, experience it self declareth. Therefore this office of government is also necessary for all ages.

Deacons and widows chosen to care for the poor and sick.

9. The care of the poor was committed to the Deacons. Howbeit to the Romans there are set two kinds. Let him that giveth (saith Paul in that place) do it in simplicity: let him that hath mercy, do it in chearfulness. Rom. xii. 9. For as much as it is certain that he speaketh of the public offices of the church, it must needs be that there were two several degrees. Unless my judgment deceive me, in the first point he meaneth deacons, that distributed the alms: in the other he speaketh of them that had given themselves to looking to the poor and sick: of which sort were the widows of whom he maketh mention to Timothy. 1 Tim. v. 10. For women could execute no other public office, but to give themselves to the service of the poor. If we grant this, (as we must needs grant it) then there shall be two sorts of deacons: of which, one sort shall serve in distributing the things of the poor, the other in looking to the poor of the church themselves. But although the very word *Diaconia*, deaconry extendeth further: 1 Tim. v. 10. yet the scripture specially calleth them deacons, to whom the church hath given the charge to distribute the alms, and to take care of the poor, and hath appointed them as it were stewards of the common treasury of the poor: whose beginning, institution, and office, is described of Luke in the Acts. Act. vi. 3 For when a murmuring was raised by the Grecians: for that in the ministry of the poor their widows were neglected, the apostles excusing themselves with saying that they could not serve both offices, both the preaching of the word and the ministring at tables, required of the multitude, that there might be chosen seven honest men, to whom they might commit that doing. Lo what manner of deacons

the apoſtolic church had, and what deacons it were meet for us to have according to their example.

Order and ſeemlineſs eſpecially required in church government

10. Now whereas in the holy aſſembly all things are to be done in order and comely, there is nothing wherein that ought to be more diligently obſerved, than in ſtabliſhing the order of government: becauſe there is no where greater peril if any thing be done diſorderly. Therefore to the end that unquiet and troubleſome men (which otherwiſe would happen) ſhould raſhly thruſt in themſelves to teach or to rule, it is expreſly provided, that no man ſhould without calling take upon him a public office in the church. Therefore that a man may be judged a true miniſter of the church, firſt he muſt be orderly called, then he muſt anſwer his vocation, that is to ſay, take upon him and execute the duties enjoined him. This we may oftentimes mark in Paul: which when he meaneth to approve his apoſtleſhip, in a manner always with his faithfulneſs in executing his office he allegeth his calling. If ſo great a miniſter of Chriſt dare not take upon himſelf the authority that he ſhould be heard in the church, but becauſe he both is appointed thereunto by the commandment of the Lord, and alſo faithfully performeth that which is committed unto him: how great ſhamefulneſs ſhall it be, if any man wanting both or either of theſe, ſhall challenge ſuch honour to himſelf? But becauſe we have above touched the neceſſity of executitg the office, now let us treat only of the calling.

Inward and outward calling of men to execute the miniſtry of the church.

11. The diſcourſe thereof ſtandeth in four parts: that we ſhould know, what manner of miniſters, how, and by whom, miniſters ought to be inſtitute, and with what uſage or what ceremony they are to be admitted. I ſpeak of the outward and ſolemn calling, which belongeth to public order of the church: as for that ſecret calling whereof every miniſter is privy in his own conſcience before God, and hath not the church witneſs of it, I omit it. It is a good witneſs of our heart, that not by any ambition, nor covetouſneſs, nor any other greedy deſire, but with pure fear of God and zeal to edity the church, we receive the office offered unto us. That indeed is (as I have ſaid) neceſſary for every one of us, if we will approve our miniſtry allowable before God. Nevertheleſs he is rightly called in preſence of the church, that cometh unto it with an evil conſcience, ſo that his wickedneſs be not open. They are wont alſo to ſay that even private men are called to the miniſtry, whom they ſee to be meet and able to execute it: becauſe verily learning joined with godlineſs and with the other qualities of a good paſtor, is a certain preparation to the very office. For whom the Lord hath appointed to ſo great an office, he firſt furniſheth them with thoſe armours that are required to fulfill it, that they ſhould not come empty and unprepared unto it. Whereupon Paul alſo to the Corinthians, when he meant to diſpute of the very offices, firſt rehearſed the gifts which they ought to have that execute the offices. 1 Cor. xii. 7 But becauſe this is the firſt ſort of thoſe four points that I have propounded, let us now go forward unto it.

Of what quality and with what reverence miniſters ſhould be choſen.

12. What manner of biſhops it is meet to chuſe, Paul doth largely declare in two places, Tit. i. 9. 2 Tim. iii. 1. but the ſum cometh to this effect, that none are to be choſen, but they that are of ſound doctrine, and of holy life, and not notable in any vice, which might both take away credit from them, and procure ſlander to the miniſtry. Of deacons and elders there is altogether like conſideration. It is always to be looked unto, that they be not unable or unfit to bear the burden that is laid upon them, that is to ſay, that they may be furniſhed with thoſe powers that are neceſſary to the fulfilling of their office. So when Chriſt was about to ſend his apoſtles, he garniſhed them with thoſe weapons and inſtruments which they could not want. Luk. xxi. 15. and xxiv. 49. Matth. xvi. 15. And Paul when he had painted out the image of a good and true biſhop, warneth Timothy, that he would not defile himſelf with chooſing any man that differeth from it. 1 Tim. v. 22. I refer this word *How* not to the ceremony of chooſing, but to the reverent fear that is to be kept in the chooſing. Hereupon come the faſtings and prayers, which Luke reciteth that the faithful uſed when they made prieſts. Act. i. 8. For whereas they underſtood that they medled with a moſt earneſt matter, they durſt attempt nothing, but with great reverence and carefulneſs. But they chiefly applied themſelves to prayers, whereby they might crave of God the ſpirit of counſel and diſcretion.

Apoſtles elected

13. The third thing that we have ſet in our diviſion was, by whom

of God himself.

whom ministers are to be chosen. Of this thing no certain rule can be gathered out of the institution of apostles, which had some difference from the common calling of the rest. For because it was an extraordinary ministry, that it might be made discernable by some more notable mark, it behoved that they which should execute it, should be called and appointed by the Lord's own mouth. They therefore took in hand their doing, being furnished by no man's election, but only by the commandment of God and of Christ. Hereupon cometh that when the apostles would put another in the place of Judas, they durst not certainly name any one man, but they brought forth two, that the Lord should declare by lot, whether of them he would have to succeed. Act. i. 13. After this manner also it is meet to take this, that Paul denieth that he was create apostle of men or by man, but by Christ and God the father. Gal. i. 12. That first point, that is to say of men, he had common with all the godly ministers of the word. For no man could rightly take upon him that execution, but he that were called of God. But the other point was proper and singular to himself. Therefore when he glorieth of this, he doth not only boast that he hath that which belongeth to a true and lawful pastor, but also bringeth forth the signs of his apostleship. For when there were some among the Galatians, who labouring to diminish his authority, made him some mean disciple, put in office under them by the principal apostles: he, to defend in safety the dignity of his preaching, which he knew to be shot at by those subtile devices, needed to shew himself in all points nothing inferior to the other apostles. Therefore he affirmeth that he was chosen, not by the judgment of men, like some common bishop, but by the mouth and manifest oracle of the Lord himself.

Bishops lawfully called by men.

14. But no man that is sober will deny, that it is according to the order of lawful calling, that bishops should be appointed by men: forasmuch as there are so many testimonies of the scripture for proof thereof. Neither doth that saying of Paul make to the contrary, as it is said, that he was not sent of men, nor by men: Gal. i. 1. forasmuch as he speaketh not there of the ordinary choosing of ministers, but challengeth to himself that which was special to the apostles. Howbeit God also appointed Paul by himself by singular prerogative, that in the mean time he used the discipline of ecclesiastical calling. For Luke reporteth it thus, when the apostles were fasting and praying, the holy Ghost said: separate unto me Paul and Barnabas to the work to which I have severally chosen them. Act xiii. 2. To what purpose served that separation and putting on of hands, since the holy Ghost hath testified his own election, but that the discipline of the church in appointing ministers by men, might be preserved? Therefore the Lord could by no plainer example approve such order, than he did when having first declared that he had ordained Paul an apostle for the gentiles, yet he willeth him to be appointed by the church. Which thing we may see in the choosing of Matthias. Act. i. 23. For because the office of apostleship was of so great importance, that they durst not by their own judgment chuse any one man into that degree, they did set two men in the midst, upon the one of whom the lot should fall: that so both the election might have an open testimony from heaven, and yet the policy of the church should not be passed over.

Whether a minister of the church may be made by the authority of one man or no.

15. Now it is demanded whether the minister ought to be chosen of the whole church, or only of the other of the same office, and of the elders that have the rule of discipline, or whether he may be made by the authority of one man. They that give this authority to one man, allege that which Paul saith to Titus: Therefore I have left thee in Creta, that thou shouldest ordain elders in every city. Tit. i. 15. Again to Timothy: lay not hands quickly upon any man. 1 Tim. v. 22. But they are deceived if they think that either Timothy at Ephesus, or Titus in Creta, used a kingly power, that either of them should dispose all things at his own will. For they were above the rest, only to go before the people with good and wholsome counsels: not that they only, excluding all others, should do what they listed. And that I may not seem to feign any thing, I will make it plain by a like example. For Luke rehearseth that Paul and Barnabas ordained elders in every church-Act xiv. 23. but he also expresseth the order or manner how, when he saith that it was done by voices, ordaining elders (saith he) by lifting up of hands in every church. Therefore they two did create them: but the whole multitude, as the Grecian manner was in elections, did by holding up their hands, declare whom they would have. Even

in like manner the Roman hiſtories do oftentimes ſay that the counſel which kept the aſſemblies, created new officers, for none other cauſe but for that he received the voices and governed the people in the election. Truly it is not likely that Paul granted more to Timothy and Titus than he took to himſelf. But we ſee that he was wont to create biſhops by voices of the people. Therefore the places above are ſo to be underſtood, that they diminiſh nothing of the common right and liberty of the church. Therefore Cyprian ſaith well, when he affirmeth that it cometh from the authority of God, that the prieſt ſhould be choſen in preſence of the people before the eyes of all men, and ſhould by public judgment and teſtimony be allowed for worthy and meet. For we ſee that this was by the commandment of the Lord obſerved in the levitical prieſts, that before their conſecration they ſhould be brought into the ſight of the people. Levit. viii. 6. Num. xx. 26. And no otherwiſe is Matthias added to the fellowſhip of the apoſtles: Act. i. 15. and no otherwiſe the ſeven deacons were created: Acts. vi. 2. but the people ſeeing and allowing of it. Theſe examples (ſaith Cyprian) do ſhew, that the ordering of a prieſt ought not to be done, but in the knowlege of the people ſtanding by: that the ordering may be juſt and lawful, which hath been examined by the witneſs of all. We are therefore come thus far, that this by the word of God a lawful calling of a miniſter, when they that ſeem meet are created by the conſent and allowance of the people and that other paſtors ought to bear rule of the election, that nothing be done amiſs of the multitude, either by lightneſs, or by evil affections, or by diſorder.

The form of ordaining miniſters in the church by laying on of hands.

16. Now remaineth the form of ordering, to which we aſſigned the laſt place in the calling. It is evident that the apoſtles uſed no other ceremony when they admitted any man to the miniſtry, but the laying on of hands. And I think that this uſage came from the manner of the Hebrews, which did as it were preſent unto God by laying on of hands that which they would have bleſſed and hallowed. So when Jacob was about to bleſs Ephraim and Manaſſeh, he laid his hands upon their heads. Gen. xlviii. 14. Which thing our Lord followed, when he prayed over the infants. Matth. xix. 15. In the ſame meaning (as I think) the Jews by the ordinance of the law, laid hands upon the ſacrifices. Wherefore the apoſtles by laying on of hands did ſignify that they offered him to God, whom they admitted into the miniſtry. Act xix. 6. Albeit they uſed it alſo upon them to whom they applied the viſible graces of the Spirit. Howſoever it be, this was the ſolemn uſage, ſo oft as they called any man to the miniſtry of the church. So they conſecrated paſtors and teachers, and ſo alſo deacons. But although there be no certain commandment concerning the laying on of hands, yet becauſe we ſee that it was continually uſed among the apoſtles, their ſo diligent obſerving of it ought to be to us inſtead of a commandment. And truly it is profitable, that by ſuch a ſign, both the dignity of the miniſtry ſhould be commended to the people, and alſo that he which is ordained ſhould be admoniſhed, that he is not now at his own liberty, but made bound to God and that church. Moreover it ſhall not be a vain ſign, if it be reſtored to the natural beginning of it. For if the Spirit of God, hath ordained nothing in the church in vain, we muſt think that this ceremony, ſince it proceeded from him, is not unprofitable, ſo that it be not turned into a ſuperſtitious abuſe. Laſt of all this is to be holden, that not the whole multitude did lay their hands upon the miniſters, but the paſtors only. Howbeit it was uncertain whether many did always lay on their hands or no. But it is evident that that was done in the deacons, in Paul and Barnabas, and a few others. Act. vi. 6. and xiii. 3. But Paul himſelf in another place reporteth, that he, and not many others, did lay his hands upon Timothy. I admoniſh thee (ſaith he) that thou raiſe up the grace which is in thee by laying on of my hands. 2 Tim. i. 6. 1 Tim. iv. 14. For, as for that which in the other epiſtle is ſpoken of the laying on of the hands of the preſbytery, I do not ſo take it, as though Paul did ſpeak of the company of the elders, but I underſtand by that word the very ordinance it ſelf: as if he had ſaid: ſee that the grace, which thou had received by laying on of hands when I did create thee a prieſt, may not be in vain.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of the ſtate of the old church, and of the manner of governing that was in uſe before the Papacy.

The miniſters of the ancient church of Chriſt preſbyters or prieſts and deacons out of the order of preſbyters paſtors and teachers choſen.

HITHERTO we have treated of the order of governing the church, as it hath been delivered us out of the pure word of God, and of the miniſtries, as they were inſtituted by Chriſt. Now that all theſe things may be more clearly and familiarly opened, and alſo be better faſtened in our minds: it ſhall be profitable in theſe things to conſider the form of the old church, which ſhall repreſent to our eyes a certain image of God's inſtitution. For although the biſhops of thoſe times did ſet forth many canons, wherein they ſeemed to expreſs more than was expreſſed in the holy ſcripture: yet they with ſuch heedfulneſs framed all their order after the only rule of God's word, that a man may eaſily ſee that in this behalf they had in a manner nothing diſagreeing from the word of God. But although there might be ſomewhat wanting in their ordinances, yet becauſe they with ſincere zeal endeavoured to preſerve God's inſtitution, and ſwerved not much from it, it ſhall be very profitable here ſhortly to gather what manner of obſervation they had. As we have declared that there are three ſorts of miniſters commended unto us in the ſcripture: So all the miniſters that the old church had, it divided into three orders. For out of the order of elders were partly choſen paſtors and teachers: the reſt of them had the rule of the judgment and correction of manners: to the deacons was committed the care of the poor, and the diſtributing of the alms. As for the readers and acoluthes, they were not names of certain offices: but thoſe whom they called clerks, they trained from their youth upward in certain exerciſes to ſerve the church, that they might the better underſtand to what purpoſe they were appointed, and might in time come the better be prepared to their office: as I ſhall by and by ſhew more at large. Therefore Jerom, [*In Iſa. c. 6.*] when he had appointed five orders of the church, reckoneth up biſhops, prieſts, deacons, believers, and cethecumeni, to the reſt of the clergy and monks he giveth no proper place.

2. Therefore to whom the office of teaching was injoined all theſe they named prieſts. In every city they choſe out of their own number one man, to whom they ſpecially gave the title of biſhop: that diſſenſions ſhould not grow of equality, as it is wont to come paſs. Yet the biſhop was not ſo above the reſt in honour and dignity, that he had a dominion over his fellows. But what office the conſul had in the ſenate, to propound of matters, to aſk opinions, to go before the other with counſelling, admoniſhing, and exhorting, to govern the whole action with his authority, and to put in execution that which is decreed by common counſel, the ſame office had the biſhop in the aſſembly of the prieſts. And the old writers themſelves confeſs, that the ſame was by mens conſent brought in for the neceſſity of the times. Therefore Jerom upon the epiſtle to Titus ſaith, (*Epi. ad Eva.*) The ſame was a elder which was an biſhop. And before that bythe inſtinction of the devil, there were diſſenſions in religion, and it was ſaid among the people, I am of Paul, I am of Cephas: churches were governed by common counſel of Elders. Afterward, that the ſeeds of diſſentions might be plucked up, all the care was committed to one man. As therefore the prieſts do know, that by cuſtom of the church they are ſubject to him that is ſet over them: ſo let the biſhops know, that they are above the prieſts, rather by cuſtom, than by the truth of the Lord's diſpoſing, and that they ought to govern the church in common together. But in another place he teacheth how ancient an inſtitution it was. For he ſaith that at Alexandria, from Mark the evangeliſt even to Heraclas and Dionyſius, the prieſts did always chooſe out one of themſelves, and ſet him in a higher degree, whom they named a biſhop. Therefore every city had a company of prieſts which were paſtors, and teach-

A college or company of prieſts in every city, to teach, exhort, and correct the people: out of that company for avoiding of diſſenſion choſen to be a biſhop, the honour and dignity which a biſhop ſo choſen had above the reſt, the country furniſhed with prieſts from the city, thoſe prieſts under the biſhops authority, the compaſs of ground committed to the care of one biſhop, tearmed his biſhoprick, in the primitive church.

ers. For they all did execute among the people that office of teaching, exhorting and correcting, which Paul appointeth to the biſhops: Tit. i. 9. and that they might leave ſeed after them, they laboured in teaching the younger men, that had profeſſed themſelves ſoldiers in the holy warfare. To every city there was appointed a certain country, that ſhould take their prieſts from thence, and be accounted as it were into the body of that church. Every company (as I have before ſaid) only for preſervation of policy and peace were under one biſhop: which was ſo above the reſt in dignity, that he was ſubject to the aſſembly of his brethren. If the compaſs of ground that was under his biſhopric was ſo great, that he could not ſuffice to ſerve all the offices of a biſhop in every place of it, in the country itſelf there were in certain places appointed prieſts which in ſmall matters ſhould execute his authority. Them they called country biſhops, becauſe in the country they repreſented the biſhop.

The office of biſhops and prieſts to diſtribute the word and ſacraments.

3. But, ſo much as belongeth to the office, whereof we now ſpeak, as well the biſhops as the prieſts were bound to apply the diſtributing of the word and ſacraments. For it was ordained only at Alexandria, (becauſe Arius had there troubled the church) that the prieſt ſhould not preach to the people, as Socrates ſaith in the 9. book of the tripartite hiſtory. Which yet Jerom confeſſeth that he miſliketh not. Truly it ſhould be counted monſtrous, if any man had given out himſelf for a biſhop, that had not alſo in very deed ſhewed himſelf a true biſhop. Therefore ſuch was the ſeverity of thoſe times, that all miniſters were driven to the fulfilling of ſuch office, as the Lord requireth of them. Neither do I rehearſe the manner of one age alone. For even in Gregory's time, when the church was now almoſt decayed (certainly it was much degenerate from the ancient pureneſs) it had not been tolerable that any biſhop ſhould abſtain from preaching. The prieſt (ſaith he in one place) dieth if there be no ſound heard of him: becauſe he aſketh againſt himſelf the wrath of the ſecret judge, if he go without ſound of preaching. (*Epi.* 4. *Hom. in. Ezec.*) And in another place: when Paul teſtifieth that he is clean from the blood of all: Act. xx. 16. in this ſaying we be convinced, we be bound, we be ſhewed to be guilty, who are called prieſts, who beſide the evils that we have of our own, add alſo the deaths of others: becauſe we kill ſo many as we being luke warm and ſilent do daily ſee to go to death. He calleth himſelf and others ſilent becauſe they were leſs diligent in their work than they ought to be. When he ſpareth not them, that did half perform their duty: what think you he would have done, if a man had altogether ſat idle? Therefore this was a great while holden in the church, that the chief duty of the biſhop was to feed God's people with the word, or both publicly and privately to edify the church with ſound doctrine.

For preſerving of diſcipline archbiſhops and patriarchs: ordained by them who never meant to forge another form of ruling the church, than God hath appointed in his word.

4. But whereas every province had among their biſhops one archbiſhop: alſo where in the Nicene ſynod there were ordained patriarchs, which ſhould in degree and dignity be above the archbiſhops, that pertained to the preſerving of diſcipline. Howbeit in this diſcourſe, that which was moſt rarely uſed may not be omitted. For this cauſe therefore chiefly theſe degrees were ordained, that if any thing happened in any church, that could not well be ended by a few, might be referred to a provincial ſynod. If the greatneſs or difficulty of the matter required a greater diſcuſſing, the patriarchs were alſo called to it with the ſynods, from whom there might be no appeal but to a general council. The government ſo ordered many called a Hierarchy, by a name (as I think) unproper, and truly unuſed in the ſcriptures. For the holy Ghoſt willed to provide, that no man ſhould dream of a principality or dominion when the government of the church is ſpoken of. But, if leaving the word we look upon the thing, we ſhall find that the old biſhops meant to forge no form of ruling the church, differing from that which the Lord appointed by his word.

The office of deacons, the ſame under the apoſtles, and in the primitive church: the occaſion of making ſubdeacons and archdeacons.

5. Neither was the order of the deacons at that time any other than it was under the apoſtles. For they received the daily offerings of the faithful, and the yearly revenues of the church, to beſtow them upon true uſes, that is to ſay, to diſtribute them to feed partly the miniſters, and partly the poor: but by the appointment of the biſhop, to whom alſo they yearly rendered accounts of their diſtribution.

diſtribution. For whereas the canons do every where make the biſhop diſtributer of all the goods of the church, it is not ſo to be underſtood, as though he did by himſelf diſcharge that care: but becauſe it was his part to appoint to the deacon, who ſhould be received into the common alms of the church, and of that which remained to whom it ſhould be given, and how much to every one: becauſe he had an overſeeing whether the deacon did faithfully execute that which belonged to his office. For thus it is read in the canons which they aſcribe to the apoſtles: we command that the biſhop have the goods of the church in his own power. For if he be put in truſt with the ſouls of men, which are more precious, much more it is meet that he have charge of money: ſo that by his power all things may be diſtributed to the poor by the elders and deacons: that they may be all miniſtred with fear and carefulneſs. And in the council of Antioch it is decreed, that the biſhops ſhould be reſtrained that meddle with the goods of the church, without the knowlege of the elders and deacons. But of that point we need to make no longer diſputation, ſince it is evident by many epiſtles of Gregory, that even at that time, when otherwiſe the ordinances of the church were much corrupted, yet this obſervation continued, that the deacons ſhould under the biſhop be the ſtewards of the poor. As for ſubdeacons, it is likely that at the begining they were joined to the deacons, that they ſhould uſe their ſervice about the poor: but that difference was by little and little confounded. But archdeacons began then to be created, when the plenty of the goods, required a new and more exact manner of diſpoſing them: altho' Jerom doth ſay, that it was even in his age. In their charge was the ſum of their revenues, poſſeſſions, and ſtore, and the collection of the daily offerings. (*Epi. ad Nep. Epi. x. li.* 1.) Whereupon Gregory declareth to the archdeacon of Salon, that he ſhould be holden guilty if any of the goods of the church, periſhed either by his fraud or negligence. But whereas it was given to them to read the goſpel to the people, and to exhort them to pray: and whereas they were admitted to deliver the cup in the holy ſupper, that was rather done to garniſh their office, that they ſhould execute it with the more reverence, when by ſuch ſigns they were admoniſhed that it was no prophane bayliwike that they exerciſed, but a ſpiritual function, and dedicate to God.

6. Hereby alſo we may judge what uſe there was, and what manner of diſtribution of the church goods. Each where both in the decrees of Synods, and among the old writers it is to be found, that whatſoever the church poſſeſſeth either in lands or in money, is the patrimony of the poor. Therefore oftentimes there, this ſong is ſung to the biſhops and deacons, that they ſhould remember, that they meddle not with their own goods, but the goods appointed to the neceſſity of the poor: which if they unfaithfully ſuppreſs or waſte, they ſhall be guilty of blood. Whereby they are admoniſhed, with great fear and reverence, as in the ſight of God, without reſpect of perſons, to diſtribute them to whom they are due. Hereupon alſo come thoſe grave proteſtations in Chryſoſtom, Ambroſe, Auguſtine, and other like biſhops, whereby they affirm their own uprightneſs to the people. But ſince it is equity, and eſtabliſhed by the law of the Lord, that they which employ their ſervice to the church, ſhould be fed with the common charges of the church, and alſo many prieſts in that age, conſecrating their patrimonies to God, were willingly made poor: the diſtributing was ſuch, that neither the miniſters wanted ſuſtenance, nor the poor were neglected. But yet in the meantime it was provided that the miniſters themſelves, which ought to give example of honeſt ſparing to others ſhould not have ſo much, whereby they might abuſe it to riotous exceſs or luxury, but only wherewith to ſuſtain their own need. For thoſe of the clergy (ſaith Jerom) which are able to live of their parents, if they take that which is the poor's, do commit ſacrilege, and by ſuch abuſe they eat and drink to themſelves damnation.

The beſtowing of church goods.

7. Firſt the miniſtration was free and voluntary, whereas the biſhops and deacons were of their own will faithful, and uprightneſs of conſcience and innocency of life were to them inſtead of the laws. Afterward when evil examples grew of the greedineſs or perverſe affections of ſome, to correct thoſe faults, the canons were made, which divided the revenues of the church into four parts: of which they aſſigned one part to them of the clergy, the ſecond to the poor, the third to the maintainance and reparation of the churhes, and other holy buildings; the fourth to the poor, as -

Church goods divided into four parts: one aſſigned to the maintainance of the clergy the reſt to other uſes.

as well ſtrangers as of their own country. For whereas the other cannons, give this laſt part to the biſhop, that varieth nothing from my above-ſaid diviſion. For they mean not that that part ſhould be his own, that either he himſelf alone ſhould devour it, or pour it out, upon whom or what he liſt, but that it ſhould ſuffice to maintain the hoſpitality which Paul requireth of that order, 2 Tim. iii. 2. And ſo do Gelaſius and Gregory expound it. For Gelaſius bringeth no other reſon why the biſhop ſhould challenge any thing to himſelf but that he might give it priſoners and ſtrangers. And Gregory ſpeaketh yet more plainly. It is the manner (ſaith he) of the ſee apoſtolic, to give commandment to the biſhop when he is ordered, that of all the revenue that ariſeth, that there be made four portions: that is to ſay the one to the biſhop and his family for hoſpitality, and entertainment: the ſecond to the clergy: the third to the poor: the fourth to the repairing of churches. Therefore it was lawful for the biſhop to take nothing to his own uſe, but ſo much as were enough for moderate and mean food and clothing. If any began to exceed either in riotous expence, or in oſtentation and pomp he was by and by repreſſed by by his fellows, and if he obeyed not, he was put from his dignity.

The treaſures and implements of the church made a way to help the neceſſities of the poor which could not otherwiſe be provided for.

8. As for that which they beſtowed upon garniſhing of holy things, at the firſt it was very little. Afterward when the church became ſomewhat richer yet in that behalf they ſtill kept a mean. And yet all the money that was beſtowed thereupon remained ſafe for the poor, if any great neceſſity happened. So when famine poſſeſſed the province of Jeruſalem, and the need could not otherwiſe be relieved, Cyrillus ſold the veſſels and garments and ſpent them upon ſuſtenance of the poor. Likewiſe Acatius biſhop of of Amida, when a great multitude of the Perſians, in a manner ſtarved for hunger, called together the clergy, and when he had made that notable oration, Our God needeth neither diſhes nor cups, becauſe he neither eateth nor drinketh, he molt the veſſels to make thereof both meat and ranſom for men in miſery, (*Tripar. hiſt. lib.* 5.) Jerom alſo, when he inveigheth againſt the too much gorgeouſneſs of temples, doth with honour make mention of Exuperius biſhop of Theloſa in his time, which carried the Lord's body in a wicker baſket, and his blood in glaſs, but ſuffered no poor man to be hungry, (*Lib.* 11. *cap.* 16.) That which I even now have ſaid of Acatius, Ambroſe rehearſeth of himſelf, (*Ad Nepot. Lib. de. offic. c.* 28.) For when the Arians charged him for that he had broken the holy veſſels to ranſom priſoners, he uſed this moſt godly excuſe: He that ſent the apoſtles without gold, gathered churches together without gold. The church hath gold, not to keep but to beſtow it, and to give relief in neceſſities. What need is it to keep that which helpeth not? Do we not know, how much gold and ſilver the Aſſyrians took out of the temple of the Lord? Doth not the prieſt better to melt them for the ſuſtenance of the poor, if other reliefs do fail, than an enemy, a robber of God to bear them away? Will not the Lord ſay, Why haſt thou ſuffered ſo many needy to die for hunger? and verily thou hadſt gold whereof thou mighteſt have miniſtred them ſuſtenance. Why were ſo many led captive, and not ranſomed? why were ſo many ſlain by the enemies? It had been better that thou ſhouldeſt ſave the veſſels of living men, than of metals. To theſe things thou ſhalt not be able to anſwer. For what wouldeſt thou ſay? I feared leſt God's temple ſhould want garniſhing. He would anſwer: ſacraments require not gold: neither do theſe things pleaſe with gold that are not bought with gold. The ranſoming of priſoners is a garniſhing of ſacraments. In ſum, we ſee that it is moſt true which the ſame man ſaith in another place, that whatſoever the church then poſſeſſed was the ſtore of the needy. Again: that a biſhop hath nothing that is not the poor's, (*Lib.* 5. *epiſt.* 31. *and* 33.)

The inſtitution of young clergymen, and clerks in lower functions, to be trained up for the higher ſervices of the church.

9. Theſe that we have rehearſed were the miniſters of the old church. For the other of which the eccleſiaſtical writers make mention, were rather certain exerciſes and preparations, than appointed offices. For thoſe holy men, that they might leave a ſtore for the church after them, received into their charge, government and diſcipline, young men which with the conſent and authority of their parents, profeſſed themſelves ſoldiers of the ſpiritual warfare: and they ſo framed them from their tender age, that they ſhould not come unſkilful and raw to the executing of their office. But all they that were inſtructed with ſuch beginnings, were called clerks, I would indeed that ſome other more proper name had rather been given them. For this name grew in of error, or of corrupt affection: foraſmuch as Peter calleth the whole church the clergy, that is to ſay, the Lord's inheritance, 1 Pet. v. 3. But the inſtitution itſelf

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was very holy and profitable, that they which would consecrate themselves and their service to the church, should be so brought up under the keeping of the bishop, that none should minister to the church, but he that was well informed beforehand, and that had from his very youth both sucked holy doctrine, and by severe discipline put in a certain continuing quality of gravity and holy life, and were estranged from worldly cares, and were accustomed to spiritual cares and studies. But as young soldiers are by certain counterfeit skirmishes instructed to learn true and earnest fight, so there were also certain rudiments, whereby they were exercised while they were clerks, before that they were promoted to the very offices. Therefore first they committed to the clerks the charge to open and shut the church, and they named them *Ostiarii*, doorkeepers. Afterward they called them *Acoluthi*, followers, who waited upon the bishop in his household services, and did continually accompany him, first for honour's sake, and then that no suspicion should arise of them. Moreover that by little and little they might become known to the people, and get to themselves commendation: also that they might learn to abide the sight of all men, and to speak before all men: that being made priests, when they come forth to teach, they should not be abashed with shame: therefore place was appointed them to read in the pulpit. After this manner they were promoted by degrees, to shew proof every one of their diligence in all their several exercises, till they were made subdeacons. This only is my meaning, that those were rather gross beginnings, than such offices as were accounted among the true ministers of the church.

The care, which the old church had in making choice of fit men for church offices.

Their order not always one and the same, concerning the parsons by whom church ministers were made.

10. Whereas we said that the first and second point in the calling of ministers, are, what manner of men they ought to choose, and how great a religious carefulness they ought to use in that matter: therein the old church hath followed the prescribed order of Paul, and the examples of the apostles. For they were wont to come together to choose the pastors with most great reverence, and careful calling upon the name of God. Beside this they had a form of examination, whereby they tried the life and doctrine of them that were to be chosen by the rule of Paul. Only they somewhat offended herein with too much severity: because they would require more in a bishop than Paul required, and especially in process of time they required unmarried life. But in the other points their observation was agreeing with Paul's description, 1 Tim. iii. 2. But in this which we made the third point, that is to say, who ought to institute ministers, they kept not always one order. In old time, none was received into the company of clerks without the consent of all the people: insomuch that Cyprian laboureth earnestly to excuse that he appointed one Aurelius to be a reader without asking advice of the church, because that was done beside the custom, though not without reason, (*Lib.* 2. *epist.* 5.) For this he saith before: in ordering of clerks, Dear brethren, we are wont first to ask your advice, and by common counsel to weigh the manners and deservings of every one. But because in these lesser exercises, there was not much peril: because they were chosen to a long proof, and not to a great office, therefore the consent of the people therein ceased to be asked. Afterward in the other degrees also, except the bishopric, the people commonly left the judgment and choise of them to the bishop and the priests, that they should examine who were meet and worthy: saving peradventure when new priests were appointed for parishes: for then it behoved that the multitude of that place namely should consent. Neither is it any wonder, that the people in this behalf were little careful in keeping their own right. For no man was made a subdeacon, that had not shewed a long proof of himself in his be- a clerk under that severity of discipline, which then was used. After that he had been tried in that degree he was made a deacon From thence he came to the honour of priesthood if he had had behaved himself faithfully. So no man was promoted of whom there had not been indeed a trial had many years before the eyes of the people. And there were many canons to punish their fault: so that the church could not be troubled with evil priests or deacons, unless it neglected the remedies. Howbeit in the priests also there was always required the consent of them of the same city: which the very first canon testifieth in the sixty seventh distinction, which is fathered upon Anacletus. Finally, all the admissions into orders were therefore done at certain appointed times of the year, that no man should privily creep in without the consent of the faithful or should with too much easiness be promoted without witnesses.

The consent of the people in the making of bishops.

11. In choosing of bishops the people had the liberty long preserved, that none should be thrust in, that were not accepted of all. This therefore was forbidden in the council at Antioch, that none should be thrust into them against their will. Which thing also Leo the first, doth diligently confirm, (*Epi.* 90. *ca.* 2.) Hereupon came these sayings: let him be chosen whom the clergy, and the people, or the greater number shall require. Again: let him that shall bear rule over all be chosen of all. For it must needs be, that he that is made a ruler being unknown and not examined, is thrust in by violence. Again, Let him be chosen, that is both chosen by the clerks, and desired by the people: and let him be consecrate by them of that province with the judgment of the metropolitan. The holy fathers took so great heed that this liberty of the people should by no means be diminished, that when the general synod gathered together at Constantinople did order Nectarius, they would not do it without the allowance of the clergy and people, as they testified by their epistle to the synod of Rome. Therefore when any bishop did appoint a successor to himself, it was not otherwise established unless the whole people did confirm it. Whereof you have not only an example, but also the very form in Augustine in the naming of Eradius, (*Epistola* 10.) And Thedorite, when he rehearseth that Peter was named by Athanasius to be his successor, by and by addeth, that the order of priests confirmed it, and the magistrate, and nobility, and the people approved it with their consenting shout, (*Theod. lib.* 4. *cap.* 20.)

The order of the council of Laodicea that the election of bishops should not be left to multitudes, whereby notwithstanding the regard of the multitude is not excluded.

12. I grant indeed that this also was by very good reason established in the counsel at Laodicea, that the election should not be left to multitudes. For it scarcely happeneth at any time, that so many heads should well order any thing with one meaning: and commonly this is true, that the uncertain commonality is divided into contrary affections. But for this peril there was used a very good remedy. For first the clerks only did chuse: whom they had chosen they presented to the magistrate, or to the senate and chief men of the people. They, after consultation had, if they thought the election good, confirmed it: if not, they did choose another, whom they did rather allow. Then the matter was moved to the multitude, which although they were not bound to those fore judgments, yet thereby they could be the less disordered. Or if they began at the multitude: that was done only to learn whom they did chiefly desire. When the desires of the people were heard, then they of the clergy did choose him. So neither was it lawful for the clergy to appoint whom they listed, neither were they bound to obey the foolish desires of the people. Leo appointed this order in another place when he saith, (*Epistо.* 87.) There are to be looked for, both the desires of the citizens, the peoples testimonies, the judgment of the honourable, and the election of the clerks. Again, Let there be holden the testimony of the honourable, the subscription of the clerks, the consent of the order and commonality. No reason (saith he) suffereth it to be otherwise done. And nothing else meaneth that decree of the Synod at Laodicea, but that the clergy and chief of the people, should not suffer themselves to be carried ed away by the undiscreet multitude: but rather that with their wisdom and gravity they should repress the peoples foolish affections, if at any time need should so require.

How long it continued in use that the clergy, the chief rulers, and the people had all to do in the elections of bishops.

13. This order of choosing was yet in force in the time of Gregory: and it is likely that it endured long after. There remain many epistles of his, that give evident testimony of this matter. For so oft as he hath to do with the creating of any new bishop, he useth to write to the clergy, to the order, and to the people, and sometimes also to the ruler, according as the government of the city is appointed. But if by reason of the disordered state of the church, he commiteth to any bishop adjoining charge of overseeing in the election, yet he always requireth a solemn decree strengthened with the subscriptions of all. Yea and when there was one Constantius created bishop at Millane, and that man of the Millanese were by reason of the invasion of the barbarous nations fled to Genua: he thought that the election could not otherwise be lawful, unless they also were called together and give their assent, (*Lib.* 3. *Epi.* 69.) Yea there are not yet five hundred years past, since pope Nicholas decreed thus of the election of the bishop of Rome: that the cardinal bishops should begin, then that they should join to them the rest of the clergy, last of all that the

the election ſhould be confirmed by the conſent of the people. And in the end he reciteth that decree of Leo, which I even now alleged, and commandeth it from thenceforth to be in force. But if the malice of wicked men ſhall ſo prevail, that the clerks to make a true election be compelled to depart out of the city: yet he commandeth that ſome of the people be preſent with them, (*Diſtin.* 23. *cap. in nomine.*) As for the emperor's conſent, ſo far as I can perceive, it was required only in two churches, that is, Rome, and Conſtantinople: becauſe there were the two ſeats of the empire. For whereas Ambroſe was ſent to Millane with a power from Valentinian to govern the election of the new biſhop: that was extraordinarily done, by reaſon of grievous factions wherewith the citizens then boiled among themſelves. But at Rome in old time the emperors authority was of ſo great force in creating of the biſhop: that Gregory ſaith, that he was ſet by his commandment in the government of the church, (*Epiſt.* 5. *lib.* 1.) when yet by ſolemn uſage he was deſired by the people. This was the manner, that when the clergy and the people had appointed any biſhop, the clergy ſhould forthwith move it to the emperor, that he ſhould either by his allowance confirm the election, or by diſallowance undo it. Neither are the decrees that Gratian gathereth together, repugnant to this cuſtom: wherein is nothing elſe ſaid, but that it is in no wiſe to be ſuffered, that taking away the canonical election, a king ſhould appoint a biſhop after his own luſt: and that the metropolitan ſhould conſecrate none that were ſo promoted by violent powers. For it is one thing to ſpoil the church of her right, that all ſhould be transferred to the luſt of one man: and another thing to grant this honour to a king or an emperor, that by his authority he may confirm a lawful election.

The ancient manner of biſhops aſſembling themſelves to conſecrate biſhops choſen.

14. Now it followeth, that we treat with what form the miniſters of the church were admitted into their office after election: this the Latins called ordination or conſecration: the Greeks have called it *Cheirotonia*, lifting up of hands, and ſometimes alſo *Cheirotheſia*, laying on of hands. Howbeit *Cheirotonia* is properly called that kind of election, where mens conſents are declared by holding up of their hands. There remaineth of the Nicene counſel, that the metropolitan ſhould meet together with all the biſhops of the province to order him who is choſen. But if ſome of them be hindred either by the length of the way, or by ſickneſs, or by any neceſſity, that yet three at the leaſt ſhould meet: and that they that are abſent ſhould by letters teſtify their conſent. And this canon, when with diſcontinuance it grew out of uſe, was afterward renewed with many ſynods. But all, or at leaſt ſo many as had no excuſe, were therefore commanded to be preſent, that they might have the graver trial of the learning and manners of him that was to be ordered: for the matter was not done without trial. And it appeareth by Cyprian's words, that in the old time they were wont not to be called after the election, but to be preſent at the election: and to this end that they ſhould be as it were governors, that nothing ſhould be troubleſomely done in the multitude. For where he ſaid, that the people have power either to chooſe worthy prieſts, or to refuſe unworthy, within a little after he addeth: Wherefore according to the tradition of God and the apoſtles, it is to be diligently kept and holden (which is yet holden with us alſo, and in a manner throughout all provinces) that for the right celebration of orderings, all the biſhops adjoining of the ſame province, ſhould come together to the people for which a governor is ordered, and that the biſhop be choſen in preſence of the people, (*Epiſt.* 4. *lib.* 4.) But when they were ſometime ſlowly gathered together, and there was peril leaſt ſome would abuſe that delay to occaſion of ambitious ſueing: it was thought that it ſhould be enough if after the election made, they ſhould meet and after allowance upon law full examination conſecrate him.

The beginning of the cuſtom for biſhops choſen to repair to their metropolitan for conſecration: the corrupt uſe of coming to Rome for it: the rites and ceremonies therein uſed.

15. When this was every where done without exception, by little and little a diverſe manner grew in uſe, that they which were choſen ſhould reſort to the metropolitan city to fetch their ordering. Which came to paſs rather by ambition, and by depravation of the firſt inſtitution, than by any good reaſon. And not long after, when the authority of the ſee of Rome was now increaſed, there came in place yet a worſe cuſtom, that the biſhops almoſt of all Italy ſhould fetch their conſecration from thence. Which we may note out of the epiſtles of Gregory, (*Lib.* 2. *Epiſt.* 69. 46.) Only a few cities, which did not ſo eaſily give place, had their ancient right preſerved: as there is an example had of Millane. Peradventure the only

metropolitan cities kept their privilege. For all the bishops of the province were wont to come together to the chief city to consecrate the archbishop. But the ceremony was laying on of hands. For I read of no other ceremonies used: saving that in the solemn assembly the bishops had a certain apparel whereby they might be distinctly known from other priests. They ordered all priests and deacons with only laying on of hands. But every bishop with the company of Priests ordained his own priest. But although they did all the same thing: yet because the bishop went before, and it was all done as it were by his guiding, therefore the ordering was called his. Whereupon the old writers have oft this saying: that a priest differeth from a bishop in no other thing, but because he hath not the power of ordering.

CHAP. V.

That the old form of government is utterly overthrown, by the tyranny of the papacy.

The corruption of the church of Rome in chooſing biſhops without regard of manners, learning, or as much as years of diſcretion.

NOW it is good to ſet before mens eyes the order of governing the church, that the ſee of Rome and all the champions thereof do keep at this day and the whole image of that hierarchy which they continually have in their mouth, and to compare it with that order of the firſt and old church which we have deſcribed: that by the compariſon it may appear what manner of church they have, who uſe this only title to charge or rather to overwhelm us. But it is beſt to begin at calling, that we ſee both how, and what manner of men, and by what order they are called to this miniſtry. And then afterward we ſhall conſider how faithfully they execute their office. We will give the firſt place to biſhops: to whom I would to God this might be an honour, to have the firſt place in this diſcourſe. But the matter it ſelf doth not ſuffer me, once to touch this thing be it never ſo lightly, without their great ſhame. And yet I will remember, in what kind of writing I am now occupied: and will not ſuffer my talk, which ought to be framed only to ſimple doctrine, to flow abroad beyond due bounds. But let ſome one of them that have not utterly loſt all ſhame, anſwer me what manner of biſhops are at this day commonly choſen. Truly it is now grown too much out of uſe, to have any examination had of their learning: but if there be had any reſpect of learning, they chuſe ſome lawyer that can rather brawl in a court, than preach in a church. This is certain that, theſe hundred years there hath ſcarcely been every hundredth man choſen that underſtood any thing of holy doctrine. I do not therefore ſpare the former ages, for that they were much better, but becauſe we have now only the preſent church in queſtion. If judgment be had of their manners, we ſhall find that there have been few or almoſt none, whom the old canons would not have judged unworthy. He that was not a drunkard, was a whoremonger: he that was alſo clean from this wickedneſs, was either a dycer, or a hunter, or diſſolute in ſome part of his life. For there be lighter faults, which by the old canons do exclude a man from being a biſhop. But this is a moſt great abſurdity, that mere children ſcarcely ten years old, are by the pope's grant made biſhops. They are grown to ſuch ſhameleſneſs and ſenſeleſs dulneſs, that they dreaded not that extream, yea and monſtrous wicked doing, which is utterly abhorring from the very ſenſe of nature. Hereby appeareth how religious their elections were, where the negligence was ſo careleſs.

Both magiſtrates and people utterly excluded in the church of Rome from medling in the election of biſhops: the pretence under which they are excluded

2 Now in election, all that right of the people is taken away. Their deſirings, their aſſentings, their ſubſcribings, and all ſuch things are vaniſhed: the whole power is transferred to the canons only. They beſtow the biſhopric upon whom they will, and afterward bring him forth into the ſight of the people, but to be worſhipped, not to be examined. But Leo crieth on the otherſide, that no reaſon ſuffereth it, and he pronounceth that it is a violent impoſition. Cyprian, when he teſtifieth that it proceedeth from the law of God that it ſhould not be done but by the conſent of the people, ſheweth that the contrary manner is repugnant to the word of God. The decrees of ſo many ſynods do moſt ſeverely forbid it to be otherwiſe done: and if it be done, they command it to be void. If thoſe things be true, there now remaineth in the papacy no canonical

nical election, neither by God's law nor by the eccleſiaſtical law. But although there were no other evil, yet how ſhall they be able to excuſe this that they have ſo ſpoiled the church of her right? But (ſay they) the corruption of times ſo required, that becauſe in appointing of biſhops, hatreds and affections more prevailed with the people and the magiſtrates, than right and ſound judgment, therefore the rule thereof ſhould be given to a few. Admit verily that this were the extreme remedy of a miſchief in a deſperate caſe. But ſince the medicine it ſelf hath appeared more hurtful than the very diſeaſe, why is not this new evil alſo remedied? But (ſay they) it is exactly preſcribed to the canons, what they ought to follow in the election. But do we doubt, but that the people in old time did underſtand that they were bound to moſt holy laws, when they ſaw that they had a rule ſet them by the word of God, when they came together to chooſe a biſhop? For that only voice of God, whereby he deſcribeth the true image of a biſhop, ought worthily to be of more value than infinite thouſands of canons. But nevertheleſs the people, corrupted with a moſt evil affection, had no regard of the law or of equity. So at this day though there be very good laws written, yet they remain buried in papers. Yet for the moſt part it is uſed in mens manners, yea and allowed as though it were done by good reaſon, that drunkards, whoremongers, dicers, are commonly promoted to this honour: (it is but little that I ſay) that biſhoprics are the rewards of adulteries and bawderies. For when they are given but to hunters and faulconers, it is to be thought to be tolerably well beſtowed. Any way to excuſe ſo heinous indignity, it is too much wicked. The people (ſay I) had in old time a very good canon to whom God's word preſcribed, that a biſhop ought to be unreproveable, a teacher, no fighter, &c. 1 Tim. iii. 1. Why therefore is the charge of chuſing removed from the people to theſe men? Becauſe forſooth the word of God was not heard among the tumults and ſeditious partakings of the people. And why ſhould it not at this day be removed again from theſe men, which not only do break all laws, but caſting away all ſhame, do wantonly, covetouſly, ambitiouſly mingle and confound God's and mens matters together?

What occaſion the Roman clergy hath taken to defraud the church of her right in elections, and pains to get into their own hands that which they ſaw ſo groſsly abuſed.

3. But they lye, when they ſay, that this was deviſed for a remedy. We often read that in old times churches were in tumults at the chooſing of biſhops: yet never any man durſt think of taking away the authority from the people. For they had other ways whereby they might either prevent theſe faults, or amend them if they were already committed. But I will tell what it is. When the people began to be negligent in making the elections, and did caſt that care upon the prieſts as little belonging to them, they abuſed this occaſion to uſurp a tyranny to themſelves, which afterward they ſtabliſhed by new canons ſet forth. As for their ordering, it is nothing elſe but a mere mockry. For the ſhew of examination that they there ſet out is ſo vain and hungry, that it wanteth even all colour. Therefore whereas in ſome places princes have by covenant obtained of the biſhops of Rome, that they themſelves might name biſhops, therein the church ſuffereth no new loſs: becauſe the election was taken away, only from the canons, which had by no right violently taken it, or verily ſtoln it. Truly this is a moſt foul example, that out of the court are ſent biſhops to poſſeſs churches: and it ſhould be the work of godly princes to abſtain from ſuch corruption. For it is a wicked ſpoiling of the church, when there is thruſt unto any people a biſhop, whom they have not deſired, or at leaſt with free voice allowed. But that diſorderly manner which hath long ago been in the churches, gave occaſion to princes to take the preſentation of biſhops into their own hands. For they had rather that it ſhould be their gift, than thoſe mens, to whom it nothing more belonged, and which did no leſs wrongfully abuſe it?

The abuſes of the church of Rome in making prieſts and deacons.

4. Lo here is a noble calling, by reaſon whereof the biſhops boaſt themſelves to be the ſucceſſors of the apoſtles. But they ſay that the authority to create prieſts belongeth to them only. But in this they moſt lewdly corrupt the old inſtitution: becauſe they do not by their ordering creat prieſts to rule and feed the people, but ſacrificers to ſacrifice. Likewiſe when they conſecrate deacons, they do nothing of their true and proper office, but they ordain them only to certain ceremonies about the chalice and the paten. But in the ſynod at Chalcedon, it is contrariwiſe decreed, that the orderings ſhould not be abſolutely given, that is to ſay, but that a place ſhould be therewithal aſſigned to them that are ordered, where they ſhall exerciſe their office.

(*Dist.* 70. *ca.* 1.) This decree is for two causes very profitable. First, that the church should not be burdened with superfluous charges, nor that that should be spent upon idle men which should be given to the poor: secondly, that they who are ordered, should think that they are not promoted to an honour, but that there is an office committed unto them, to the execution whereof they are bound by solemn protestation. But the Romish masters (which think that there is nothing in religion to be cared for, but their belly) first do expound title to be the revenue that may suffice to sustain them, whether it be by their own livelihood or by benefice. Therefore when they order a deacon or a priest, without taking care where they ought to minister, they give them the order, if they be rich enough to find themselves. But what man can admit this, that the title which the decree of the council requireth, should be the yearly revenue for their sustenance? But now because the latter canons condemned the bishops with penalty to find them whom they had ordered without sufficient title, by this mean to restrain their too much easy admitting: there hath been also a subtility devised to mock out this penalty. For he that is ordered, naming any title whatsoever it be, promiseth that he will be content therewith: by this shift he is driven from his action for his finding. I pass over a thousand frauds that are herein used: that when some do falsly name vain titles of benefices, whereupon they cannot make five shillings by year: other some under secret covenant do borrow benefices, which they promise that they will by and by restore again, but sometime they restore not at all. And such other mysteries.

The disguising ceremonies which the church of Rome useth in making her priests.

5. But although these grosser abuses were taken away, is not this always an absurdity, to appoint a priest to whom you assign no place? Also they order no man but to sacrifice. But the true ordinance of a priest is, to be called to the government of the church: and a deacon to be called to the gathering of the alms: they do indeed with many pomps shadow their doing, that in the very shew it may have a reverence among the simple. But among men that have their sound wit, what can these disguisings avail, if there be no sound stuff or truth underneath them? For they use ceremonies about it, either fetched out of Jewishness, or feigned of themselves, which it were better to forbear. But of true examination, (for I nothing pass upon, that shadow which they retain) of the peoples consent, and of other things necessary, they make no mention. I call a shadow their foolish gesturings meet to be laughed at, framed to a foolish and cold counterfeiting of antiquity. The bishops have their deputies which before the ordering may enquire of their learning. But what? whether they can read their masses, whether they can decline a common noun, that they shall light upon in reading, conjugate a verb, or know the signification of one word, for it is not necessary that they be cunning enough to construe a verse. And yet they are not put back from priesthood which fail even in the childish rudiments, so that they bring any mony or commendation of favour Of like sort it is, that when they are brought to the altar to be ordered, it is asked thrice in a tongue not understood, whether they be worthy of that honour. One answereth which never saw them: (but because nothing should want of the form, he hath part in the play). They are worthy. What may a man blame in these reverend fathers, but that with mocking in so open sacrileges, they do without shame laugh to scorn both God and men? But because they are in long possession. thereof, they think that now it is lawful for them. For whosoever dare once open his mouth against these so evident and so hainous wicked doings, he is forthwith hauled by them to punishment of death, as though it were one that had in old time disclosed abroad the holy mysteries of Ceres. Would they do this if they thought that there were any God?

Corruption in bestowing benefices.

6. Now how much do they behave themselves better in bestwoing of benefices: which thing was once joined with the ordering, but now it is altogether separate? There is among them a diverse manner. For the bishops only do not confer benefices: and in those whereof they are laid to have the conferring, they have not the full right, but others have the presentation, and they retain only the title of collation for honour's sake. There are also nominations out of schools, and resignations, either simple, or made for cause of exchange, commendatory writings, preventions, and whatsoever is of that sort. But they also behave themselves that none of them can reproach another with any thing. So I affirm, that scarcely every hundred benefice is bestowed at this day in the papacy without Simony, as the old writers defined Simony, (*Epi.* 11. *lib.* 3.) I do not say, that they all buy them with ready money: but shew

ſhew me one of twenty that cometh to a benefice without ſome by commendation, ſome either kindred or alliance promoteth, and ſome the authority of their parents: ſome by doing of pleaſures do get themſelves favour. Finally benefices are given to this end, not to provide for the churches, but for them that receive them. Therefore they call them benefices, by which words they do ſufficiently declare, that they make no other account of them, but as the beneficial gifts of princes, whereby they either get the favour of their ſoldiers or reward their ſervices. I omit how theſe rewards are beſtowed upon barbers, cooks, moile keepers, and ſuch dreggiſh men. And now judicial courts do ring of no matters more, than about benefices: ſo that a man may ſay that they are nothing elſe but a prey caſt before dogs to hunt after. Is this tolerable even to be heard of, that they ſhould be called paſtors, who have broken into the poſſeſſion of a church as into a farm of their enemy? that have gotten it by brawling in the law? that have bought it for money? That have deſerved it by filthy ſervices: which being children yet ſcantly able to ſpeak, have received it, as by inheritance from their uncles and kinſmen and ſome baſtards from their fathers?

Many churches committed to one man's charge unable to order one

7. Would ever the licentiouſneſs of the people, though they had been never ſo corrupt and lawleſs, have gone ſo far? But this is alſo more monſtrous, that one man, (I will not ſay what manner of man, but truly ſuch a one as cannot govern himſelf) is ſet to govern five or ſix churches. A man may ſee in theſe days in princes courts, young men that have three abboties, two biſhoprics, one archbiſhopric. But there are commonly canons with five, ſix or ſeven benefices, whereof they have no care at all, but in receiving the revenues. I will not object, that it is every where cried out againſt by the word of God, which hath long ago ceaſed to be of any eſtimation at all among them. I will not object, that there have been many moſt ſevere penal ordinances in many councils made againſt this wickedneſs: for thoſe alſo they boldly deſpiſe as oft as they liſt. But I ſay that both are monſtrous wicked doings, which are utterly againſt God and nature and the government of the church, that one robber ſhould oppreſs many churches at once, and that he ſhould be called a paſtor, who cannot be preſent with his flock though he would: and yet (ſuch is their ſhameleſſneſs) they cover ſuch abominable filthineſs with the name of the church to deliver themſelves from all blame. But alſo (and God will; in theſe lewdneſſes is contained that holy ſucceſſion, by the merit whereof they boaſt that it is wrought that the church may not periſh.

Monks in the church of Rome made prieſts and ſtill continuing monks contrary both to the ancient cuſtoms and canons, yet when they are made, not diſcharging the duty of prieſts neither.

8. Now (which is the ſecond mark in judging a lawful paſtor) let us ſee how faithfully they exerciſe their office. Of the prieſts that are there created, ſome are monks, ſome are (as they call them) ſecular. The firſt of theſe two companies was unknown to the old church: and it is ſo againſt the profeſſion of monks, to have ſuch a place in the church, that in old time when they were choſen out of monaſteries into the clergy, they ceaſed to be monks. And Gregory, whoſe time had much dregs, yet ſuffered not this confuſion to be made. For he willeth that they be put out of the clergy that are made abbots, for that no man can rightly be at the ſame time both a monk and a clerk: ſince the one is a hinderance to the other. Now if I aſk, how well he fulfilleth his office, whom the canons declare to be unmeet, what I pray you, will they anſwer? they will forſooth allege unto me thoſe untimely born decrees of Innocent and Boniface, whereby monks are ſo received into the honour and power of prieſthood, that they might ſtill abide in their monaſteries. But what reaſon is this, that every unlearned aſs, ſo ſoon as he hath once poſſeſſed the ſee of Rome, may with one word overthrow all antiquity? But of this matter we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. Let this ſuffice for this time, that in the purer church it was holden for a great abſurdity, if a monk did execute the office of prieſthood. For Jerom ſaith, that he doth not execute the office of a prieſt, while he is converſant among monks: and maketh himſelf one of the common people to be ruled by the prieſts. But, although we grant them this, what do they of their duty? Of the mendicants ſome do preach, all the other monks either ſing or mumble up maſſes in their dens. As though either Chriſt willed, or the nature of the office ſuffereth prieſts to be made to this purpoſe. Whereas the ſcripture plainly teſtifieth, that it is the prieſt's office to rule his own church, Act. xx. 23. is it not a wicked prophanation, to turn another way, yea utterly to change the holy inſtitution of God? For when they are ordered, they are expreſly forbidden to do the things that God commandeth all prieſts. For this ſong is ſung to them: Let a

monk

monk content with his cloister, not presume to minister the sacraments, not to execute any thing belonging to public office. Let them deny, if they can, that it is an open mockery of God, that any priest should be made to this purpose, to abstain from his true and natural office: and that he who hath the name may not have the thing also.

The abuses of the church of Rome in the office of her secular priests.

9. I come to the secular priests: who are partly beneficed men, (as they call them) that is to say, have benefices whereupon to live: and partly do let out their daily labour to hire, in massing, or singing, and live as it were of a stipend gathered thereupon. Benefices have either care of souls, as bishoprics and cure of parishes: or they are the stipends of delicate men, that get their living with singing, as prebends, canonships, parsonages, and dignities, chaplainships and such other. Howbeit, since things are now turned upside down, abbays and priories are given to mere boys, by privilege, that is to say, by common and usual custom. As concerning the hirelings, that get their living from day to day, what should they do otherwise than they do? that is in servile and shameful manner to give out themselves for gain, specially since there is so great a multitude as now the world swarmeth with. Therefore when they dare not beg openly, or for as much as they think they should but little profit that way, they go about like hungry dogs, and with their importunacy, as with barking they extort from men against their wills somewhat to thrust into their belly. Here if I would go about to express in words, how great a dishonour it is to the church, that the honour and office of priesthood is come to this point, I should have no end. Therefore it is not meet that the readers should look for at my hand such a long declaration as may be proportional to so heinous indignity. Briefly I say, if it be the office of priesthood, (as the word of God prescribeth, and the ancient canons require) to feed the church, and to govern the spiritual kingdom of Christ: 1 Cor. iv. 21. all such sacrificers as have no other work or wages, but in making a market of masses, are not only idle in their office, but also have no office at all to exercise For there is no place assigned them to teach: they have no flock to govern: Finally, there is nothing left to them, but the altar, whereupon to sacrifice Christ: which is not to offer to God, but devils, as we shall see in another place.

Other idle sorts of priests neither governing the church, nor distributing at all the word or sacraments.

10. I do not here touch the outward faults, but only the inward evil, which sticheth fast by the root in their institution, I will add a saying, which will sound ill in their ears: but because it is true, I must speak it: that in the same degree are to be accounted canons, deans, chaplains, provosts, and all they that are fed with idle benefices. For what service can they do to the church? For they have put from themselves the preaching of the word, the care of discipline, and ministration of sacraments, as too troublesome burdens. What then have they remaining, whereby they may boast themselves to be true priests? Singing forsooth, and a pomp of ceremonies. But what is that to the purpose? If they allege custom, if use, if prescription of long time: I again on the other side do lay unto them the definition of Christ, whereby he hath expressed unto us both true priests, and what they ought to have that will be accounted such. But if they cannot bear so hard a law, to submit themselves to Christ's rule: at the least let them suffer this matter to be determined by the authority of the primitive church. But their case shall be never the better, if their state be judged by the old canons. They that have degenerate into canons should have been priests, as they were in old time, that should rule the church in common with the bishop, and be as it were his companions in the office of pastor. Those chapter dignities as they call them, do nothing at all belong to the governing of the church: much less chaplainships, and the other dregs of like names. What account then shall we make of them all? Truly both the word of Christ, and the usage of the church excludeth them from the honour of priesthood. Yet they stiffly hold that they are priests: but we must pluck off their visor: so shall we find that their whole profession is most strange and far removed from that office of priests, both which the apostles describe unto us, and which was required in the primitive church. Therefore all such orders, with what titles soever they be notified, since they are new, being verily neither upholden by the institution of God, nor by the ancient usage of the church, ought to have no place in the description of the spiritual government, which the church hath received consecrate with the Lord's own mouth. Or (if they will rather have me to speak more simply and grosly) for as much as chaplains, canons, deacons, provosts, and other idle bellies of the same

ſame ſort, do not ſo much as with their little finger touch any ſmall parcel of that office, which is neceſſarily required in prieſts. It is not to be ſuffered, that in wrongfully taking a falſe honour upon themſelves, they ſhould break the holy inſtitution of Chriſt.

Abuſes in the office of biſhops and perſons in pariſhes belonging to the church of Rome.

11. There remain biſhops, and parſons of pariſhes: who I would to God did ſtrive to retain their office. For we would willingly grant unto them, that they have a godly and excellent office, if they did execute it. But when they will be accounted paſtors, while they forſake the churches committed to them, and caſt the care of them upon others, they do, as if it were the paſtor's office to do nothing. If any uſurer that never ſtirred his foot out of the city, would profeſs himſelf a plowman, or a keeper of a vineyard: if a ſoldier that had been continually in the battle and in the camp, and had never ſeen judicial court or books, would boaſt himſelf for a lawyer, who could abide ſuch ſtinking follies? But theſe men do ſomewhat more abſurdly, that will ſeem and be called lawful paſtors of the church, and yet will not be ſo. For how many a one is there, that doth not ſo much, as in ſhew, exerciſe the government of his church? Many do all their life long devour the revenues of churches, to which they never come ſo much as to look upon them. Some others do once in a year either come themſelves, or ſend their ſteward, that nothing ſhould be loſt in the letting to farm. When this corruption firſt crept in, they that would enjoy this kind of vacation, exempted themſelves by privileges: a bare example to have one reſident in his own church. For they eſteem them none otherwiſe than farms over which they ſet their vicars as bailiffs or farmers. But this very natural reaſon rejecteth, that he ſhould be a paſtor of a flock that never ſaw one ſheep thereof.

Negligence of biſhops and paſtors in the office of preaching the word.

12. It appeareth that even in the time of Gregory, there were certain ſeeds to this miſchief that the rulers of churches, began to be negligent in teaching: for he doth in one place grievouſly complain of it. (*Hom.* 17.) The world (ſaith he) is full of prieſts, but yet in the harveſt there are ſeldom workmen found: becauſe indeed we take upon us the office of prieſt, but we fulfil not the work of the office. Again, becauſe they have not the bowels of charity, they will ſeem lords: they acknowlege not themſelves to be fathers. They change the place of humility into the advancing of lordlineſs. Again, but what do we, O paſtors, who receive the reward, and are no workmen? We are fallen to outward buſineſs, and we take in hand one thing and perform another. We leave the miniſtry of preaching: and to our puniſhment, as I ſee, we are called biſhops, that keep the name of honour and not of virtue. Since he uſeth ſo great ſharpneſs of words againſt them, who were but leſs continuing, and leſs diligent in their office: what I pray you, would he ſay, if he ſaw of the biſhops almoſt none, or truly very few, and of the reſt ſcarcely every hundredth man once in all his life to go up into a pulpit? For men are come to ſuch madneſs, that it is commonly counted a thing too baſe for the dignity of a biſhop, to make a ſermon to the people. In the time of Bernard, things were ſomewhat more decayed: but we ſee alſo with how ſharp chidings he inveigheth againſt the whole order: which yet it is likely to have been then much purer than it is now.

Nothing more abſurd, groſs, and unlike to antiquity, than the government of the church of Rome at this day, in reſpect of her prieſts and biſhops.

13. But if a man do well weigh and examine this outward form of eccleſiaſtical government that is at this day under the papacy, he ſhall find that there is no thieviſh corner wherein robbers do more licentiouſly range without law and meaſure. Truly all things are there ſo unlike the inſtitution of Chriſt, yea ſo contrary to it, they are ſo degenerate from the ancient ordinances and manners of the church, they are ſo repugnant to nature and reaſon, that there can be no greater injury done to Chriſt, than when they pretend his name to the defence of ſo diſordered government. We (ſay they) are the pillars of the church, the chief biſhops of religion, the vicars of Chriſt, the heads of the faithful: becauſe the power of the apoſtles is by ſucceſſion come unto us. They are always bragging of theſe follies, as though they talked unto ſtocks. But ſo oft as they ſhall boaſt of this, I will aſk of them again, what they have common with the apoſtles. For we ſpeak not of any inheritably deſcending honour that may be given to men even while they ly ſleeping: but of the office of preaching, which they ſo much flee from. Likewiſe when we affirm that

their kingdom is the tyranny of Antichrist, by and by they answer, that it is that reverend hierarchy, so oft praised of notable and holy men. As though the holy fathers, when they commended the ecclesiastical hierarchy or spiritual government, as it was delivered them from hand to hand from the apostles, did dream of this mishapen and waste disordered heap, where the bishops are for the most part either rude asses, which know not the very first and common principles of faith, or sometime children yet new come from the nurse: and if any be more learned (which yet is a rare example) they think a bishopric to be nothing else but a title of gloriousness and magnificence: where the persons of churches think no more of feeding the flock, than a shoe-maker doth of plowing: where all things are confounded with more than Babylonical dispersing, that there remaineth no more any one step whole of that ordinance of the fathers.

The manners of Roman priests.

14. What if we descend to their manners? where shall be that light of the world, which Christ requireth? where is the salt of the earth Matth. v. 14.? where is that holiness, which may be as a perpetual rule to judge by? There is no degree of men at this day more ill spoken of for riot, wantonness, delicateness, finally all kind of lusts. There are of no degree of men either fitter, or cunninger masters of all deceit, fraud, treason, and breach of faith: there is no where so great cunning or boldness to do hurt. I pass over their disdainfulness, pride, extortion, cruelty. I pass over the dissolute licentiousness in all the parts of their life. In suffering whereof the world is so wearied, that it is not to be feared, that I should seem to enforce any thing too much. This one thing I say, which they themselves shall not be able to deny: that of bishops there is almost none, of the persons of parishes not the hundredth man: but if judgment should be given of his manners according to the old canons, he should be either to be excommunicate: or at least to be put from his office. I seem to say somewhat incredible: so far is that ancient discipline grown out of use, that commanded an exacter trial to be had of the manners of the clergy: but the truth is so. Now let them go, that fight under the standard and guiding of the see of Rome, and let them boast among themselves of the order of priesthood. As for the order that they have, truly it is evident, that it is neither of Christ nor of his apostles, nor of the fathers, nor of the old church.

what deacons do in the church of Rome.

15. Now let the deacons come forth, and that most holy distributing that they have of the goods of the church. Howbeit they do not now create their deacons to that purpose, for they enjoin them nothing else but to minister at the altar, to read and sing the gospel, and do I wote not what trifles. Nothing of the alms, nothing of the care of the poor, nothing of all that function which they in old time executed. I speak of the very institution. For if we have respect what they do, indeed it is not to them an office, but only a step toward priesthood. In one thing, they that keep the deacons place at the mass, do represent a void image of antiquity. For they receive the offerings before the consecration. This was the ancient manner, that before the communion of the supper, the faithful did kiss one another, and offer their alms at the altar: so first by a sign, and afterward by mere liberality they shewed their charity. The deacon, that was the poor mens steward, received that which was given, to distribute it. Now of those alms, there cometh no more to the poor, than if they were thrown into the sea. Therefore they mock the church with this lying deaconry. Truly therein they have nothing like, neither to the institution of the apostles, nor to the ancient usage. But the very distribution of the goods they have conveyed another way: and have so framed it, that nothing can be devised more unorderly. For as thieves, when they have cut mens throats, do divide the prey among them: so these, after the quenching of the light of God's word, as though the church were slain, do think that whatsoever was dedicate to holy uses is laid for prey and spoil. Therefore making a division, every one hath snatched to himself as much as he could.

The spoil they have made of church goods, and the injury they do thereby to the poor.

16. Here all these old orders, that we have declared, are not only troubled, but utterly wiped out and razed. The bishops and priests of cities, who being made rich by this prey, were turned into canons, have made havoc of the chief part among them. But it appeareth that the partition was disorderly, because to this day they strive about the bounds. Whatsoever it be, by this provision it is provided, that not one halfpenny of the goods of the church should come to the poor, whose had been

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the half part at leaſt. For the canons do give them the fourth part by name: and the other fourth part they do therefore appoint to the biſhops, that they ſhould beſtow it upon hoſpitality, and other duties of charity, I ſpeak not what the clerks ought to do with their portion, and to what uſe they ought to beſtow it. For we have ſufficiently declared, that the reſt which is appointed for temples, buildings and other expences, ought to be open for the poor in neceſſity. I pray you, if they had one ſpark of the fear of God in their heart would they abide this burden of conſcience, that all that they eat, and wherewith they are clothed, cometh of theft, yea of ſacrilege? But ſince they are little moved with the judgment of God, they ſhould at leaſt think, that thoſe be men endued with wit and reaſon, to whom they would perſuade, that they have ſo goodly and well framed orders in their church, as they are wont to boaſt. Let them anſwer me ſhortly, whether deaconry be a licence to ſteal and rob. If they deny this, they ſhall alſo be compelled to confeſs, that they have no deaconry left, foraſmuch as among them all the diſpoſition of the goods of the church is openly turned into a ſpoiling full of ſacrilege.

The pretence which they have, as if the kingdom of Chriſt, were by theſe means made more glorious.

17. But here they uſe a very fair colour. For they ſay, that the dignity of the church is by that magnificence not uncomlily upholden. And they have of their ſect ſome ſo ſhameleſs, that they dare openly boaſt, that ſo only are fulfilled thoſe prophecies, whereby the old prophets deſcribe the gloriouſneſs of the kingdom of Chriſt, when that kingly gorgeouſneſs is ſeen in the prieſtly order. Not in vain (ſay they) God hath promiſed theſe things to his church. Kings ſhall come, they ſhall worſhip in thy ſight, they ſhall bring thee gifts. Pſal. lxxii. 10. Ariſe, ariſe, clothe thee with thy ſtrength, O Sion: clothe thee with the garments of thy glory, O Jeruſalem: all ſhall come from Seba, bringing gold and incenſe, and ſpeaking praiſe to the Lord. All the cattle of Kedar ſhall be gathered together to thee. Iſa. lii 1. and lx. 6. If I ſhould tarry long upon confuting this lewdneſs, I fear leaſt I ſhould ſeem fooliſh. Therefore I will not loſe words in vain. But I aſk: if any Jew would abuſe theſe teſtimonies, what ſolution would they give? Verily they would reprehend his dulneſs, for that he tranſferred thoſe things to the fleſh and the world, that are ſpiritually ſpoken of the ſpiritual kingdom of Chriſt. For we know, that the prophets, under the image of earthly things, did paint out unto us the heavenly glory of God, that ought to ſhine in the church. For the church had never leſs abundance of theſe bleſſings, which their words expreſs, than in the time of the apoſtles: and yet all confeſs, that the force of the kingdom of Chriſt then chiefly floriſhed abroad. What then mean theſe ſayings? Whatſoever is any where precious, high, excellent, it ought to be made ſubject to the Lord. Whereas it is chiefly ſpoken of kings, that they ſhall ſubmit their ſcepters to Chriſt, that they ſhall throw down their crowns before his feet, that they ſhall dedicate their goods to the church: when (will they ſay) was it better and more fully performed, than when Theodoſius, caſting away his purple robe, leaving the ornaments of the empire, as ſome one of the common people: ſubmitted himſelf before God and the church, to ſolemn penance? then when he, and other like godly princes beſtowed their endeavours and their cares to preſerve pure doctrine in the church, and to cheriſh and defend ſound teachers? But how prieſts at that time exceeded not in ſuperfluous riches, that only ſentence of the ſynod at *Aquileia*, where Ambroſe was chief, ſufficiently declareth: glorious is poverty in the prieſts of the Lord. Truly the biſhops had at that time ſome riches, wherewith they might have ſet out the churches honour, if they had thought thoſe to be the true ornaments of the church. But when they knew that there was nothing more againſt the office of paſtors, than to gliſter and ſhew themſelves proudly with dainineſs of fare, with gorgiouſneſs of garments, with train of ſervants, with ſtately palaces, they followed and kept the humbleneſs and modeſty, yea the very poverty which Chriſt holily appointed among his miniſters.

How far their beſtowing of church goods differeth from that which either the apoſtles, or the ancient fathers uſed.

18. But that we may not be too long in this point, let us again gather into a ſhort ſum, how far that diſpenſation or diſſipation of the goods of the church that is now uſed, differeth from the true deaconry, which both the word of God commendeth unto us, and the ancient church obſerved. As for that which is beſtowed upon the garniſhing of temples, I ſay it is ill beſtowed if that meaſure be not uſed, which both the very nature of holy things appointeth, that the apoſtles and other holy fathers have preſcribed both by

doctrine and examples. But what like thing is there ſeen at this day in the temples: whatſoever is framed, I will not ſay after that ancient ſparing, but to any honeſt mean it is rejected. Nothing at all pleaſeth, but that which ſavoureth of riot and the corruption of times. In the mean time they are ſo far from having due care of the lively temples, that they would rather ſuffer many thouſands of the poor to periſh for hunger, than they would break the leaſt chalice or cruit, to relieve their need. And that I may not pronounce of myſelf any thing more grievouſly againſt them, this only I would have the godly readers to think upon: if it ſhould happen that ſame Exuperius biſhop of Tholoſa, whom we even now rehearſed, or Acatius, or Ambroſe, or any ſuch to be raiſed from death, what would they ſay? Truly they would not allow that in ſo great neceſſity of the poor, riches in a manner ſuperfluous ſhould be turned another way. Admit I ſpeak nothing how theſe uſes upon which they are beſtowed, (although there were no poor) are many ways hurtful, but in no behalf profitable. But I leave to ſpeak of men. Theſe goods are dedicate to Chriſt: therefore they are to be diſpoſed after his will. But they ſhall in vain ſay, that this part is beſtowed upon Chriſt, which they have waſted otherwiſe than he commanded. Howbeit, to confeſs the truth, there is not much of the ordinary revenue of the church abated for theſe expences. For there are no biſhoprics ſo wealthy, no abboties ſo fat, finally neither ſo many, nor ſo large benefices that may ſerve to fill the gluttony of prieſts. But while they ſeek to ſpare themſelves, they perſuade the people by ſuperſtition, to turn that which ſhould be beſtowed upon the poor, to build temples, to ſet up images, to buy jewels, to get coſtly garments. So with this gulf are the daily alms conſumed.

The word of God, and the ancient canons, againſt the pride of the Roman clergy.

16. Of the revenue, that they receive of their lands and poſſeſſions, what elſe ſhall I ſay, but that which I have already ſaid, and which is before all mens eyes? We ſee with what faithleſneſs they which are called biſhops and abbots do diſpoſe the greateſt part. What madneſs is it, to ſeek here for an eccleſiaſtical order? Was it meet that they, whoſe life ought to have been a ſingular example of frugality, modeſty, continence, and humility, ſhould contend with the royality of princes in number of goods, in gorgiouſneſs of houſes, in dainteneſs of apparel and fare? And how much was this contrary to their office, that they, whom the eternal and inviolable commandment of God forbiddeth to be deſirous of filthy gain, (Tit. i. 7.) and biddeth to be content with ſimple living, ſhould not only lay hands upon towns and caſtles, but alſo violently enter upon the greateſt lordſhips finally poſſeſs forceably even empires? if they deſpiſe the word of God: what will they anſwer to thoſe ancient decrees of the ſynods: whereby it is decreed that the biſhop ſhould have a ſmall lodging not far from the church, mean fare and houſhold ſtuff? what will they ſay to that praiſe of the ſynod at Aquileia: where poverty is reported glorious in the prieſts of the Lord, (*Council Carthage cap.* 15. *and* 15.:) for perhaps they will utterly refuſe as too rigorous, that which Jerom adviſeth Nepotianus, that poor men and ſtrangers: and among them Chriſt as a gueſt may know his table. But that which he by and by addeth, they will be aſhamed to deny that it is the glory of a biſhop to provide for the good of the poor: that it is the ſhame of all prieſts to ſtudy for their own riches, But they cannot receive this, but they muſt all condemn themſelves of ſhame. But it is not needful in this place to ſpeak more ſeverely againſt them ſince my meaning was nothing elſe, but to ſhew, that among them the lawful order of deaconry is long ago taken away: that they may no more glory of this title to the commendation of their church: which I think I have already ſufficiently ſhewed.

CHAP. VI.

Of the ſupremacy of the ſee of Rome.

The ſupremacy of the ſee of Rome, neither derived from Chriſt's inſtitution, nor from the uſe of the old church.

HITHERTO we have rehearſed thoſe orders of the church, which were in the government of the old church: but afterward corrupted in times, and from thenceforth more and more abuſed, do now in the popiſh church retain only their name, and indeed are nothing elſe but viſors: that by compariſon the godly reader might judge

judge what manner of church the Romaniſts have, for whoſe ſake they make us ſchiſmatics, becauſe we have departed from it. But as for the head and top of the whole order, that is to ſay, the ſupremacy of the ſee of Rome, whereby they labour to prove that they only have the catholic church, we have not yet touched it: becauſe it took beginning neither from the inſtitution of Chriſt, nor from the uſe of the old church, as thoſe former parts did: which we have ſhewed to have ſo proceeded from antiquity, that by wickedneſs of times they are utterly degenerate, and have put on altogether a new form. And yet they go about to perſuade the world, that this is the chief and in a manner only bond of the unity of the church, if we cleave to the ſee of Rome, and continue in the obedience thereof. They reſt (I ſay) principally upon this ſtay, when they will take away the church from us, and claim it to themſelves, for that they keep the head, upon which the unity of the church dependeth, and without which the church muſt needs fall aſunder and be broken in pieces. For thus they think that the church is as it were a maimed and headleſs body, unleſs it be ſubject to the ſee of Rome, as to her head. Therefore when they talk of their hierarcie they always take their beginning at this principle: that the biſhop of Rome (as the vicar of Chriſt, who is the head of the church) is in his ſtead preſident of the univerſal church: and that otherwiſe the church is not well ordered, unleſs that ſee doth hold the ſupremacy above all other. Therefore this alſo is to be examined of what ſort it is: that we may omit nothing that pertaineth to a juſt government of the church.

The high prieſts authority amongſt the Jews, no proof for the ſovereign dignity of Rome.

2. Let this therefore be the principal point of the queſtion: whether it be neceſſary for the true form of hierarchy (as they call it) or eccleſiaſtical order, that one ſee ſhould be above the reſt both in dignity and in power, that it may be the head of the whole body. But we make the church ſubject to too unjuſt laws, if we lay this neceſſity upon it, without the word of God. Therefore if the adverſaries will prove that which they require, they muſt firſt ſhew that this diſpoſition was ordained by Chriſt. For this purpoſe they allege out of the law the high prieſthood, alſo the high judgment, which God did inſtitute at Jeruſalem. But it is eaſy to give a ſolution, and that many ways, if one way do not ſatisfy them. Firſt no reaſon compelleth to extend that to the whole world, which was profitable in one nation; yea rather, the order of one nation and of the whole world ſhall be far different. Becauſe the Jews were on each ſide compaſſed with idolaters: that they ſhould not be diverſly drawn with variety of religions, God appointed the place of worſhipping him in the middle part of the land: there he ordained over them one head biſhop, whom they ſhould have all regard unto, that they might be the better kept together in unity. Now when religion is ſpread abroad into the whole world, who doth not ſee that it is altogether an abſurdity, that the government of the Eaſt and Weſt be given to one man? For it is in effect as much as if a man ſhould affirm that the whole world ought to be governed by one ruler, becauſe one piece of land hath no more rulers but one. But there is yet another reaſon, why that ought not to be made an example to be followed. Now man is ignorant that the high biſhop was a figure of Chriſt, Heb. vii. 12. Now, ſince the prieſthood is removed, that right muſt alſo be removed. But to whom is it removed? Truly not to the pope (as he himſelf is ſo bold ſhameleſly to boaſt) when he draweth this title to himſelf: but to Chriſt, which as he alone ſuſtaineth this office, without any vicar or ſucceſſor, ſo he reſigneth the honour to none other. For the prieſthood conſiſteth not in doctrine only, but in the appeaſing of God, which Chriſt hath fully wrought by his death, and in that interceſſion which he now uſeth with his father.

Things in the New Teſtament ſpoken to Peter, prove not the power which the biſhop of Rome challengeth.

3. There is therefore no cauſe why they ſhould bind us by this examples, as by a perpetual rule, which we have ſeen to be enduring but for a time. Out of the new Teſtament they have nothing to bring forth for proof of their opinion, but that it was ſaid to one: Thou art Peter, and upon this ſtone I will build my church, Mat. xvi. 18. Again Peter loveſt thou me? Feed my ſheep. But admitting that theſe be ſtrong proofs, they muſt firſt ſhew that he which is commanded to feed the flock of Chriſt, (John xxi. 15.) hath power committed to him over all churches: and that to bind and to looſe is nothing elſe but to be ruler of all the world. But as Peter had received the commandment of the Lord, ſo he exhorteth all other prieſts to feed the church, 1 Pet. v. 2. Hereby we may gather, that by his ſaying of Chriſt, there was either nothing given to Peter more than to the reſt, or that Peter did equally communicate with

with others the power that he had received. But, that we ſtrive not vainly, we have in another place a clear expoſition out of the mouth of Chriſt, what it is to bind and looſe: that is to ſay, to retain and to forgive ſins, John xx. 23. But the manner of binding and looſing, both the whole ſcripture every where ſheweth, and Paul very well declareth, when he ſaith that the miniſters of the goſpel have commandment to reconcile men to God, and alſo have power to puniſh them that refuſe this benefit, 2 Cor. v. 18. and x. 16.

What keys Chriſt gave unto Peter.

4. How ſhamefully they wreſt thoſe places, that make mention of binding and looſing, I both have already ſhortly touched, and a little after I ſhall have occaſion to declare more at large. Now it is good to ſee only, what they gather of that famous anſwer of Chriſt to Peter. He promiſed him the keys of the kingdom of heaven: he ſaid that whatſoever he bound in earth ſhould be bound in heaven. If we agree upon the word *keys*, and the manner of binding, all contention ſhall by and by ceaſe. For the pope himſelf will gladly give over the charge injoined to the apoſtles, which being full of labour and grief, ſhould ſhake from him his pleaſures, without gain. Foraſmuch as the heavens are opened unto us by the doctrine of the goſpel, it is with a very fit metaphor expreſſed by the name of keys. Now men are bound and looſed in no otherwiſe, but when faith reconcileth ſome to God, and their own unbelief bindeth other ſome. If the pope did take this only upon him: I think there will be no man that would either envy it or ſtrive about it. But becauſe this ſucceſſion be troubleſome and nothing gainful pleaſeth not the pope, hereupon groweth the beginning of the contention, what Chriſt promiſed to Peter. Therefore I gather by the very matter it ſelf, that there is nothing meant, but the dignity of the office of an apoſtle, which cannot be ſevered from the charge. For if that definition which I have rehearſed, be received (which cannot but ſhameleſly be rejected) here is nothing given to Peter, that was not alſo common to his other fellows: becauſe otherwiſe there ſhould not only wrong be done to the perſons, but the very majeſty of doctrine ſhould halt. They cry out on the other ſide: what availeth it, I pray you to run upon this rock? For they ſhall not prove, but as the preaching of one ſame goſpel was enjoined to all the apoſtles, ſo they were alſo all alike furniſhed with power to bind and looſe, Mat. xviii. 20. John xx. 23. Chriſt (ſay they) appointed Peter prince of the whole church, when he promiſed that he would give him the keys. But that which he then promiſed to one, in another place he gave it alſo to all the reſt, and delivered it as it were into their hands. If the ſame power were granted to all, which was promiſed to one wherein ſhall he be above his fellows? Herein (ſay they) he excelleth, becauſe he received it both in common together with them, and ſeverally by himſelf, which was not given to the other, but in common. What if I anſwer with Cyprian and Auguſtine, that Chriſt did it not for this purpoſe, to prefer one man before another, but ſo to ſet out the unity of the church. For this ſaith Cyprian, (*De ſim. prael.*) that God in the perſon of one gave the keys to all, to ſignify the unity of all: and that the reſt were the ſame thing that Peter was, endued with like partaking both of honour and power: but that the beginning is taken at unity, that the church of Chriſt may be ſhewed to be one. Auguſtine ſaith, (*Hom. in John* 1.) If there were not in Peter a myſtery of the church, the Lord would not ſay to him, I will give thee the keys. For if this was ſaid to Peter, the church hath them not: but if the church have them, then Peter when he received the keys, betokened the whole church. And in another place. When they were all aſked, only Peter anſwered, thou art Chriſt: and it is ſaid to him, I will give thee the keys, as though he alone, had received the power of binding and looſing: whereas both he being one, ſaid that one for all, and he received the other with all, as bearing the perſon of unity. Therefore one for all, becauſe there is unity in all.

Peter in ſome kind of honour before the reſt but not above the reſt in power, becauſe our Saviour ſaid, thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church.

5. But this, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, (Mat. xvi. 18.) is no where read ſpoken to any other. As though Chriſt ſpake there any thing of Peter, than that which Paul and Peter himſelf ſpeaketh of all Chriſtians. For Paul maketh Chriſt the chief and corner ſtone, upon which they are builded together, that grow into a holy temple to the Lord, Eph. ii. 20. And Peter biddeth us to be lively ſtones which being founded upon that choſen and precious ſtone, (1 Pet. ii. 5.) do by this joint and coupling together with our God, cleave alſo together among our ſelves. He (ſay they) above the reſt: becauſe he hath the name

peculi-

peculiarly. Indeed I do willingly grant this honour to Peter, that in the building of the church he be placed among the first, (or if they will have this also) the first of all the faithful: but I will not suffer them to gather thereupon, that he should have a supremacy over the rest. For what manner of gathering is this? He excelleth other in ferventness of zeal, in learning, and courage: therefore he hath power over them. As though we might not with better colour gather, that Andrew is in a degree before Peter, because he went before him in time, and brought him to Christ, John i. 40. and 42. But I pass over this. Let Peter truly have the first place, yet there is great difference between the honour of degree and power. We see that the apostles commonly granteth this to Peter, that he should speak in assemblies, and after a certain manner go before them with propounding exhorting, and admonishing: but of his power we read nothing at all.

Upon what rock Christ hath builded his church.

9. Howbeit we are not yet come to dispute of that point: only at this present I would prove that they do too foolishly reason, when by the only name of Peter, they would build an empire over the whole church. For those old follies wherewith they went about to deceive at the beginning, are not worthy to be rehearsed, much less to be confuted, that the church was builded upon Peter, because it was said, upon this rock, &c. But some of the fathers have so expounded it. But when the whole scripture crieth out to the contrary, to what purpose is their authority alleged against God? Yea, why do we strive about the meaning of these words, as though it were dark or doubtful, when nothing can be more plainly nor more certainly spoken? Peter had confessed in his own and his bretherens name that Christ is the Son of God, Mat. xvi. 16. Upon this rock Christ builded his church: because it is (as Paul saith) the only foundation, beside which there can be laid none other, 1 Cor. iii. 11. Neither do I here therefore refuse the authority of the fathers, because I want their testimonies, If I listed to allege them: but (as I have said) I will not with contending about so clear a matter trouble the readers in vain, especially since this point hath been long ago diligently enough handled and declared by men of our side.

The whole course of Peter's dealings shew him to have been a fellow with the rest of the apostles and not a lord over them.

7. And yet indeed no man can better assoyl this question, than the scripture itself, if we compare all the places, where it teacheth, what office and power Peter had among the apostles, how he behaved himself, and how he was accepted of them. Run over all that remaineth written, you shall find nothing else, but that he was one of the twelve, equal with the rest their fellow, but not their lord. He doth indeed propound to the council, if any thing be to be done, and giveth warning what is meet to be done: but therewithal he heareth others, and doth not only grant them place to speak their mind, but leaveth the judgment to them: when they had determined, he followed and obeyed. When he writeth to the pastors, he doth not command them by authority, as superior: but he maketh them his companions, and gently exhorteth them, as equals are wont to do, 1 Pet. v. 1. When he was accused for that he had gone into the Gentiles, although it were without cause, yet he answered and purged himself, Acts xi. 2. When he was commanded by his fellows, to go with John into Samaria he refused not, Acts viii. 24. Whereas the apostle did send him, they did thereby declare that they held him not for their superior. Whereas he obeyed and took upon him the embassage committed to him, he did thereby confess that he had a fellowship with them, and not an authority over them. If none of those things were, yet the epistle to the Galatians only my easily take all doubting from us: where almost in two chapters together, Paul laboureth to prove nothing else, but that he himself was equal to Peter in honour of apostleship. Then he rehearseth that he came to Peter, not to profess subjection, but only to make their consent of doctrine approved by testimony to all men: and that Peter himself required no such thing, but gave him his right hand of fellowship, to work in common together in the Lord's vineyard: and that there was no lesser grace given to him among the Gentiles, than to Peter among the Jews: finally, that when Peter dealt not very faithfully he was corrected by him, and obeyed his reproving, Gal. i. 18. and ii. 8. All these things do make plain, either that there was equality between Paul and Peter, or at least that Peter had no more power over the rest, than they had over him. And (as I have already said) Paul of purpose laboureth about this, that none should prefer before him in the apostleship either Peter, or John which were fellows, not lords.

8. But

If Peter, were the prince the of apoſtles, it followeth not hereupon that the whole world ſhould be ſubject to the biſhop of Rome.

8. But to grant them that which they require concerning Peter, that is, that he was the prince of the apoſtles, and excelled the reſt in dignity: yet there is no cauſe why they ſhould of a ſingular example make an univerſal rule and draw to perpetuity that which hath been once done: ſince there is a far different reaſon. One was chief among the apoſtles: forſooth, becauſe they were few in number. If one were the chief of twelve men, ſhall it therefore follow that one ought to be made ruler of a hundred thouſand men? it is no wonder that twelve had one among them that ſhould rule them all. For nature beareth this, and the wit of men requireth this, that in every aſſembly, although they be all equal in power yet there be one as a governor, whom the reſt may have regard unto. There is no court, without a council, no ſeſſion of judges without a pretor, or propounder, no company without a ruler, no fellowſhip without a maſter. So ſhould it be no abſurdity, if we confeſſed that the apoſtles gave to Peter ſuch a ſupremacy. But that which is of force among few, is not by and by to be drawn to the whole world, to the ruling whereof no one man is ſufficient. But (ſay they) this hath place no leſs in the whole univerſality of nature, than in all the parts, that there one ſovereign head of all. And hereof (and God will) they fetch proof from cranes and bees, which always chooſe to themſelves one guide, not many. I allow indeed the examples which they bring forth. but do bees reſort together out of all the world to chooſe them one king: every ſeveral king is content with his own hive. So among cranes, every herd hath their own king. What elſe ſhall they prove hereby, but that every church ought to have their own ſeveral biſhop appointed them? Then they call us to civil examples. They allege that ſaying of Homer. It is not good to have many governors: and ſuch thing as in like ſenſe are read in profane writers to the commendation of monarchy. The anſwer is eaſy. For monarchy is not praiſed of Ulyſſes in Homer, or of any other, in this meaning, as tho' one thought to be emperor of the whole world; but they mean that one kingdom cannot hold two kings: and that power (as he calleth it) can abide no companion.

No head of the whole church but only Chriſt.

9. But let it be as they will, that it is good and profitable that the whole world be holden under monarchy, which yet is a very great abſurdity: but let it be ſo: yet I will not therefore grant that the ſame ſhould take place in the government of the church. For the church hath Chriſt her only head, under whoſe dominion we all cleave together, according to that order and that form of policy which he hath preſcribed. Therefore they do a great wrong to Chriſt, when by that pretence they will have no man to be ruler of the univerſal church, becauſe it cannot be without a head. For Chriſt is the head of whom the whole body coupled and knit together in every joint, wherewith one miniſtreth to another, according to the working of every member in the meaſure thereof, maketh increaſe of the body, Eph. iv. 15. See you not, how he ſetteth all men without exception in the body, and leaveth the honour and name of head to Chriſt lone? See you not how he giveth to every member a certain meaſure, and a determined, and limited function: whereby both the perfection of the grace and the ſovereign power of government may remain with Chriſt only? Neither am I ignorant what they are wont to cavil, when this is objected againſt them: they ſay that Chriſt is properly called the only head, becauſe he alone reigneth by his own authority and in his own name: but that is nothing withſtandeth, but that there may be under him another miniſterial head (as they term it) that may be his vicegerent in earth. But by this cavil they prevail nothing, unleſs they firſt ſhew that this miniſtery was ordained by Chriſt. For the apoſtle teacheth, that the whole miniſtration is diſperſed through the members, and that the power floweth from the one heavenly head. Or if they will have any plainer ſpoken, ſince the ſcripture teſtifieth that Chriſt is the head, and claimeth that honour to him alone, it ought not to be transfered to any other, but to whom Chriſt himſelf hath made us vicar. But that is not only no where read, but alſo may be largely confuted by many places, Eph. i. 22. and iv. 17. and v. 13. Col. i. 18. and ii. 10. Eph. iv. 10.

The apoſtles knew no monarchy in the miniſteral government of the church.

10. Paul ſometimes painteth unto us a lively image of the church. Of one head he maketh there no mention. But rather by his deſcription we may gather, that it is diſagreeing from the inſtitution of Chriſt. Chriſt at his aſcending took from us the viſible preſence of

of himself: yet he went up to fulfil all things. Now therefore the church hath him yet present, and always shall have. When Paul goeth about to shew the mean whereby he presenteth himself, he calleth us back to the ministeries which he useth. The Lord (saith he) is in us all, according to the measure of grace that he hath given to every member. Therefore he hath appointed some apostles, some pastors, some evangelists, othersome teachers, &c. Eph. iv. 7. and 11. Why doth he not say, that he hath set one over all, to be his vicegerent? For the place required that principally, and it could by no means have been omitted, if it had been true. Christ (saith he) is with us. How? by the ministry of men, whom he hath appointed to govern the church. Why not rather by the ministerial head to whom he hath committed his place? He nameth unity: but in God, and in the faith of Christ. He assigneth to men nothing but common ministry, and to every one a particular measure. In that commendation of unity, after that he had said, that there is but one body, one spirit, one hope of calling, one God, one faith, one baptism, why hath he not also immediately added one chief bishop, that may hold the church together in unity? For nothing could have been more fitly spoken, if it had been true. Let that place be diligently weighed. It is no doubt but that he meant there altogether to represent the holy and spiritual government of the church, which they that came afterward called Hierarchy. As for monarchy among ministers, he not only nameth none but also sheweth that there is none. It is also no doubt but that he meant to express the manner of union, whereby the faithful cleave together with Christ their head. There he not only speaketh of no ministerial head, but appointeth to every one of the members a particular working according to the measure of grace distributed to every one. Neither is there any reason why they should subtily dispute of the comparison of the heavenly and earthly hierarchy. For it is not safe to know beyond measure of it. And in framing this government we must follow no other figure, than the Lord himself hath painted out in his word.

If Peter had a supremacy not only to be confirmed unto him, but also conveyed unto others, the title of the bishop of Rome is not hereby proved.

11. Now although I grant them another thing, which they shall never obtain by proof before sober men, that the supremacy of the church was so established in Peter, that it should always remain by perpetual succession: yet how will they prove, that his seat was so placed at Rome, that whosoever is bishop of that church, should be set over the whole world? By what right do they bind this dignity to the place, which is given without mention of place? Peter (say they) lived and died at Rome. What did Christ himself? Did not he, while he lived, exercise his bishopric, and in dying fulfil the office of priesthood, at Jerusalem? The prince of pastors, the sovereign bishop, the head of the church, could not purchase honour to the place: and could Peter, that was far inferior to him? Are not these follies more than childish? Christ gave the honour of supremacy to Peter: Peter sat at Rome, therefore he there placed the see of supremacy. By this reason, the Israelites in old time might have set the seat of supremacy in the desert, where Moses, the chief teacher and prince of prophets executed his ministry and died. Deut. xxxiv. 5.

A vain surmise that the supremacy of the church belonging sometime to Antioch, was by the Lord's commandment thence translated to Rome.

12. Let us see how trimly they reason. Peter (say they) had the supremacy among the apostles: therefore the church where he sat ought to have that privilege. But where sat he first? At Antioch, say they. Therefore the church of Antioch doth rightly claim to it self the supremacy. They confess that it was in old time the first: but they say, that in removing thence he removed to Rome the honour that he brought with him. For there is an epistle under the name of pope Marcellus to the bishops of Antioch where he saith thus: Peter's seat was at the beginning with you, which afterward by the Lord's commandment was removed hither. So the church of Antioch, which was once the chief, hath given place to the see of Rome. But by what oracle had that good man learned, that the Lord so commanded? For if this cause be to be determined by the law, it is necessary that they answer, whether they will have this privilege to be personal, or real, or mixt. For it must be one of these three. If they say that it is personal, then it belongeth nothing to the place. If they say that it is real, then when it is once given to the place, it is not taken away by reason either of the death or departure of the person. It remaineth therefore that they must say it is mixt: but then that place shall be not simply to be considered, unless the per-

ſon do alſo agree. Let them chooſe whomſoever they will, I will by and by infer and eaſily prove, that Rome can by no means take the ſupremacy upon it ſelf.

If the firſt place be granted to the church of Rome, why the ſecond unto Alexandria, before either Antioch, or Epheſus, or Jeruſalem.

13. But be it, that (as they triflingly ſay) the ſupremacy was removed from Antioch to Rome: yet why did not Antioch keep the ſecond place? For if Rome have therefore the firſt place, becauſe Peter ſat there to the end of his life: to whom ſhall the ſecond place rather be granted, than where he had his firſt ſeat? How came it to paſs then, that Alexandria went before Antioch? How agreeth it that the church of one diſciple ſhould be above the ſeat of Peter? If honour be due to every church, according to the worthineſs of the founder, what ſhall we ſay alſo of the other churches? Paul nameth three, that ſeemed to be pillars, James, Peter, and John, Gal. ii. 9. If the firſt place were given to the ſee of Rome in the honour of Peter: do not the ſees of Epheſus and Jeruſalem, where John and James ſat, deſerve the ſecond and third place? But among the patriarchs Jeruſalem had the laſt place: Epheſus could not ſit ſo much as in the uttermoſt corner. And other churches were left out, both all thoſe that Paul founded, and thoſe that the other apoſtles were rulers of. The ſeat of Mark, who was but one of their diſciples, obtained the honour. Therefore they muſt either confeſs that that was a prepoſterous order, or they muſt grant us that this is not a perpetual rule, that there is due to every church the ſame degree of honour which the founder had.

Peter's ſitting at Rome ſcarce worthy of credit.

14. Howbeit, as for that which they report of Peter's ſitting in the church of Rome, I ſee not what credit it ought to have. Truly that which is in Euſebius, that he ruled there five and twenty years, is very eaſily confuted. For it is evident by the firſt and ſecond chapter to the Galatians, that about twenty years after the death of Chriſt, he was at Jeruſalem, and that then he went to Antioch: where how long he was, is uncertain. Gregory reckoneth ſeven years, and Euſebius twenty and five. But from the death of Chriſt, to the end of Nero's empire, (in whoſe time they ſay that he was ſlain) there ſhall be found but thirty and ſeven years. For the Lord ſuffered under Tiberius, the eighteenth year of his empire. If you diſcount twenty years, during the which Paul is witneſs that Peter dwelt at Jeruſalem, Rom. xv 15. there will remain but ſeventeen years at the moſt, which muſt now be divided between two biſhopries. If he tarried long at Antioch he could not ſit at Rome but a very little while. Which things we may yet alſo more plainly prove. Paul wrote to the Romans, when he was in his journey going to Jeruſalem, where he was taken and from thence brought to Rome. It is not likely that this epiſtle was written four years before that he came to Rome. Therein is yet no mention of Peter, which ſhould not have been left out, if Peter had ruled that church. Yea and in the end alſo, when he rehearſeth a great number of the godly, whom he biddeth to be ſaluted, where verily he gathereth together all thoſe that he knew, he yet ſaith nothing of Peter. Rom. xvi. 21. Neither is it needful here to make a long or curious demonſtration to men of ſound judgment: for the matter it ſelf, and the whole argument of the epiſtle crieth out, that he ſhould not have overpaſſed Peter, if he had been at Rome.

As Peter's governing the church of Rome is hardly proved, ſo his ſucceſſor in government is not agreed upon: his deeds and death at Rome uncertain: his being biſhop of Rome and that ſo long, moſt improbable.

15. When Paul was brought priſoner to Rome, Luke reporteth that he was received of the brethren, of Peter he ſaith nothing. (*Acts ult.* 16.) He wrote from thence to many churches: and in ſome places alſo he writeth ſalutations in the names of certain: but he doth not in one word ſhew that Peter was there at that time, who, I pray you ſhall think it likely, that he could have paſſed him over with ſilence, if he had been preſent? Yea to the Philippians, where he ſaid that he had none that ſo faithfully looked unto the work of the Lord, as Timothy, he complained that they did all ſeek their own. Phil. ii. 20. And to the ſame Timothy he maketh a more grievous complaint, that none was with him at his firſt defence, but all forſook him: where therefore was Peter then? For if they ſay that he was then at Rome, how great a ſhame doth Paul charge him with, that he was a forſaker of the goſpel? For he ſpeaketh of the believers: becauſe he addeth, God impute it not unto them. 2 Tim. iv. 16. How long therefore, and in what time did Peter keep that ſeat? But it is a conſtant opinion of writers, that he governed that church even to his death. But among the writers themſelves it is uncertain who was his ſucceſſor, becauſe ſome ſay

Linus

Linus, and other some say Clement. And they tell many foolish fables, of the disputation had between him and Simon the magician. And Augustine sticketh not to confess, when he treateth of superstitions, that by reason of an opinion rashly conceived, there was a custom grown in use at Rome, that they should not fast that day that Peter got the victory of Simon the magician. (*August. ad Januar.*) Finally the doings of that time are so entangled with diversity of opinions, that we ought not rashly to believe where we find any thing written. And yet by reason of this consent of writers, I strive not against this, that he died there: but yet that he was bishop there, and specially a long time, I cannot be persuaded, neither do I much pass upon that also: forasmuch as Paul testifieth that Peter's apostleship did peculiarly belong to the Jews, and his own to us. Therefore that that fellowship which they covenanted between themselves, may be confirmed with us, or rather that the ordinance of the holy Ghost may stand in force among us, we ought to have respect rather to the apostleship of Paul and Peter. For the holy Ghost so divided the provinces between them that he appointed Peter to the Jews, and Paul to us. Now therefore let the Romanists go and seek their supremacy elsewhere than in the word of God, where it is found not to be grounded.

Three causes why the fathers did attribute so much to the church of Rome.

16. Now Let us come to the old church, that it may also be made to appear plainly that our adversaries do no less causelesly and falsely boast of the consent thereof, than they do of the witness of the word of God. When therefore they bragg of that principle of theirs, that the unity of the church cannot otherwise be kept together unless there be one supreme head on earth, to whom all the members may obey, and that therefore the Lord gave the supremacy to Peter, and from thence forth to the see of Rome by right of succession, that the same should remain in it to the end: they affirm, that this hath been always observed from the beginning. But forasmuch as they wrongfully wrest many testimonies, I will first say this aforehand, that I deny not but that the writers do each where give great honour to the church of Rome, and do speak reverently of it. Which I think to be done specially for three causes. For that same opinion, which I wot not how was grown in force, that it was founded and ordained y the ministry of Peter, much availed to procure estimation unto it. Therefore in the east parts it was for honour's sake called the see apostolic. Secondly, when the head of the empire was there, and that therefore it was likely, that in that place were men more excellent both in learning and wisdom, and skill, and experience of many things, than any where else: there was worthily consideration had thereof, that both the honour of the city, and also the other more excellent gifts of God should not seem to be despised. There was beside these also a third thing that when the churches of the east, and of Grecia, yea and of Africa, were in tumults among themselves with disagreement of opinions, the church of Rome was quieter and less full of troubles than the rest. So came it to pass, that the godly and holy bishops, being driven out of their seats, did oftentimes flee thither as into a sanctuary or certain haven. For as the western men are of less sharpness and quickness of wit, than the Asians or Africans are, so much are they less desirous of alterations. This therefore added much authority to the church of Rome, that in those doubtful times it was not so troubled as the rest, and did hold the doctrine once delivered them faster than all the rest as we shall by and by better declare. For these three causes (I say) it was had in no small honour, and commended with many notable testimonies of the old writers.

The Fathers of the church confessing the church's unity never dreamed that the bishop of Rome's supremacy should be the bond to make it one.

17. But when our adversaries will thereupon gather that it hath a supremacy and sovereign power over other churches, they do too much amiss, as I have already said, and that the same may the better appear, I will first briefly shew what the old fathers thought of this unity which they enforce so earnestly. Jerom writing to Nepotianus, after that he had received many examples of unity, at the last descended to the hierarchy of the church. Each bishop of every several church, each archpriest, each archdeacon, and all the ecclesiastical order, do rest upon their own rulers. Here a Roman priest speaketh, he commendeth union in the ecclesiastical order, why doth he not rehearse that all churches are knit together with one head as with one bond? Nothing could have more fitly served the matter that he had in hand; and it cannot be said that it was through forgetfulness, that he ommitted it: for he would have done nothing more willingly if the matter had suffered

him. He ſaw therefore without doubt, that that is the true reaſon of unity which Cyprian excellently well deſcribeth in theſe words: (*De ſim prær.*) the biſhopric is one, whereof each hath a part wholly: and the church is one, which is with increaſe of fruitfulneſs more largely extended into a multitude. Like as there are many ſun beams and one light: and many branches of a tree, but one body grounded on a faſt holding root: and like as from one fountain flow many ſtreams, and though the multitude ſeem to be diverſly ſpread abroad with largeneſs of overflowing plenty, yet the unity is kept whole in the original: ſo the church alſo being overſpread with the light of the Lord, extendeth her beams abroad throughout the whole world, yet it is but one that is each where poured forth, and the unity of the body is not ſevered: ſhe ſpreadeth her branches over the whole world, ſhe ſendeth out her overflowing ſtreams: yet is there but one head and one beginning, &c. Afterward: the ſpouſe of Chriſt cannot be an adultereſs: ſhe knoweth one only houſe, ſhe keepeth the holineſs of one only chamber with chaſte ſhamefaſtneſs. You ſee how he maketh the univerſal biſhopric to be Chriſt's only, which comprehendeth the whole church under him: and ſaith that all they that execute the office of biſhop under this head, have their parts thereof wholly. Where is the ſupremacy of the ſee of Rome, if the whole biſhopric remain with Chriſt only, and each biſhop hath his part thereof wholly? Theſe things therefore make to this purpoſe, that the reader may underſtand by the way, that the old fathers were utterly ignorant of that principle, which the Romaniſts do take for confeſſed and undoubted, concerning the unity of an earthly head in the hierarchy of the church.

CHAP. VII.

Of the beginning and encreaſing of the Papacy of Rome, until it advanced it ſelf to this height, whereby both the liberty of the church hath been oppreſſed, and all the right government thereof overthrown.

Sundry ancient councils wherein the biſhop of Rome had not the chiefeſt place.

AS concerning the ancientneſs of the ſupremacy of the ſee of Rome, there is nothing had of more antiquity to ſtabliſh it, than the decree of the Nycene ſynod, wherein the biſhop of Rome both hath the firſt place among the patriarchs given unto him, and is commanded to look unto the churches adjoining to the city. When the council maketh ſuch diviſion between him and the other patriarchs, that it aſſigneth to every one their bounds: truly, it doth not appoint him the head of all, but maketh him one of the chief. There were preſent Vitus and Vincentius in the name of Julius, who then governed the church of Rome: to them was given the fourth place. I beſeech you, if Julius were acknowleged the head of the church, ſhould his legates be thruſt into the the fourth ſeat? Should Athanaſius be chief in the council, where principally the image of the hierarchial order ought to be ſeen? In the ſynod at Epheſus it appeareth, that Celeſtinus who was then biſhop of Rome, uſed a crooked ſubtil mean to provide for the dignity of his ſeat. For when he ſent his deputies thither, he committed his place to Cyrillus of Alexandria, which ſhould notwithſtanding otherwiſe have been the chief. To what purpoſe was that ſame committing, but that his name might by what means ſoever abide in the firſt place? For his legates ſat in a lower place, and were aſked their opinion among the reſt, and ſubſcribed in their order: in the mean time the patriarch of Alexandria joined Celeſtinus's name with his own. What ſhall I ſay of the ſecond council at Epheſus: where when Leo's legates were preſent, yet Dioſcorus patriarch of Alexandria ſat the chief as by his own right? They will take exception that it was no upright council, by which both the holy man Flavianus was condemned, and Eutyches acquitted, and his ungodlineſs allowed. But when the ſynod was gathered, when the biſhops took their places in order, verily the legates of the biſhop of Rome ſat there among the reſt none otherwiſe than in a holy and lawful council. Yet they ſtrived not for the firſt place, but yielded it to one another: which they would never have done, if they had thought it to be theirs of right. For the biſhops of Rome were never aſhamed to enter into the greateſt contentions for their honours: and for this only cauſe oftentimes to vex and trouble the church with many and hurtful ſtrifes. But becauſe Leo ſaw that it ſhould be a too unreaſonable requeſt, if he ſhould ſeek to get the chief place for his legates, therefore he ſurceaſed it.

2. Then

The chiefest place in the council of Chalcedon granted by the emperor, at request upon special occasion for that time to the bishop of Rome, which place in synods afterwards held other bishops hard as before.

2. Then followed the council of Chalcedon, in which by the grant of the emperor the legates of the church of Rome sat in the chief place. But Leo himself confesseth that this was an extraordinary privilege. For when he made petition for it to the emperor Marcianus, and Pulcheria the empress, he did not affirm that it was due to him, but only pretended, that the eastern bishops, which sat as chief in the council at Ephesus, troubled all things and abused their power. Whereas therefore it was needful to have a grave governor, and it was not likely that they should be meet for it, who had once been so light and disordered: therefore he prayed, that by reason of the default and unfitness of others, the office of governing might be removed to him. Truly that which is gotten by singular privilege and beside order, is not by common law. Where this only is pretended, that there needeth some new governor, because the former governors had behaved themselves ill, it is evident that it neither was so before, nor ought to continue so for ever, but is done only in respect of present danger. The bishop of Rome therefore had the first place in the council of Chalcedon; not because it was due to his see, but because the synod was at that time destitute of a grave and fit governor, while they that ought to have been the chief, did through their own intemperance and corrupt affection, thrust themselves out of place. And this that I say, Leo's successor did indeed prove. For when he sent his legates to the fifth synod at Constantinople, which was holden a long time after, he brawled not for the first seat, but easily suffered Menna the patriarch of Constantinople to sit as chief. So in the council of Carthage, at which Augustine was present, we see that not the legates of the see of Rome, but Aurelius archbishop of that place sat as chief: when yet the contention was about the authority of the bishop of Rome. Yea there was also a general council holden in Italy it self, at which the bishop of Rome was not present. Ambrose was chief there, who was in very great authority with the emperor, there was no mention made of the bishop of Rome. Therefore at that time it came to pass by the dignity of Ambrose, that the see of Millane was more noble than the see of Rome. (*The Council at Aquileia.*)

The title of supremacy not given to the bishop of Rome in the ancient times of the church.

3. As concerning the title of supremacy, and other titles of pride, whereupon it now marvellously boasteth it self, it is not hard to judge, when and in what sort they crept in, Cyprian oftentimes maketh mention of Cornelius. He setteth him out with no other name, but by the name of brother, or fellow bishop, or fellow in office. But when he writeth to Stephen the successor of Cornelius, he doth not only make him equal with himself and the rest, but also speaketh more hardly to him, charging him sometimes with arrogancy, sometimes with ignorance. Since Cyprian we have with all the church of Africa judged of that matter. The council at Carthage did forbid that any should be called prince of priests or chief bishop, but only bishop of the chief see. But if a man turn over the ancienter monuments, he shall find that the bishop of Rome at that time was content with the common name of brother. (*Cap.* 47.) Certainly so long as the face of the church continued true and pure, all these names of pride, wherewith since that time the see of Rome hath begun to wax outragious, were utterly unheard of: it was not known, who was the highest bishop and the only head of the church on earth. But if the bishop of Rome had been so bold as to have taken such a thing upon him, there were stout and wise men that would have by and by repressed his folly. Jerom forasmuch as he was a priest at Rome, was not unwilling to set out the dignity of his own church, so much as the matter and state of his time suffered: yet we see how he also bringeth it down into fellowship with the rest. If authority (saith he) be sought for, the world is greater than a city. Why dost thou allege to me the custom of one city? Why dost thou defend smallness of number, out of which hath grown pride, against the laws of the church? Wheresoever there is a bishop, either at Rome, or at Eugubium, or at Constantinople, or at Rhegium, he is of the same merit and of the same priesthood. The power of riches, or baseness of poverty maketh not a bishop higher or lower. (*Ep. ad Evag.*)

The bishop of Constantinople chal-

4. About the title of universal bishop the contention first began in the time of Gregory, which was

Usurping a supremacy, resisted by Gregory.

was occasioned by the ambition of John bishop of Constantinople. For he (which thing never any man before had attempted) would have made himself universal bishop. In that contention Gregory doth not allege that the right is taken away which was due to himself: but stoutly crieth out against it, that it is a profane name, yea full of sacrilege, yea the forewarner of Antichrist. The whole church (saith he) falleth down from her state, if he fall which is called universal, (*Lib.* 4. *ep.* 46.) In another place: It is very sorrowful, to suffer patiently, that our brother and fellow bishop, despising all others, should only be named bishop. But in this his pride what else is betokened but the times of Antichrist near at hand? because verily he followeth him, that despising the fellowship of angels, went about to climb up to the top of singularity, (*Mauri. Aug. lib.* 4. *epi* 78.) In another place he writeth to Eulolius of Alexandria and Anastasius of Antioch, (*Constantiæ Augustæ lib.* 4. *epi.* 80.) None of my predecessors at any time would use that profane word: for if one be called universal patriarch, the name of patriarchs is abated from all the rest. But far may this be from a Christian mind, that any should have a will to take that upon him, whereby he may in any part, be it never so little, diminish the honour of his brethren. To consent in this wicked word is nothing else but to lose the faith. It is one thing (saith he) that we owe to the preserving of the unity of faith, and another thing that we owe to the keeping down of pride. But I say it boldly, because whosoever calleth himself, or desireth to be called universal bishop, he doth in his proud advancing run before Antichrist, because he doth with shewing himself proud prefer himself above the rest, (*Lib.* 4. *epi.* 78. *Auiano Diacono.*) Again to Anastius bishop of Alexandria: I have said that he cannot have peace with us, unless he amend the advancing of the superstitious and proud word, which the first apostate hath invented. And (to speak nothing of the wrong done to your honour) if one be called universal bishop, the universal church falleth when that universal one falleth, (*Lib.* 7. *ep.* 83. *Mauri. Aug. lib.* 6. *ep.* 188.) But whereas he writeth, that this honour was offered to Leo in the synod at Chalcedon, it hath no colour of truth. For neither is there any such thing read in the acts of that synod. And Leo himself, who with many epistles impugneth the decree there made in honour of the see of Constantinople, without doubt would not have passed over this argument, which had been most to be liked of all other, if it had been true, that he refused that which was given him: and being a man otherwise too much desirous of honour, he would not have omitted that which made for his praise. Therefore Gregory was deceived in this, that he thought that that title was offered to the see of Rome by the synod of Chalcedon: to speak nothing how foolish it is, that he both testifieth it to have proceeded from the holy synod, and also at the same time called it wicked profane, abominable, proud, and full of sacrilege, yea, devised by the devil, and published by the cryer of Antichrist. And yet he addeth that his predecessor refused it, least all priests should be deprived of their due honour, when any thing were privately given to one, (*Lib.* 4. *epist.* 79.) In another place: no man at any time hath willed to be called by that word, (*Lib.* 7. *epist.* 79.) No man hath taken to himself that presumptuous name: lest if he should in the degree of bishopric take to himself a glory of singularity, he should seem to have denied the same to all his bretheren.

The ground whereupon the sovereignity of the bishop of Rome did first take root was his intermedling in those causes, and his readiness to aid those persons, which being bad were ready any where to seek maintainance.

5. Now I come to the jurisdiction, which the bishop of Rome affirmeth that he hath over all churches. I know how great contentions have been in old time about this matter: for there hath been no time wherein the see of Rome hath not coveted to get an empire over other churches. And in this place it shall not be out of season, to search by what mans it grew then by little and little to some power. I do not yet speak of that infinite empire, which it hath not so long ago taken by force to itself: for we will defer that to a place convenient. But here it is good to shew briefly, how in old time and by what means it hath advanced itself, to take to itself any power over other churches. When the churches of the East were divided, and troubled with the factions of the Arians under the emperors Constantius, and Constans, the sons of Constantine the Great, and Athanasius the chief defender there of the true faith was driven out of his see: such calamity compelled him to come to Rome, that with the authority of the see of Rome, he might both after a sort repress the rage of his enemies, and confirm the godly that were in distress. He was honourably received of Julius then bishop, and obtained that the bishops of

of the West took upon them the defence of his cause. Therefore when the godly stood in great need of foreign aid, and saw that there was very good succour for them in the church of Rome, they willingly gave unto it the most authority that they could. But all that was nothing else, but that the communion thereof should be highly esteemed, and it should be counted a great shame to be excommunicate of it. Afterward evil and wicked men also added much unto it. For, to escape lawful judgments, they fled to this sanctuary. Therefore if any priest were condemned by his bishop, or any bishop by the synod of his province, they by and by appealed to Rome. And the bishops of Rome received such appellations more greedily than was meet: because it seemed to be a farm of extraordinary power, so to intermeddle with matters far and wide about them. So when Eutyches was condemned by Flavianus bishop of Constantinople, he complained to Leo, that he had wrong don to him, Leo without delay, no less undiscreetly than suddenly, took in hand the defence of an evil cause, he grievously inveighed against Flavianus, as though he had, without hearing the cause, condemned an innocent: and by this his ambition he caused that the ungodliness of Eutyches was for a certain space of time strengthened. In Africa it is evident that this oftentimes happened. For so soon as any lewd man had taken a foyl in ordinary judgment, he by and by flew to Rome, and charged his country men with many slanderous reports: and the see of Rome was always ready to intermeddle. Which arrogance compelled the bishops of Africa to make a law, that none under pain of excommunication should appeal beyond the sea.

In consecrating of bishops, the power of the bishop of Rome no other but the same which in other places others had.

6. But whatsoever it was, let us see what authority or power the see of Rome then had. Ecclesiastical power is contained in these four points, ordering of bishops, summoning of councils, hearing of appeals or jurisdiction, chastising, admonitions, or censures. All the old synods command bishops to be consecrate by their own metropolitans: and they never bid the bishop of Rome to be called unto it, but in his own patriarchy. But by little and little it grew in use, that all the bishops of Italy came to Rome to fetch their consecration, except the metropolitans, who suffered not themselves to be brought into such bondage: but when any metropolitan was to be consecrate, the bishop of Rome sent thither one of his priests, which should only be present, but not president. Of which thing there is an example in Gregory: at the consecration of Constantius bishop of Millane after the death of Laurence. Howbeit I do not think that that was a very ancient institution: but when at the beginning for honour and good will's sake they sent one to another their legates, to be witness of the consecration, and to testify their communion with them, afterward that which was voluntary, began to be holden for necessary. Howsoever it be, it is evident that in old time the bishop of Rome had not the power of consecrating, but in the province of his own patriarchy, that is to say, in the churches adjoining to the city, as the canon of the Nicene synod saith. To the consecration was annexed the sending of a synodical epistle, in which he was nothing above the rest. For the patriarchs were wont immediately after their consecration, by solemn writing to declare their faith, whereby they professed that they subscribed to the holy and catholic councils. So rendring an account of their faith, they did approve themselves one to another. If the bishop of Rome had received of others, and not himself given this confession, he had thereby been acknowleged superior, but when he was no less bound to give it, than to require it of others, and to be subject to the common law: truly that was a token of fellowship, not of dominion. Of this thing there is an example in Gregory's epistle to Anastasius and to Cyriacus of Constantinople, and in other places to all the patriarchs together, (*Lib. 1. epist.* 25. *lib.* 6. *epist.* 169. *lib.* 1. *epist.* 24.

The bishop of Rome as well censured by others, as others by him.

7. Then follow admonitions or censures: which as in old time the bishops of Rome used toward others, so they did again suffer them of others. Irenæus grievously reproved Victor, because he undiscreetly for a thing of no value, troubled the church with a pernitious dissention. Victor obeyed, and spurned not against it. Such a liberty was then in use among the holy bishops, that they used a brotherly authority toward the bishop of Rome, in admonishing and chastising him if he at any time offended. He again when occasion required did admonish others of their duty: and if there were any fault, rebuked it. For Cyprian when he exhorteth Stephen to admonish the bishops of France, fetcheth not his argument from the greater power, but from the common

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mon right that priests have among themselves, (*Epist.* 13. *lib.* 3.) I beseech you if Stephen had then been ruler over France, would not Cyprian have said: Restrain them, because they are thine? but he saith far otherwise. This (saith he) the brotherly fellowship, wherewith we are bound one to another, requireth that we should admonish one another. And we see also with how great sharpness of words, he being otherwise a man of a mild nature enveigheth against Stephen himself, when he thinketh him to be too insolent, (*Ad pomp. Contr. Epist. Stephani*) Therefore in this behalf also there appeareth not yet, that the bishop of Rome had any jurisdiction over them that were not of his own province.

General councils summoned only by the emperor: provincial as well by other bishops in their territories as by the bishop of Rome.

8. As concerning the calling together of synods, this was the office of every metropolitan, at certain appointed times to assemble a provincial synod. There the bishop of Rome had no authority. But a general council the emperor only might summon. For if any of the bishops had attempted it, not only they that were out of his province, would not have obeyed his calling, but also there would by and by have risen an uproar. Therefore the emperor indifferently warned them all to be present. Socrates indeed reporteth, that Julius did expostulate with the bishops of the East, because they called him not to the synod of Antioch, whereas it was forbidden by the canons, that any thing should be decreed without the knowlege of the bishop of Rome. But who doth not see that this is to be understood of such decrees as bind the whole universal church? Now it is no wonder, if this much be granted both to the antiquity and honour of the city, and to the dignity of the see, that there should be no general decree made of religion, in the absence of the bishop of Rome, if he refuse not to be present. But what is this to the dominion over the whole church? For we deny not that he was one of the chief: but we will not grant, that which the Romanists now affirm, that he had a dominion over all.

The bishop of Rome misliked and withstood for overreaching his bounds and receiving appeals which should not by order have been brought unto him.

9. Now remaineth the fourth kind of power, which standeth in appeals. It is evident that he hath the chief power, to whose judgment last appellation is made. Many oftentimes appealed to the bishop of Rome, and he himself also went about to draw the hearing of causes to himself: but he was always laughed to scorn, when he passed his own bounds. I will speak nothing of the East and of Grecia: but it is certain that the bishops of France stoutly withstood him, when he seemed to take to himself an empire over them. In Africa there was long debate about that matter. For where at the Millevitan council, at which Augustine was present, they were excommunicate that appealed beyond the sea, the bishop of Rome laboured to bring to pass, that that decree might be amended. He sent the legates to shew that that privilege was given to him by the Nicene council. The legates brought forth the acts of the Nicene council, which they had fetched out of the storehouse of their own church. The Africans withstood it, and denied that the bishops of Rome ought to be credited in their own cause: and said that thereof they would send to Constantinople, and into other cities of Greece where copies were to be had that were less suspicious. It was found, that therein was no such thing written, as the Romans had pretended. So was that decree confirmed, which took the chief hearing of causes from the bishop of Rome: in which doing the lewd shamelessness of the bishop of Rome appeared. For when he guilefully did thrust in the synod at Sardos instead of the Nicene synod, he was shamefully taken in a manifest falshood. But yet greater and more shameless was their wickedness, that added a forged epistle to the council, wherein I wot not what bishop of Carthage, condemning the arrogance of Aurelius his predecessor, for that he was so bold as to withdraw himself from the obedience of the see apostolic, and yielding himself and his church, humbly craveth pardon. These are the godly monuments of antiquity, whereupon the majesty of the see of Rome is founded, while they so childishly lie, under the pretence of antiquity that even a blind man may find it out by gropping. Aurelius (saith he) puffed up with devilish boldness and stubbornness, rebelled against Christ, and St. Peter, and therefore to be condemned with curse. What said Austine? But what said so many fathers that were present at the Millevitan council? But what need is it to spend many words in confuting that foolish writing, which the Romanists themselves, if they have any face left, cannot look upon without great shame? So Gratian, (2 *quest. c.* 4.) I cannot tell whether of malice or of ignorance, where he rehearsed that de-

decree that they should be excommunicate, who appeal beyond the sea, adding no exception: unless peradventure they appeal to the see of Rome. What may a man do to those heads, which are so void of common reason, that they except that only thing out of the law, for whose cause every man seeth that the law was made? For the council when it condemneth appeals beyond the sea, forbiddeth only this, that none should appeal to Rome. Here the good expositor excepteth Rome out of the common law.

The bishop of Rome appointed and others joined with him by Constantine to hear an appeal made by a bishop of Carthage: and in the same cause the bishop of Orleance appointed by the same emperor to hear an appeal made from the bishop of Rome.

10. But (to determine this question at once) one history shall make plain what manner of jurisdiction the bishop of Rome had in old time. Donate of the black-houses had Cecilian bishop of Carthage. The man accused was condemned, his cause not heard. For when he knew that the bishops had conspired against him, he would not appear. Then the matter came to the emperor Constantine. He forasmuch as he willed to have the matter ended by ecclesiastical judgment, committed the hearing of it to Melciades bishop of Rome. To whom he adjoined fellow commissioners, many bishops of Italy, France and Spain. If that belonged to the ordinary jurisdiction of the see of Rome, to hear an appeal in an ecclesiastical cause: why doth he suffer others to be joined with him at the will of the emperor? Yea, why did he himself take the judgment upon him rather by the emperor's commandment, than by his own office? But let us hear what happened afterward. There Cecilian got the victory. Donate of the black houses was condemned for slander: he appealed: Constantine commited the judgment of the appeal to the bishop of Orleance. He sat as judge, to pronounce what he thought, after the bishop of Rome. If the see of Rome hath the chief power without appellation: why doth Melciades suffer himself to receive so great a shame, that the bishop of Orleance should be preferred above him? And what emperor doth this? even Constantine of whom they boast that he employed not only all his endevour, but in a manner all the riches of the empire to increase the dignity of their see. We see therefore now, how far the bishop of Rome was at that time by all means from the supreme dominion, which he affirmeth to be given unto him by Christ over all the churches, and which he lyingly saith that he hath in all ages possessed by the consent of the whole world.

11. I [illegible] how many falsifies [illegible] have forged [illegible] decrees, wherein the bishops do [illegible] give much, and boldly challenge *Regni supremi* much unto it. But this also all [illegible] men that have very little wit and [illegible] learning do know, that the most [illegible] part of those are so unsavoury, [illegible] that by the first taste of them a man may soon find out of what shop they came. For what man, *challengeth*, of sound wit and sober, will think that that goodly interpretation is Anacletus his own, which is in Gratian reported under the name of Anacletus: that is, that Cephas is a head? (*Dist.* 11. *cap. Sacrosancta*). The Romanists do at this day abuse for defence of their see, many such trifles, which Gratian hath patched together without judgment: and yet still in so great light they will sell such smokes, wherewith in old time they were wont to mock out the ignorant in darkness. But I will not bestow much labour in confuting those things, which do openly confute themselves by reason of their unsavoury folly. I grant that there remain also true epistles of the old bishops, wherein they set forth the honour of their see with glorious titles, of which sort are some epistles of Leo, (*Vide ep.* 8. 5. *Epist.* 8. 3.) For that man, as he was learned and eloquent, so was he also above measure desirous of glory and dominion: but whether the churches then believed his testimony, when he so advanced himself, that indeed is it that is in controversy. But it appeareth that many offended with his ambition, did also withstand his greedy desire. Sometimes he appointed in his stead the bishop of Thessalonica throughout Grecia and other countries adjoining, sometime the appointed the bishop of Orleance, or some other throughout France. So he appointed Hormisdas bishop of Hispalis to be his vicar in Spain: but every where he excepteth, that he giveth out such appointments upon this condition, that the metropolitans may have there ancient privileges remaining safe and whole. But Leo himself declareth, that this is one of their privileges, that if any doubt happen about any matter, the metropolitan should first be asked his advice, (*Epist.* 88.) Therefore those appointments of vicars in his stead were upon this condition, that neither any bishop should be letted in his ordinary jurisdiction, nor any metropolitan in being judge of appeals, nor any provin-

cial in ordering of their churches. What was this else but to abstain from all jurisdiction: but to intermeddle to the appeasing of discords, only so far as the law and nature of the communion of the church suffereth?

The calamity of other places in Gregory's time exalted the dignity of the church of Rome, but without overthrowing the ordinary jurisdiction which others had.

12. In Gregory's time that ancient order was already much changed. For when the empire was shaken, and torn in pieces, when France and Spain were afflicted with many overthrows received, Salvonia wasted, Italy vexed, and Affrica in a manner destroyed with continual calamities, that in so great a shaking of civil affairs, at least the integrity of faith might remain, or yet not utterly perish, all the bishops from each part did the rather join themselves to the bishops of Rome. Thereby it came to pass, that not only the dignity, but also the power of that see greatly increased. Howbeit I do not so much pass by what means it was brought about. Truly it appeareth that it was then greater than in the ages before. And yet it then greatly differed from being an unbridled dominion, that one man might bear rule over others after his own will. But the see of Rome had this reverence, that it might with her authority subdue and repress, the lewd and obstinate that could not by the other bishops be kept within their duty. For Gregory doth oftentimes diligently testify this, that he doth no less faithfully preserve to other men their rights, than he requireth his own of them, *Lib.* 1. *epist.* 68. Neither do I (saith he) pricked on by ambition, pluck from any man that which is his right: but I desire in all things to honour my brethren. There is no saying in his writings wherein he doth more proudly boast of the largeness of his supremacy, than this: I know not what bishop is not subject to the see apostolic when he is found in fault, *Lib.* 2. *epist ult.* But he by and by adjoineth. Where fault requireth, not all according to the order of humility are equal, *Lib.* 7. *epist.* 64. He giveth to himself power to correct them that have offended: if all do their duty, he maketh himself equal with the rest. But he giveth himself this power: and they assented to it that: and others that liked it not, might freely gainsay it, which is well known that the most part of them did. Besides that he speaketh there of the primate of Constantinople: which when he was condemned by the principal synod, refused the whole judgment. His fellow bishops informed the emperor of this stubbornes of him. The emperor willed Gregory to be judge of the cause. We see therefore that he both attempteth nothing, whereby he may break the ordinary jurisdiction, and the same thing that he doth for the helping of others, he doth not but by the commandment of the emperor.

Gregory how far unlike the Roman bishops at this day.

13. This therefore was then all the power of the bishop of Rome, to set himself against obstinate and untamed heads, when there needed any extraordinary remedy: and that to help and not to hinder other bishops. Therefore he taketh no more to himself over all others, than in another place he granteth to all others over himself, when he confesseth that he is ready to be corrected of all, to be amended of all. So in another place he doth in deed command the bishop of *Aquileia* to come to Rome, to plead his cause in a controversy of faith that was risen between him and others: (*Lib.* 2. *Epi.* 37. *Epist.* 16.) but he doth not command him of his own power, but because the emperor had so commanded. Neither doth he give warning that he alone shall be judge, but promised that he will assemble a synod by whom the whole matter may be judged. But although there was yet such moderation that the power of the see of Rome had her certain bounds, which it might not pass, and the bishop of Rome himself was no more above than under others: yet it appeareth how much Gregory misliked such state. For he now and then complaineth, that under colour of bishopric he was brought back to the world: and that he was more entangled with earthly cares, than ever he had been while he was a lay man: that he was in that honour oppressed with tumult of worldly affairs. (*Lib.* 1. *Epist.* 5.) In another place: so great burdens (saith he) of business do hold me down, that my mind can nothing at all be raised up to things above. I am shaken with many waves of causes: and after those leasures of rest I am tossed with tempests of troublesome life, so that I may rightly say, I am come into the depth of the sea, and the tempest hath drowned me. (*Lib.* 1. *Epist.* 7. *and* 15.) Hereby gather, what he would have said, if he had happened to be in these times. Although he fulfilled not the office of a pastor, yet he was doing it. He abstained from the government of the civil empire, and confessed himself to be subject to the emperor as others were. He did not thrust himself into the

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cure of other churches, but being compelled by neceſſity. And yet he thinketh himſelf to be in a maze, becauſe he cannot apply himſelf altogether only to the office of a biſhop.

The church of Rome riſen by the empire of Rome.

14. At that time the biſhop of Conſtantinople ſtrived with the biſhop of Rome for the ſupremacy, as it is already ſaid. For after that the ſeat of the empire was ſtabliſhed at Conſtantinople, the majeſty of the empire ſeemed to require that that church alſo ſhould have the ſecond place of honour after the church of Rome. And truly at the beginning, nothing more availed to cauſe the ſupremacy to be given to Rome, but becauſe the head of the empire was there at that time. There is in Gratian a writing under the name of Pope Lucinus, where he ſaith, that cities were no otherwiſe divided, where Metropolitans and Primates ought to ſit, than by reaſon of the civil government that was before. There is alſo another under the name of Pope Clement, where he ſaith, the patriarchs were ordained in thoſe cities that had had the flamins in them. Which, although it be falſe, yet it is taken out of a truth. For it is certain, that to the end there ſhould be made as little change as might be, the provinces were divided according to the ſtate of things that then were: and that primates and metropolitans were ſet in thoſe cities that excelled the other in honours and power. Therefore in the council at Taurinum it was decreed, that thoſe cities which in the civil government were the chief cities of every province, ſhould be the chief ſees of biſhops. And if the honour of the civil government happened to be removed from one city to another, that then the right of the metropolitan city ſhould therewithal be removed thither. But Innocentius biſhop of Rome, when he ſaw the ancient dignity of his city to grow in decay, after that the ſeat of the empire was removed to Conſtantinople, fearing the abaſement of his ſee, made a contrary law: wherein he denieth it to be be neceſſary that the eccleſiaſtical mother cities ſhould be changed as the imperial mother cities change. But the authority of a ſynod ought of right to be preferred above one man's ſentence. Alſo we ought to ſuſpect Innocentius himſelf in his own cauſe. Howſoever it be, yet by his own *proviſo* he ſheweth, that from the beginning it was ſo ordered, that the Metropolitan cities ſhould be diſpoſed according to the outward order of the empire.

The biſhop of Rome ſtomaching that the biſhop of Conſtantinople ſhould come ſo near as to be, made by a council next him in authority, and honour.

15. According to this ancient ordinance, it was decreed in the firſt council at Conſtantinople, that the biſhop of the city ſhould have the privileges of honour next after the biſhop of Rome, becauſe it was a new Rome. But a long time after, when a like decree was made at Chalcedon, Leo ſtoutly cried out againſt it. And he not only gave himſelf leave to eſteem as nothing that which ſix hundred biſhops or more had decreed: but alſo bitterly taunted them, for that they took from other ſees that honour which they were ſo bold to give to the church of Conſtantinople. I beſeech you, what other thing could move a man to trouble the world for ſo ſmall a matter, but mere ambition? He ſaith that, that ought to be inviolable, which the Nicene ſynod hath once decreed. (*Socrat. hiſt. trip. lib.* 9. *c.* 13. *Decret.* 22. *diſt.*) As though forſooth the chriſtian faith were endangered, if one church be preferred before another: or as though patriarchies were there divided to any other end, but for policies. But we know that policy receiveth, yea requireth, divers changes, according to the diverſity of times. Therefore it is fooliſh that Leo pretendeth, that the honour, which by the authority of the Nicene ſynod has given to the ſee of Alexandria, ought not to be given to the ſee of Conſtantinople. For common reaſon telleth this, that it was ſuch a decree, as might be taken away according to the reſpect of times. Yea none of the biſhops of the eaſt withſtood it, whom that thing moſt of all concerned. Truly Proterius was preſent, whom they had made biſhop of Alexandria in the place of Dioſcorus. There were preſent other patriarchs, whoſe honour was diminiſhed. It was their part to withſtand it, not Leos which remained ſafe in his own place. But when all they hold their peace, yea aſſent unto it, and only the biſhop of Rome reſiſteth: it is eaſy to judge, what moveth him: that is, he foreſaw that which not long after happened, that it would come to paſs, that, the glory of old Rome decaying, Conſtantinople not contented with the ſecond place, would ſtrive with Rome for the ſupremacy. And yet with his crying out he did not ſo much prevail, but that the decree of the council was confirmed. Therefore his ſucceſſors, when they ſaw themſelves overcome, quietly gave over that ſtiffneſs: for they ſuffered that he ſhould be accounted the ſecond patriarch.

16. But within a little after, John which

The pride of the bishop of Constantinople, seeking to equal his bishopric with the bounds of the empire, constantly resisted by Gregory.

in Gregory's time ruled the church of Constantinople, brake forth so far that he called himself the universal patriarch. Here Gregory, least he should in a very good cause fail to defend his own see, did constantly set himself against him. And truly both the pride, and madness of John was intollerable, which desired to make the bounds of his bishopric equal with the bounds of the empire. And yet Gregory doth not claim to himself, that which he denieth to another: but abhorreth that name as wicked, and ungodly, and abominable, whosoever take it upon him. Yea and also in one place he is angry with Eulolius bishop of Alexandria, who had honoured him with such a title. Behold (saith he) in the preface of the epistle which ye directed to myself that have forbidden it, ye have cared to imprint the word of proud calling, in naming me universal pope, which I pray that your holiness will no more do, because that is withdrawn from you, which is given to another more than reason requireth. I count it no honour, wherein I see the honour of my brethren to be diminished. For my honour is the honour of the universal church, and the sound strength of my brethren. But if your holiness call me the universal pope, it denieth it self to be that which it confesseth me to be wholly. (*Lib. 7. epi.* 30.) Truly Gregory stood in a good and honest cause. But John holpen by the favour of Maurice the emperor, could never be removed from his purpose. Cyriacus also his successor never suffered himself to be intreated in that behalf.

The headship of the church granted by Phocas to the bishop of Rome, and the churches of France by Pipine made subject to his authority.

17. At the last Phocas, who when Maurice was slain, was set in his place (I wot not for what cause being more friendly to the Romans, but because he was there crowned without strife) granted to Boniface the third, that which Gregory never required, that Rome should be the head of all churches. After

is manner was the controversy ended. And yet

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sia were within a little after cut off from the com-

munion of Rome. France so much reverenced

im, that it obeyed no further than it listed. But it was then first brought into bondage when Pipine usurped the kingdom. For when Zachary bishop of Rome had been his helper to the breach of his faith, and to robbery, that thrusting out the lawful king, he might violently enter upon the kingdom as laid open for a prey: he received this reward that the see of Rome should have jurisdiction over the churches of France: as robbers are wonted in parting to divide the common spoil: so these good men ordered the matter between themselves, that Pipine should have the earthly and civil dominion, spoiling the true king: and Zachary should be made head of all bishops and have the spiritual power: which, when at the beginning it was weak: (as it is wont to be in new things) was afterward confirmed by the authority of Charles, in manner for a like cause. For he was also indebted to the bishop of Rome, for that by his endeavour he had attained to the honour of the empire But although it be credible, that churches each where were before that time much deformed, yet it is certain that the old form of the church was then first utterly defaced in France and Germany. There remain yet in the records of the court of Paris, brief notes of these times, which, where they treat of the matters of the church, make mention of the covenant both of Pipine and of Charles with the bishop of Rome. Thereby we may gather that then there was an alteration made of the old state.

The state of the church of Rome in Bernard's time.

18. Since that time, when things did each where daily fall from worse to worse, the tyranny of the see of Rome was now and then also stablished and increased, and that partly by the ignorance, and partly by the slothfulness of the bishops. For when one man took all things upon him, and without measure proceeded more and more to advance himself against law and right: the bishops did not with such zeal as they ought, endeavour themselves to restrain his lust, and though they wanted not courage, yet they were destitute of true learning, and knowlege: so that they were no way fit to attempt so great a matter. Therefore we see what and how monstrous an unholy defiling of all holy things, and a scattering abroad of the whole order of the church, was in Bernard's time. (*Li. 1. de consi. ad Evag.*) He complaineth that there resort by heaps to Rome out of all the world, ambitious men, covetous, Simonians, robbers of God, keepers of concubines, committers of

incest

inceſt, and all ſuch monſters, to obtain, or retain eccleſiaſtical honours by the apoſtolic authority: and that fraud and undermining, and violence were grown in force. He ſaith that that manner of judging which then was uſed, was abominable, and unſeemly, not only for the church, but alſo for a judicial court. He crieth out that the church is full of ambitious men: and that there is that more dreadeth to commit miſchievous acts, than robbers do in their cave, when they divide the ſpoils of wayfaring men. Few (ſaith he) do look unto the mouth of the lawgiver, but unto his hands. But not without cauſe. For thoſe hands do all the pope's buſineſs. What a thing is this, that they are bought of the ſpoils of churches, that ſay to thee, oh well done, well done! The life of the poor is ſown in the ſtreets of the rich: ſilver gliſtereth in the mire: men run to it from all places: not the poor, but the ſtranger taketh it up, or he peradventure that runneth faſteſt before. But this manner, or rather this death, came not of thee, I would to God it might end in the. Among theſe things thou a paſtor goeſt forward, compaſſed with much and precious array. If I durſt ſay it, theſe are rather the paſtors of devils, than of ſheep. Forſooth Peter did thus, Paul played thus. Thy court is more accuſtomed to receive men good, than to make men good. For the ill do not there profit, but the good do decay. Now as for the abuſes of appeals that he rehearſeth, no godly man can read them without great horror. At the laſt he thus concludeth of that unbridled greedineſs of the ſee of Rome, in the uſurping of juriſdiction: I ſpeak the murmur and common complaint of the churches. They cry out that they be mangled and diſmembered. There are either none or few, that do not either bewail, or fear this plague. Aſkeſt thou what plague? The abbots are plucked from the biſhops, the biſhops from the archbiſhops, &c. It is marvellous if this may be excuſed. In ſo doing, ye prove that you have fullneſs of power, but not of righteouſneſs. Yee do this becauſe ye can do it: but whether ye alſo ought to do it, is a queſtion. Ye are ſet to preſerve, not to envy to every man his honour and his own degree. Theſe few things of many I liſted to rehearſe, partly that the readers may ſee, how ſore the church was then decayed, and partly that they may know in how great ſorrow and mourning this calamity held all the godly.

The uſurped power eccleſiaſtical which the biſhop of Rome holdeth and doth exerciſe at this day.

19. But now, altho' that we grant to the biſhop of Rome at this day the preeminence and largeneſs of juriſdiction, which that ſee had in the mean times, as in the times of Leo and of Gregory: what is that to the preſent ſtate of the papacy? I do not yet ſpeak of the earthly dominion, nor of the civil power thereof, which we will afterward conſider in place fit for it: but the very ſpiritual government that they boaſt of, what hath it like to the ſtate of thoſe times? For they define the pope none otherwiſe than the ſupreme head of the church in earth, and the univerſal biſhop of the whole world. And the biſhops themſelves, when they ſpeak of their own authority, do with great ſtoutneſs of countenance, pronounce that to them belongeth the power to command, and others are bound to the neceſſity to obey, that ſo all their decrees are to be holden as confirmed with the divine voice of Peter, that the provincial ſynods are without force, becauſe they want the preſence of the Pope: that they may order clerks of any church that they will: and may call them to their ſee that have been ordered elſewhere. Innumerable of that ſort are in Gratian's pack, which I do not now rehearſe, leaſt I ſhould be too tedious to the readers. But this is the ſum of them, that only the biſhop of Rome hath the ſupreme hearing and determining of all eccleſiaſtical cauſes, whether it be in judging and defining of doctrines, or in making of laws, or in eſtabliſhing of diſcipline, or executing of judgments: it were alſo long and ſuperfluous to rehearſe the privileges that they take to themſelves in reſervations, as they call them. But (which is moſt intollerable of all other) they leave no judgment in earth to reſtrain and bridle their outragious luſt, if they abuſe ſo immeaſurable power. It is lawful for no man (ſay they) to revoke the judgment of that ſee, becauſe of the ſupremacy of the church of Rome. Again, the judge ſhall be judged neither by the emperor, nor by kings, nor by all the clergy, nor of the people. That is indeed too imperiouſly done that one man maketh himſelf judge of all men, and ſuffereth himſelf to obey the judgment of no man. But what if he uſe tyranny over the people of God? if he ſcatter abroad and waſte the kingdom of Chriſt? if he trouble the whole church? if he turn the office of paſtor into robbery? Yea though he be never ſo miſchievous, he ſaith, that he is not bound to yield account. For theſe be the ſayings of the biſhops: God's will was to determine the cauſes of other men by men, but he hath without queſtion reſerved the biſhop

of this see to his own judgment. Again, The doings of subjects are judged of us, but ours of God only.

The forgeries used in the papacy to make the world believe that they claim at this day no more than they have had in ancient times.

20. And that such decrees might have the more weight, they have falsely thrust in the names of the old bishops, as though things had been so ordained from the beginning: whereas it is most certain, that it is new and lately forged whatsoever the bishop of Rome giveth to himself more than we have rehearsed to be given him by the ancient councils. Yea, they are come to so great shamelessness, that they have set forth a writing under the name of Anastasius patriarch of Constantinople, wherein he testifieth that it was decreed by the old rulers, that nothing should be done even in the furthest provinces, that were not first moved to the see of Rome. Beside this, that it is certain that is most vain, what man shall think it likely, that such a commendation of the see of Rome proceeded from the adversary and envyer of honour and dignity thereof? But verily it behoved that these antichrists should be carried on to so great madness and blindness, that their lewdness might be plain for all men to see, at least so many as will open their eyes. But the decretal epistles heaped together by Gregory the ninth, again the Clementines, and extravagants of Martine, do yet more openly and with fuller mouth each where breath forth their outragious fierceness, and as it were the tyranny of barbarous kings. But these are the oracles, by which the Romanists will have their papacy to be weighed. Hereupon arose those notable principles, which at this day have every where in the papacy the force of oracles; that the Pope cannot err: that the Pope is above the councils: that the Pope is the universal bishop of all bishops, and the supreme head of the church on earth: I pass over the much absurder follies, which the fooolish canonists babble in their schools, to which yet the Romish divines do not only assent, but do also clap their hands at them, to flatter their idol.

The Pope's usurpation not only against the judgment of all antiquity, against the mind of Gregory,

21. I will not deal with them by extremity of right. Some other man would against this their so great insolency set the saying of Cyprian, which he used among the bishops, at whose council he sat as chief, None of us calleth himself bishop of bishops, or with tyrannous fear compelleth his fellow bishops of necessity to obey. He would object that, which a little after was decreed at Carthage. That none should be called prince, priest, or chief bishop. He would gather many testimonies out of histories, canons out of synods, and many sentences out of the books of old writers, by which the bishop of Rome should be brought down into the fellowship of the rest. But I pass over all these, least I should seem too precisely to press them. But lest the best patrons of the see of Rome answer me, with what face they dare defend the title of universal bishop, which they see so oft to be condemned with curse by Gregory. If Gregory's testimony ought to be of force, they do thereby declare that antichrist is their bishop, because they make him universal. The name also of head was no more usual. For thus he saith in one place: (*Lib.* 4. *Ep.* 92.) Peter is the chief member in the body, John, Andrew, and James the heads of particular peoples: yet they all are members of the church under one head: yea the saints before the law, the saints under the law, and the saints under grace, are set among members, altogether making up the body of the Lord: and no man ever willed to have himself called universal. But whereas the bishop of Rome taketh upon himself the power of commanding, that thing finally agreeth with that which Gregory saith in another place. (*Lib.* 7. *Epi.* 28.) For whereas Eulolius bishop of Alexandria, had said that he was commanded by him, he answered in this wise, I pray you, take away this word of commanding from my hearing. For I know what I am, and what you be. In place, you be to me brethren, in manners ye be to me fathers. Therefore I commanded not, but I cared to tell you those things that I thought profitable. Whereas he so extendeth his jurisdiction without end, he doth therein great and hainous wrong, not only to the other bishops, but also to all particular churches, which he so teareth and plucketh in pieces, that he may build his seat of their ruins. But whereas he exempteth himself from all judgments, and will so reign after the manner of tyrants, that he accounteth his own lust only for law, that verily is so hainous, and so far from ecclesiastical order, that it may in no wise be born: for it utterly abhorreth not only from all feeling of godliness, but also from all humanity.

but even repugnant to all humanity.

22. But

The ſtate of Rome an hundred times more corrupt now than in the days of Gregory or Bernard.

22. But that I be not compelled to go through and examine all things particularly, I do again appeal to them, that will at this day be accounted the beſt and moſt faithful patrons of the ſee of Rome, whether they are not aſhamed to defend the preſent ſtate of the papacy: which it is certain to be a hundred times more corrupt, than it was in the time of Gregory and Bernard: which ſtate yet did then ſo much diſpleaſe thoſe holy men. Gregory each where complaineth, that he is too much diverſly drawn away with foreign buſineſs: that he is under the colour of biſhopric brought back to the world: wherein he ſerveth ſo many cares of the world as he never remembered that he ſerved when he was a lay man: that he is preſſed down with tumult of worldly affairs, that his mind is nothing raiſed up to things above, that he is ſhaken with many waves of cauſes, and toſſed with tempeſts of troubleſome life: ſo that he may worthily ſay, I am come into the depth of the ſea. (*Lib.* 1. *epi.* 5. 7. *and* 25. *and alibi*) Truly among thoſe earthly buſineſſes, he might yet teach the people with ſermons, privately admoniſh and correct ſuch as it behoved, order the church, give counſel to his fellow biſhops and exhort them to their duty: beſide theſe things there remained ſome time to write: and yet he lamenteth his calamity, that he is drowned in the deepeſt ſea. If the government of that time was a ſee: what is to be ſaid of the papacy at this time? For what likeneſs have they together? Here are no preachings, no care of diſcipline, no zeal to the churches, no ſpiritual doing, finally nothing but the world. Yet this maze is praiſed, as though there could nothing be found more orderly and better framed. But what complaints doth Bernard pour out, what groans doth he utter, when he looketh upon the faults of his age: What then would he do if he beheld this our age of iron, and worſe if any be worſe than iron? What obſtinate wickedneſs is this, not only ſtiffly to defend as holy and divine, that which all the holy men have with one mouth condemned: but alſo to abuſe their teſtimony to the defence of the papacy, which it is certain that they never knew of? Howbeit of Bernard's time I confeſs, that then the corruption of all things was ſo great, that it was not much unlike our time. But they are without all ſhame, that fetch any pretence for it, out of that mean age, that is the time of Leo, Gregory, and ſuch other. For they do like as if one, to eſtabliſh the monarchy of emperors, would praiſe the old ſtate of the empire of Rome: that is, would borrow the praiſes of liberty, to ſet forth the honour of tyranny.

The biſhop of Rome no biſhop.

23. Finally, although all theſe things were granted them: yet their ariſeth of freſh a new ſtrife for them, when we deny that there is a church at Rome, in which ſuch benefits may be reſident: when we deny that there is a biſhop, which may bear theſe privileges of dignity. Admit therefore all thoſe things to be true, (which yet we have already wrung from them) that Peter was by the mouth of Chriſt appointed head of the univerſal church: and that he left the honour that was given him in the ſee of Rome: that the ſame was eſtabliſhed by the authority of the ancient church, and confirmed with long continuance: that the ſupreme power hath been always by one conſent given of all men to the biſhop of Rome, that he hath been the judge of all both cauſes and men, and himſelf ſubject to the judgment of none: let them have alſo more, if they will: yet I anſwer in one word, that none of theſe things avail, unleſs there be at Rome a church and a biſhop. This they muſt needs grant me, that it cannot be the mother of churches, which is not itſelf a church: that he cannot be chief of biſhops, who is not himſelf a biſhop. Will they therefore have the ſee apoſtolic at Rome? Then let them ſhew me a biſhop. But what? where will they ſhew us any face of a church? They name one indeed, and have it oft in their mouth. Truly the church is known by her certain marks: and biſhopric is a name of office. I ſpeak not hear of the people: but of the government itſelf, which ought continually to ſhine in the church. Where is the miniſtery in their church, ſuch as Chriſt's inſtitution requireth? Let us call to remembrance that which hath before been ſpoken of the office of prieſts and of a biſhop. If we ſhall bring the office of cardinals to be tried by that rule, we ſhall confeſs that they are nothing leſs than prieſts. As for the chief biſhop himſelf, I would fain know what one thing at all he hath biſhoplike. Firſt it is the principal point in the office of a biſhop, to teach the people with the word of God: another and the next point to that is, to miniſter the ſacraments: the third is to admoniſh and exhort, yea, and to correct them that offend, and to hold the people together in holy diſcipline. What of theſe things doth he? yea, what doth he feign himſelf to do? Let them tell

tell therefore, by what means they would have him to be counted a bishop, that doth not with his little finger, no not once so much as in outward shew, touch any part of a bishop's office.

24. It is not so of a bishop as it is of a king. For a king although he do not execute that which belongeth to a king, doth nevertheless retain the honour and title. But in judging of a bishop respect is had to Christ's commandment, which always ought to be of force in the church. Therefore let the Romanists loose me this knot. I deny that their high bishop is the chief of bishops, forasmuch as he is no bishop. They must needs prove this last point to be false, if they will have the victory in the first. But how say they to this, that he not only hath no property of a bishop, but rather all things contrary? But hear, O God, whereat shall I begin? at his learning, or at his manners? What shall I say, or what shall I leave unsaid? where shall I make an end? This I say: that whereas the world is at this day stuffed with so many perverse and wicked doctrines, full of so many kinds of superstitions, blinded with so many errors, drowned in so great idolatry: there is none of these any where, that hath not either flowed from thence: or at least been there confirmed. Neither is their any other cause, why the bishops are carried with so great rage against the doctrine of the gospel newly springing up again, why they bend all their strengths to oppress it, why they kindle up kings and princes to cruelty, but but because they see that their whole kingdom decayeth and falleth down, so soon as the gospel of Christ cometh in place. Leo was cruel: Clement was bloody: Paul is a fierce murderer. But nature hath not so much moved them to fight against the truth, as for this was their only mean to maintain their power. Therefore since they cannot be safe, till they have driven away to Christ, they labour in this cause, as if they did fight for their religion and countries, and for their own lives. What then? Shall that be to us the see apostolic, where we see nothing but horrible apostacy? Shall he be Christ's vicar who by persecuting the gospel with furious enterprises, doth openly profess himself to be Antichrist? Shall he be Peter's successor, that rangeth with sword and fire, to destroy all that ever Peter hath builded? Shall he be head of the church that cutting off, and dismembering the church from Christ the only true head thereof, doth in itself pluck and tear it in pieces. Admit verily that in old time Rome was the mother of all churches: yet since it hath begun to be the seat of Antichrist, it hath ceased to be that which it was.

In the bishop of Rome, all things which should be in a bishop.

25. We seem to be too much evil speakers and railers, when we call the bishop of Rome Antichrist. But they that so think, do not understand that they accuse Paul of immodesty, after whom we so speak, yea out of whose mouth we so speak. And lest any man object, that we do wrongfully wrest against the bishop of Rome these words of Paul that are spoken to another intent, I will briefly shew, that they cannot be otherwise understood, but of the papacy. Paul writeth, that Antichrist shall sit in the temple of God, 2 Thes. ii. 4. In another place also the holy Ghost describing his image in the person of Antiochus, sheweth that his kingdom shall consist in haughtiness of speech, and blasphemings of God. Hereupon we gather, that it is rather a tyranny over souls, than over bodies, that is raised up against the spiritual kingdom of Christ. Then, that is such, as doth not abolish the name of Christ and the church: but rather should abuse the pretence of Christ, and lurk under the title of the church, as under a disguised visor. But although all the heresies and sects that have been from the biginning, belong to the kingdom of Antichrist: yet whereas Paul prophecyeth, that there shall come a departing, by this description he signifieth, that seat of abomination shall then be raised up, when a certain universal departing shall possess the church: howsoever many members of the church here and there continue in the true unity of faith. But where he addeth, that in his time he began in a mystery to set up the work of iniquity, which he would afterward shew openly: thereby we understand, that this calamity was neither to be brought in by one man, nor to be ended in one man. Now whereas he doth set out Antichrist by this mark, that he should pluck away from God his due honour, to take it to himself: this is the chief token that we ought to follow in seeking out of Antichrist, especially where such pride proceedeth even to the public dissipation of the church. Since therefore it is certain that the bishop of Rome had shamelessly conveyed away to himself that which was the chief proper thing to God alone and Christ, it is not to be doubted but that he is the captain and standard-bearer of the wicked and abominable kingdom.

The pope Antichrist.

26. Now

Nothing left in the papacy, but only the place where the order of a church hath been.

26. Now let the Romaniſts go and object antiquity againſt us: as if in ſo great alteration of all things the honour of the ſee might ſtand where there is no ſee. Euſebius telleth (*Euſeb. lib.* 3. *cap.* 5.) how God (that there might be place for his vengeance) removed the church that was at Jeruſalem to Pella. That which we hear to have been once done, might be ofter done. Therefore ſo to bind the honour of ſupremacy to a place, that he which is indeed the moſt hateful enemy of Chriſt, the higheſt adverſary of the goſpel, the greateſt waſter and deſtroyer of the church, the moſt cruel ſlaughterman and butcher of the ſaints, ſhould nevertheleſs be accounted the vicar of Chriſt, the ſucceſſor of Peter, the chief biſhop of the church, only becauſe he occupieth the ſee that was once the chiefeſt of all: that verily is too much to be ſcorned and fooliſh. I ſpeak not, how great difference there is between the pope's chancery, and a well framed order of the church. Although this one thing may well take away all doubt of this queſtion. For no man that hath his right wit, will think the biſhopric encloſed in lead and bulls: much leſs in that ſchool of frauds and deceits, in which things the pope's ſpiritual government conſiſteth. Therefore it was very well ſaid by a certain man, that that church of Rome which is boaſted of, is long ago turned into a court, which only is now ſeen at Rome. Neither do I here accuſe the faults of men: but I ſhew that the papacy itſelf is directly contrary to the true order of a church.

The atheiſm of popes.

27. But if we come to the perſons of men, it is well enough known what manner of vicars of Chriſt we ſhall find. Julius forſooth, and Leo, and Clement and Paul, ſhall be pillars of the Chriſtian faith, and the chief expoſitors of religion, which never knew any other thing of Chriſt, than that which they had learned in Lucians ſchool. But why do I reckon up three or four popes? as though it were doubtful, what manner of form of religion the popes with their whole college of cardinals have ſince long ago profeſſed, and at this day do profeſs. For firſt this is the principle article of that ſecret divinity that reigneth among them, That there is no God: the ſecond, That all things that are written and taught concerning Chriſt, are lies and deceits: the third, That the doctrine of the life to come, and of the laſt reſurrection are mere fables. They do not all think ſo: and few of them ſpeak ſo. I grant. But this hath long ago begun to be the ordinary religion of popes. Whereas this is very well known to all that know Rome, yet the Romiſh divines ceaſe not to boaſt, that by Chriſt's privilege it is provided, that the pope cannot err, becauſe it was ſaid to Peter: I have prayed for thee, that thy faith ſhould not fail, Luke xxii. 32. What, I pray you, win they by mocking ſo ſhameleſly, but that the whole world may underſtand, that they are come to that extremity of wickedneſs, that they neither fear God, nor ſtand in awe of men.

The fall of John the XXII.

28. But let us imagine, that the ungodlineſs of thoſe popes whom I have ſpoken of, is hidden becauſe they have neither publiſhed it by preaching, nor by writings: but only have bewrayed it at their table, and in their chamber, or at leaſt within walls of houſes. But if they will have this privilege to be of force, which they pretend, they muſt needs wipe John the XXII. out of the number of popes, who openly affirmed that ſouls are mortal, and that they die together with the bodies until the day of reſurrection. And that you may perceive that the whole ſee with her principal ſtays was then wholly fallen: none of all the cardinals withſtood ſo great a madneſs, but the ſchool of Paris moved the king of France to compel him to recant it. The king forbad his ſubjects to communicate with him, unleſs he did out of hand repent: and the ſame, as the manner is, he proclaimed by a herald. The pope compelled by this neceſſity, abjured his error. This example maketh that I need not to diſpute any more with my adverſaries about this that they ſay, that the ſee of Rome and the biſhops thereof, cannot err in the faith, becauſe it was ſaid to Peter, I have prayed for thee, that thy faith may not fail, Luke xxii. 32. Truly he fell with ſo foul a kind of fall from the right faith, that he is a notable example to them that come after, that they are not all Peters which ſucceed after Peter in the biſhopric. Howbeit this is alſo of itſelf ſo childiſh, that it needeth no anſwer. For if they will draw to Peter's ſucceſſors whatſoever was ſpoken to Peter, it ſhall follow that they are all Satans, foraſmuch as the Lord ſaid this alſo to Peter: Go behind, thou Satan, becauſe thou art an offence to me, Matth. xvi. 23. For ſhall be as eaſy for us to turn back this latter

saying against them, as it shall be for them to object the other against us.

The uncleanmanners of the Roman bishops.

29. But I list not to strive with them in playing the fool. Therefore I return thither from whence I made digression. So to bind the place, and Christ, and the holy Ghost, and the church together, that whosoever sit in that place, although he be the devil, yet he must be judged the vicar of Christ and the head of the church, because it was once the seat of Peter: I say this is not only wicked and slanderous to Christ, but also too great an absurdity, and against common reason. It is already long ago since the bishops of Rome are either without all religion, or the great-est enemies of religion. Therefore they are no more made the vicars of Christ, by reason of the seat which they occupy, than an idol, when it is set in the temple of God, is to be taken for God, 2 Thes. i. 4. Now if their manners be to be judged upon, let the popes themselves answer for themselves: what one thing at all there is in them, wherein they may be known for bishops. First, whereas there is such life at Rome, they not only winking at it, but also as it were with secret countenance allowing it, this is utterly unmeet for bishops, whose duty it is with severity of discipline to restrain the licentiousness of the people. But I will not be so rigorous against them, to charge them with other mens faults. But whereas they themselves with their own household, with almost the whole college or cardinals, with the whole flock of their clergy, are so given forth to all wickedness, filthiness, uncleanness, to all kinds of lewd mischievous doings, that they resemble rather monsters than men: therein truly they bewray themselves to be nothing less than bishops. And yet they need not fear least I should further disclose their filthiness. For both I am weary to have to do in so stinking a mire, and I must favour chaste ears, and I think that I have already enough and more proved that which I went about: that is, that although Rome had in old time been the head of churches, yet at this day she is not worthy to be judged one of the smallest toes of the church's feet.

The rising of cardinals.

30. As concerning the cardinals, (as they call them) I cannot tell how it is come to pass, that they are so suddenly risen up to so great dignity. This name in Gregory's time belonged to bishops only. For so oft as he maketh mention of cardinals, he meaneth not of them of the church of Rome, but of any other: so that briefly, a cardinal priest is nothing else but a bishop. In the writers before that age I find not this name at all. But I see that they were then less than bishops, whom they are now far above. This saying of Augustine is well known: although according to the names of honour, which the use of the church hath already obtained, bishopric is greater than priesthood, yet in many things Augustine is less than Jerom. Here indeed he maketh difference between a priest of the church of Rome and others: but he indifferently setteth them all behind the bishops. And that was so long observed, that in the council of Carthage, when they were present two legates of the see of Rome, the one a bishop, the other a priest, the priest was thrust back into the last place. But not to follow too old examples, there remaineth a council holden under Gregory at Rome, at which the priests sat in the lowest place, and subscribed severally by themselves: as for the deacons, they had no place at all in subscribing. And truly they had then no office, but to be present and under the bishop at ministring of doctrine and of the sacraments. Now the case is so changed, that they are become the cousins of kings and emperors. And it is no doubt but that they grow up by little and little together with their head, till they were advanced to this high top of dignity. But this also I thought good to touch shortly by the way that the readers might the better understand, that the see of Rome, such as it this day, doth much differ from that ancient one, under pretence whereof it doth now maintain and defend it self. But of what sort soever they were in old time, forasmuch as they have now nothing of the true and lawful office in the church; they retain only a deceitful colour and vain visor, yea forasmuch as they have all things utterly contrary it was necessary that that should happen to them, which Gregory writeth so oft, (*Lib.* 4. *epist.* 25. and 55.) I say it (saith he) weeping: I give warning of it, groaning: that since the order of priesthood is fallen within, it shall also not be able to stand long without. But rather it behoved that this should be fulfilled in them which Malachy saith of such: Ye have gone back out of the way, and have made many to stumble in the law, Mal. ii. 8. Therefore ye have made void the covenant of Levi, saith the Lord. Therefore behold, I have given you out of estimation, and vile to all the people. Now I leave it to all the godly to think of what sort is that supreme height of the hierarchy of Rome whereunto the Papists with abomi-

bominable shamelesness stick not to make subject the very word of God, which ought to have been honourable and holy both to heaven and earth, men and angels.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the power of the church as touching the articles of faith: and with how unbridled licentiousness, it hath in the papacy been wrested to corrupt all pureness of doctrine.

A caution touching things spoken of the power of the church.

NOW followeth the third place of the power of the church, which partly consisteth in all the bishops, and partly in the councils, and those either provincial or general. I speak only of the spiritual power, which is proper to the church. That consisteth either in doctrine, or in jurisdiction, or in making of laws. Doctrine hath two parts, the authority to teach articles of doctrine, and the expounding of them. Before that we begin to discourse of every one of these in specialty, we will that the godly readers be warned, that whatsoever is taught concerning the power of the church, they must remember to apply it to that end, whereunto (as Paul testifieth) it was given: that is, to edification, and not to destruction: 1 Cor. x. 8. and 13. 10. which who so lawfully use, they think themselves no more than the ministers of Christ, and therewithal the ministers of the people in Christ. Now of the edifying of the church, this is the only way, if the ministers themselves endeavour to preserve to Christ his authority, which cannot otherwise be safe unless that be left unto him, which he received of his father: that is, that he be the only schoolmaster of the church. For it is written, not of any other but of him alone, Hear him. Matt. xvii. 5. The power of the church therefore is not to be sparingly set forth, but yet to be enclosed within certain bounds, that it be not drawn hither and thither after the lust of men. Hereunto it shall be much profitable to note, how it is described of the prophets and apostles. For if we simply grant unto men such power as they list to take upon them, it is plain to all men, what a slippery readiness there is to fall into tyranny, which ought to be far from the church of Christ.

All the priests authority depended wholly upon him whose priests they were.

2. Therefore here it must be remembered, that whatsoever authority or dignity the holy Ghost in the scripture giveth either to the priests or to the prophets, or to the apostles, or to the successors of the apostles, all that same is given, not properly to the men themselves, but to the ministry over which they are appointed, or (to speak it more plainly in one word) whereof the ministry is committed to them. For if we go through them all in order, we shall not find that they had any authority to teach or to answer, but in the name and word of the Lord. For when they are called to the office, it is also enjoined them, that they should bring nothing of themselves, but speak out of the mouth of the Lord. Exod. iii. 4. And he himself doth not bring them forth to be heard of the people, before that he have given them instructions what they ought to speak, to the intent that they should speak nothing beside his word. Moses himself, the prince of all the prophets, was to be heard above the rest: but he was first instructed with his commandments, that he might not declare any thing at all, but from the Lord. Therefore it is said, that the people when they embraced his doctrine, believed in God, and in his servant Moses. Exod. xiv. 31. Also that the authority of the priests should not grow in contempt, it was stablished with most grievous penalties. Deut. xvi. 9. But therewithal the Lord sheweth upon what condition they were to be heard, when he saith, that he hath made his covenant with Levi, that the law of the truth should be in his mouth. And a little after he addeth: the lips of the priest shall keep knowlege, and they shall require the law at his mouth: because he is the angel of the God of hosts. Malu. ii. 4. and 6. Therefore if the priest will be heard, let him shew himself the messenger of God: that is, let him faithfully report the commandments that he received of his author. And where it is specially treated of the hearing of them, this is expressly said, That they may answer according to the law of God, Deut. xvii. 10.

The power of prophets consisted

3. What manner of power the prophets generally had, is very well described in Ezekiel: thou

in delivering that which God hath given them in charge

son of man (saith the Lord) I have given thee to be a watchman to the house of Israel. Therefore thou shalt hear the word out of my mouth, and thou shalt declare it to them from me. Ezek. iii. 17. He that is commanded to hear out of the mouth of the Lord, is he not forbidden to invent any thing of himself? But what is it to declare from the Lord but so to speak as he may boldly boast, that it is not his own, but the Lord's words that he hath brought? The self same thing is in Jeremiah, in other words. Let the prophet (saith he) with whom is a dream, tell a dream: and let him that hath my word speak my word true. Jer. xxiii. 28. Certainly he appointeth a law to them all. And that is such, that he permitteth not any to teach more than he is commanded. And after he calleth it chaff, all that is not from himself only. Therefore none of the prophets themselves opened his mouth, but as the Lord told him the words before. Whereupon these sayings are so oft found among them: the word of the Lord, the burden of the Lord, so saith the Lord, the mouth of the Lord hath spoken. Isa. vi. 5. John. i. 6. And worthily. For Isaiah cried out that he had defiled lips. Isa. vi. 5. Jeremiah confessed that he could not speak, because he was a child: Jer. i. 6. what could proceed from the defiled mouth of the one, and the foolish mouth of the other, but unclean and unwise, if they had spoken their own speech? But their lips were holy and pure, when they began to be the instruments of the holy Ghost. When the prophets are bound with this religion, that they deliver nothing, but that which they have received, then they are garnished with notable power and excellent titles. For when the Lord testifieth, that he hath set them over nations and kingdoms, to pluck up and to root out, to destroy and pluck down, to build and to plant, he by and by adjoineth the cause: because he hath put his words in their mouth. Jer. i. 10.

The apostles authority restrained and limited within the bounds of his commandment which gave them authority.

4. Now if you look to the apostles: they are indeed commended with many and notable titles that they are the light of the world, and the salt of the earth, that they are to be heard instead of Christ, that whatsoever they bind or loose in earth shall be bound or loosed in heaven. But in their very name they shew how much is permitted them in their office; that is, if they be apostles, that they should not prate whatsoever they list, but should faithfully report his commandments from whom they are sent. And the words of Christ are plain enough in, which he hath determined their embassage: when he commanded them to go and teach all nations, all those things that he had commanded. Yea, and he himself also received this law, and laid it upon himself, that it should be lawful for no man to refuse it. My doctrine (saith he) is not mine, but his that sent me, my Father's. He that was alway the only and eternal counsellor of the Father, and he that was appointed by the Father the Lord and school-master of all men, yet because he executed the ministry of teaching prescribed by his own example to all ministers, what rule they ought to follow in teaching. Therefore the power of the church is not infinite but subject to the word of the Lord, and as it were inclosed in it.

The ancient patriarchs and fathers taught by Christ.

5. But since this hath from the beginning been of force in the church, and at this day ought to be in force, that the servants of God should teach nothing which they have not learned of him: yet according to the diversity of times they have diverse orders of learning. But that order which is now, much differeth from those that were before. First if it be true which Christ saith, that none hath seen the Father, but the Son, and he to whom it hath pleased the Son to shew him, Mat. xi. 27. it behoved verily that they should be always directed by the eternal wisdom of the Father, which would come to the knowlege of God. For how should they either have comprehended in mind, or uttered the mysteries of God, but by his teaching to whom alone the secrets of the Father are open? Therefore the holy fathers in old time knew God no otherwise but beholding him in the Son as in a glass. When I say this, I mean that God did never by any other means disclose himself to men but by the Son, that is his only wisdom, light, and truth. Out of this fountain did Adam, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the rest draw all the knowlege that they had of heavenly doctrine. Out of the same fountain have also all the prophets themselves drawn all the heavenly oracles that they uttered, Mal. ii. 7. For verily this wisdom hath always disclosed itself by more ways than one. To the patriarchs he used secret revelations: but therewithal to confirm their minds, he adjoineth such signifies, that it could not be doubtful to them, that it was God that spake. The patriarchs conveyed over from hand to hand to posterity, that which they had received. For the Lord left it

with

with them to this intent, that they should so spread it abroad. But the children and children's children, by God secretly informing them, did that which they heard was from heaven, and not from the earth.

The doctrine which Christ taught the fathers without book, in the law committed unto writing: upon the law the prophets grounded their doctrine.

6. But when it pleased God, to raise a more apparent form of a church, he willed to have his word put in writing and noted, that the priests should fetch from thence what they might deliver to the people, and that all the doctrine that shall be taught should be tried by that rule. Therefore after the publishing of the law, when the priests are commanded to teach out of the mouth of the Lord, the meaning is, that they should teach nothing strange or differing from that kind of learning, which the Lord comprehended in the law: and to add and to diminish was unlawful for them. Then followed the prophets, by whom indeed the Lord published new oracles to be added to the law: but yet not so new, but that they came out of the law, and had respect unto it: for, as touching doctrine, they were only expositors of the law, and added nothing unto it, but prophecies of things to come. Those excepted, they uttered nothing else but a pure exposition of the law. Because it pleased the Lord that there should be a plainer and larger doctrine, that weak consciences might be the better satisfied: he commanded that the prophecies also should be put in writing, and accounted part of his word. And hereunto were added the histories which are also the works of the prophets, but made by the enditing of the holy Ghost. I reckon the psalms among the prophecies, because that which we attribute to the prophecies is also common to the psalms. Therefore that whole body compacted of the law, prophecies, psalms and histories, was the word of the Lord to the old people by the rule whereof the priests and teachers even unto Christ's time were bound to examine their doctrine: neither was it lawful for them to swerve either to the right hand or to the left: because all their office was inclosed within these bounds, that they should answer the people out of the mouth of God. Which is gathered of a notable place of Malachy (Mal. iv. 4.) where he biddeth them to be mindful of the law, and to give head to it, even to the preaching of the gospel. For thereby he forbiddeth them all new found doctrines, and granteth them no leave to swerve never so little out of the way which Moses had faithfully shewed them. And this is the reason why David so honourably setteth out the excellency of the law, and rehearseth so many praises of it: that is that the Jews should covet no foreign thing without it, since within it was all perfection inclosed.

Christ manifested in the flesh hath added the last hand to the revelation of truth.

7. But when at last the wisdom of God was openly shewed in the flesh, that same wisdom with full mouth declared unto us all that ever can with man's wit be comprehended, or ought to be thought concerning the heavenly Father. Now therefore, since Christ the sun of righteousness hath shined, we have a perfect brightness of the truth of God, such as the clearness is wont to be at midday, when the light was before but dim. For verily the prophet meant not to speak of any mean thing, when he wrote that God in old time spake diversly and many ways to the fathers by the prophets; but in these last days he began to speak to us by his beloved Son, Heb. i. 1. For he signifieth, yea he openly declareth, that God will not hereafter, as he did before, speak sometime by one, and sometime by others, nor will add prophecies to prophecies, or revelations to revelations: but that he hath so fulfilled all the parts of teaching in the Son, that they must have this of him for the last and eternal testimony. After which sort all this time of the New Testament wherein Christ hath appeared to us with the preaching of his gospel even to the day of judgment, is expressed by the last hour, the last times, the last days: to the end verily that contented with the perfection of the doctrine of Christ we should learn neither to feign us any new beside it, or received it feigned of others. Therefore not without cause the Father hath by singular prerogative ordained the Son to be our teacher, commanding him, and not any man to be heard. He did indeed in few words set out his school-mastership unto us, when he said, Hear him, Matth. xvii. 5. but in which there is more weight and force than men commonly think. For it is as much in effect, as if leading us away from all doctrines of men, he should bring us to him only, and command us to look for all the doctrine of salvation at him alone, to hang upon him alone, to cleave to him alone, finally (as the very words do sound) to hearken to the voice of him alone. And truly what ought there now to be either looked for or desired at the hand of man, when the very word of life hath familiarly and openly disclosed himself unto us? Yea, but it is meet that the mouths of all men be shut, after that he, in whom the heavenly Father willed to have all the

treasures of knowlege and wisdom to be hidden, hath once spoken, and so spoken as became both the wisdom of God (which is in no part unperfect) and Messias at whose hand the revelation of all things is hoped for: that is to say, that he left nothing afterward for others to be spoken, John iv. 25.

The written word, the only rule of sound teaching.

8. Let this therefore be a stedfast principle: that there is to be had no other word of God, whereunto place should be given in the church, than that which is contained first in the law and the prophets, and then in the writings of the apostles: and that there is no other manner of teaching rightly, but according to the prescription and rule of that word. Hereupon also we gather, that there was no other thing granted to the apostles, but that which the prophets had had in old time: that is, that they should expound the old scripture, and shew that those things that are therein taught are fulfilled in Christ: and yet that they should not do the same but of the Lord, that is to say, the spirit of Christ going before them, and after a certain manner enditing words unto them. For Christ limited their embassage, with this condition, when he commanded them to go and teach, Matth. xxviii. 20. not such things as they themselves had rashly forged, but all those things that he had commanded them, and nothing could be more plainly spoken, than that which he saith in another place: but be not ye called masters, for only one is your master, Christ, Matth. xxiii. 8. Then, to imprint this more deeply in their mind, he repeateth it twice in the same place. And because their rudeness was such, that they could not conceive those things that they had heard and learned of the mouth of their master, therefore the spirit of truth is promised them by whom they should be directed to the true understanding of all things. For that same restraining is to be diligently noted, where this office is assigned to the holy Ghost, to put them in mind of all those things that he before taught them by mouth, John xiv. 26. and xvi. 13.

No other ground but the scripture either for men particularly, or for the whole body of the church to build upon.

9. Therefore Peter who was very well taught how much he might lawfully do, leaveth nothing either to himself or others, but to distribute the doctrine delivered of God. Let him that speaketh (saith he) speak as the words of God, 1 Pet. iv. 21. that is to say, not doubtingly, as they are wont to tremble, whose own conscience misgiveth them, but with sure confidence, which becometh the servant of God furnished with assured instructions. What other thing is this, but to forbid all invention of man's mind, from what head soever they have proceeded, that the pure word of God may be heard and learned in the church of the faithful? to take away the ordinances or rather the feigned devices of all men, of what degree soever they be, that the decrees of God only may remain in force? These are those spiritual armours, mighty through God to cast down holds: by which the faithful servants of God may throw down counsels, and all height that advanceth itself against the knowlege of God, and may lead all knowlege captive to obey Christ, 2 Cor. x. 4. Lo this is the sovereign power, wherewith it behoveth the pastors of the church to be endued, by what name soever they be called, that is, that by the word of God they may with confidence be bold to do all things; may compel all the strength, glory, wisedom and height of the world to yield and obey to his majesty: being upholden by his power, may command, all even from the highest to the lowest: may build up the house of Christ and pull down the house of Satan: may feed the sheep and drive away the wolves: may instruct and exhort the willing to learn: may reprove, rebuke and subdue the rebellious and stubborn: may bind and loose: finally my thunder and lighten, if need be: but all things in the word of God. Howbeit there is, as I have said, this difference between the apostles and their successors, that the apostles were the certain and authentic secretaries of the holy Ghost, and therefore their writings are to be esteemed for the oracles of God: but the other have no other office, but to teach that which is set forth and written in the holy scriptures. We determine therefore, that this is not now left faithful ministers, that they may coin any new doctrine, but that they ought simply to cleave to the doctrine, whereunto the Lord hath made all men without exception subject. When I say this, my meaning is not only to shew what is lawful, for all particular men, but also what is lawful for the whole universal church. Now as touching all particular men: Paul verily was ordained by the Lord, apostle to the Corinthians: but he denieth that he hath dominion over their faith, 2 Cor. i. 14. Who now dare take a dominion upon himself, which Paul testifieth that it belonged not to him? If he had acknowleged himself to have this

this liberty of teaching, that whatsoever the pastor teacheth he may therein of right require to be believed: he would never have taught the Corinthians this discipline, that while two or three prophets speak, the rest shall judge, and if it were revealed to any that sate, the first should hold his peace. For so he spared none, whose authority he made not subject to the judgment of the word of God, 1 Cor. xiv. 19. But, will some man say, of the universal church the case is otherwise. I answer that in another place Paul meeteth with this doubt also, where he saith, that faith is by hearing, and hearing by the word of God, Rom. x. Truly, if faith depend on the word of God only, if it hath respect unto, and resteth upon it alone, what place is there now left to the word of the whole world? For herein no man may doubt that doth well know what faith is. For faith ought to be stayed upon such assuredness, whereby it may stand invincible against Satan, and all the engines of hell, and against the whole world. This assuredness we shall no where find but in the word of God only. Again, it is a general rule which we here ought to have respect unto: that God doth therefore take from men the power to set forth a new doctrine, that he only may be our school-master in heavenly learning, as he only is true who can neither lie nor deceive. This rule belongeth no less to the whole church than to every one of the faithful.

Their tyranny who bind the world to believe whatsoever pleaseth them to teach.

10. But if this power of the church, which we have spoken of, be compared with that power, whereof the spiritual tyrants, that have falsly called themselves bishops and prelates of religion, have in certain ages past boasted themselves among the people of God, the agreement shall be no better than Christ hath with Belial. Yet it is not in this place my purpose to declare in what sort and with how wicked means they have exercised their tyranny: I will but rehearse the doctrine, which at this day they defend, first their writings, and then with sword and fire. Because they take it for a thing confessed, that a general council is the true image of the church, when they have taken this principle, they do without doubt determine, that such councils are immediately governed of the holy Ghost, and that therefore they cannot err. But whereas they themselves do rule the council, yea and make them, they do indeed challenge to themselves whatsoever they affirm to be due to the councils. Therefore they will have our faith to stand and fall at their will that whatsoever they shall determine on the one side, or the other, may be established and certain to our minds: so that if they allow any thing we must allow the same without doubting: if they condemn any thing we must also hold it for condemned. In the mean time after their own lust, and despising the word of God, they coin doctrines, to which afterward they require by this rule to have faith given For they also say, that he is no christian, that doth not certainly consent to all their doctrine as well affirmative as negative: if not with expressed yet with unexpressed faith: because it is in the power of the church to make new articles of the faith.

Promises made to the church abused to bolster up a most unlawful power in the church.

11. First let us hear, by what arguments they prove that this authority is given to the church: and then we shall see how much that maketh for them which they allege of the church. The church (say they) hath notable promises, that it shall never be forsaken of Christ her spouse, but that it shall be guided by his spirit into all truth, Matth. xxviii. 20. But of the promises which they are wont to allege, many are given no less to every one of the faithful particularly, than to the whole church universally. For though the Lord spake to the twelve apostles, when he said: Behold I am with you even to the end of the world: again: I will ask my Father, and he shall give you another comforter, namely the Spirit of truth, John xiv. 19. yet he made the promise not only to the whole number of the twelve, but also every one of them: yea to the other disciples likewise, either those that he had already received, or those that should afterward be added to them. But when they expounded such promises full of singular comfort, as though they were given to none of the christians, but to the whole church together: what do they else, but take away from all christians that confidence which they all ought to receive thereby to encourage them? Yet I do here deny, but that the whole fellowship of the faithful furnished with manifold diversity of gifts, is endued with much larger and more plentiful treasure of the heavenly wisdom, than each one severally: neither is it my meaning, that this is spoken in common to the faithful, as though they were all alike endued with the spirit of understanding and doctrine: but because it is not to be granted to the adversaries of Christ, that they should for the defence of an evil cause wrest the scripture to a wrong sense. But, omitting this, I simply confess that which is true, that the Lord is perpetually present with his, and ruleth them with his spirit.

And

And that this ſpirit is not the ſpirit of error, ignorance, lying or darkneſs: but of ſure revelation, wiſdom, truth, and light, of whom they not deceitfully may learn thoſe things that are given them, that is to ſay, what is the hope of their calling, and what the riches of the glory of the inheritance of God in the ſaints. Eph. i. 18. But whereas the faithful, even they that are endued with more excellent gifts above the reſt, do in this fleſh receive only the firſt fruits and a certain taſte of that ſpirit: there remaineth nothing better to them than knowing their own weakneſs, to hold themſelves carefully within the bounds of the word of God: leaſt, if they wander far after their own ſenſe, they by and by ſtray out of the right way, inſomuch as they are yet void of that ſpirit, by whoſe teaching only truth is diſcerned from falſhood. For all men do confeſs with Paul, Phil. iii. 11. that they have not yet attained to the mark. Therefore they more endeavour to daily profiting, than glory of perfection.

The church not ſo perfect by virtue of any promiſe made unto it but that ſtill it remaineth in this world ſubject as to other infirmities ſo to error.

12. But they will take exception, and ſay that whatſoever is particularly attributed to every one of the ſaints, the ſame do throughly and fully belong to the church it ſelf. Although this hath ſome ſhew of truth, yet I deny it to be true. God doth indeed ſo diſtribute to every one of the members the gift of his ſpirit by meaſure, that the whole body wanteth nothing neceſſary, when the gifts are given in common. But the riches of the church are always ſuch, that there ever wanteth much of that higheſt perfection, which our adverſaries do boaſt of. Yet the church is not therefore ſo left deſtitute in any behalf, but that ſhe always hath ſo much as is enough. For the Lord knoweth what her neceſſity requireth. But, to hold her under humility and godly modeſty, he giveth her no more than he knoweth to be expedient. I know what here alſo they are wont to object, that is, that the church is cleanſed with the waſhing of water in the word of life, that it might be without wrinkle and ſpot, Eph. v. 25. and that therefore in another place it is called the pillar and ſtay of truth. 1 Tim. iii. 15. But in the firſt of theſe two places is rather taught, what Chriſt daily worketh in it, than what he hath already done. For if he daily ſanctifieth, purgeth poliſheth, wipeth from ſpots all them that are his: truly it is certain that they are yet beſprinkled with ſome ſpots and wrinkles, and that there wanteth ſomewhat of their ſanctification. But how vain and fabulous is it, to judge the church already in every part holy and ſpotleſs, whereof all the members are ſpoty and very unclean? It is true therefore that the church is ſanctified of Chriſt. But only the beginning of that ſanctifying is here ſeen: but the end and full accompliſhment ſhall be, when Chriſt the holieſt of ſaints ſhall truly and fully fill it with his holineſs. It is true alſo that the ſpots and wrinkles of it are wiped away: but ſo that they are daily in wiping away, until Chriſt with his coming do utterly take away all that remaineth. For unleſs we grant this, we muſt of neceſſity affirm with the Pelagians, that the righteouſneſs of the faithful is perfect in this life: and with the Cathary and Donatiſts we muſt ſuffer no infirmity in the church. The other place, as we have elſewhere ſeen, hath a ſenſe utterly differing from that which they pretend. For when Paul hath inſtructed Timothy, and framed him to the true office of a biſhop, he ſaith that he did it to this purpoſe, that he ſhould know how he ought to behave himſelf in the church. And that he ſhould with the greater religiouſneſs and aſſiduity bend himſelf thereunto, he addeth that the church is the very pillar and ſtay of truth. For what elſe do theſe words mean, but that the truth of God is preſerved in the church, namely by the miniſtry of preaching? As in another place he teacheth, that Chriſt gave apoſtles, paſtors, and teachers, Eph. iv. 11. that we ſhould no more be carried about with every wind of doctrine, or be mocked of men: but that being enlightened with the true knowlege of the Son of God, we ſhould altogether meet in unity of faith. Whereas therefore the truth is not extinguiſhed in the world, but remaineth ſafe, that ſame cometh to paſs becauſe it hath the church a faithful keeper of it, by whoſe help and miniſtry it is ſuſtained. But if this keeping ſtandeth in the miniſtry of the prophets and apoſtles, it followeth that it dependeth wholly hereupon, if the word of the Lord be faithfully preſerved and do keep his purity.

The drift of the church of Rome in maintaining that the church cannot err.

13. But that the readers may better underſtand, upon what point this queſtion chiefly ſtandeth, I will in few words declare what our adverſaries require, and wherein we ſtand againſt them. Where they ſay that the church cannot err, it tendeth hereunto, and thus they expound it, that foraſmuch as it is governed by the ſpirit of God, it may go ſafely without the word: that whitherſoever it goeth, it cannot think nor

ſpeak

ſpeak any thing, but truth: that therefore if it determine any thing without or beſide Gods word, the ſame is no otherwiſe to be eſteemed than as a certain oracle of God. If we grant that firſt point, that the church cannot err in things neceſſary to ſalvation, this is our meaning, that this is therefore becauſe forſaking all her own wiſdom, ſhe ſuffereth herſelf to be taught of the holy Ghoſt by the word of God. This therefore is the difference. They ſet the authority of the church without the word of God, but we will that it be annexed to the word, and ſuffer it not to be ſevered from it. And what wonder is it, if the ſpouſe and ſcholar of Chriſt be ſubject to her huſband and ſchoolmaſter, that ſhe continually and earneſtly dependeth on his mouth? For this is the order of a well governed houſe, that the wife ſhould obey the authority of the huſband: and this is the rule of a well ordered ſchool, that the teaching of the ſchoolmaſter alone ſhould there be heard. Wherefore let the church not be wiſe of her ſelf, nor think any thing of her ſelf: but determine the end of her wiſdom where he hath made an end of ſpeaking. After this manner ſhe ſhall alſo diſtruſt all the inventions of her own reaſon: but in thoſe things wherein it ſtandeth upon the word of God, ſhe ſhall waver with no diſtruſtfulneſs or doubting, but ſhall reſt with great aſſuredneſs and ſtedfaſt conſtancy. So alſo truſting upon the largeneſs of thoſe promiſes that ſhe hath, ſhe ſhall have whereupon abundantly to ſuſtain her faith: that ſhe may not doubt that the beſt guide of the right way, the holy ſpirit, is always preſent with her: but therewithal ſhe ſhall keep in memory what uſe the Lord would have us to receive of his holy ſpirit. The ſpirit (ſaith he) which I will ſend from my father ſhall lead you into all truth. But how? becauſe (ſaith he) he ſhall put you in mind of all thoſe things that I have told you. John. xvi. 7. and 13. Therefore he giveth warning that there is nothing more to be looked for of his ſpirit, but that he ſhould enlighten our minds to perceive the truth of his doctrine. Therefore Chryſoſtome ſaith excellently well. Many (ſaith he) do boaſt of the holy ſpirit: but they who ſpeak their own do falſly pretend that they have him. As Chriſt teſtified that he ſpake not of himſelf: becauſe he ſpake out of the law and the prophets: ſo if any thing beſide the goſpel be thruſt in under the title of the ſpirit, let us not believe it, becauſe as Chriſt is the fulfilling of the law and the prophets: ſo is the ſpirit, of the goſpel. (*Ser. de ſancto & ador. Spiritu. John. xii.* 50. *and* 14. 20.) Theſe are his words. Now it is eaſy to gather how wrongfully our adverſaries [illegible] who boaſt of the holy Ghoſt to no other end [illegible] to ſet forth under his name ſtrange and [illegible] doctrines from the word of God, whereas he will with unſpeakable knot be conjoined with the word of God, and the ſame doth Chriſt profeſs of him when he promiſeth him to his church. So is it truly. What ſobriety the Lord hath once preſcribed to his church, the ſame he will have to be perpetually kept. But he hath forbidden her, that ſhe ſhould not add any thing to his word, nor take any thing from it. This is the inviolable decree of God and of the holy Ghoſt, which our adverſaries go about to abrogate, when they feign that the church is ruled of the ſpirit without the word.

In doctrine nothing to be added by the church unto that which the apoſtles have left in writing.

14. Here again they murmur againſt us, and ſay that it behoved that the church ſhould add ſome things to the writings of the apoſtles, or that they themſelves ſhould afterward with lively voice ſupply many things which they had not clearly enough taught, namely ſince Chriſt ſaid unto them. I have many things to be ſaid to you, which you cannot now bear, and that theſe are the ordinances, which without the ſcripture have been received only in uſe and manner. John. xvi. 2. But what ſhameleſneſs is this? I grant the diſciples were yet rude, and in a manner unapt to learn, when the Lord ſaid this unto them. But were they then alſo holden with ſuch dulneſs, when they did put their doctrine in writing, that they afterward needed to ſupply with lively voice that which they had by fault of ignorance omitted in their writings. But if they were already led by the ſpirit of truth into all truth when they did ſet forth their writings: what hindered that they have not therein contained, and left written a perfect knowlege of the doctrine of the goſpel? But go to; let us grant them that which they require. Only let them point out what are thoſe things that behoved to be revealed without writing. If they dare enterpriſe that, I will aſſail them with Auguſtin's words: that is, when the Lord had ſaid nothing of them, which of us dare ſay, theſe they be, or thoſe they be? or if any dare ſay ſo, whereby doth he prove it? (*Hom. in John* 96.) But why do I ſtrive about a ſuperfluous matter? For a very child doth know, that in the writings of the apoſtles, which theſe men do make in a manner lame and but half

perfect, there is the fruit of that revelation which the Lord did then promise them.

The church not authorised to coin new doctrines, because Christ doth number them with heathens that despise the judgment of the church.

15. What? say they, did not Christ put out of controversy whatsoever the church teacheth and decreeth, when he commandeth him to be taken for a heathen man and a publican that dare say against her? Mat. xviii. 17. First in that place is no mention made of doctrine, but only the authority of the censures is established for correcting of vices, that who have been admonished or rebuked should not resist her judgment. But omitting this, it is wonderful, that those sophisters have so little shame, that they dare be proud of that place. For what shall they get thereby, but that the consent of the church is never to be despised, which never consenteth but unto the truth of the word of God? The church is to be heard, say they. Who denieth it? forasmuch as it pronounceth nothing but out of the word of the Lord. If they require any more let them know that these words of Christ do not take their part therein. Neither ought I to be thought too much contentious because I stand so earnestly upon this point, that it is not lawful for the church to make any new doctrine, that is, to teach and deliver for an oracle any more than that which the Lord hath revealed by his word. For men of sound judgment do see how great a danger there is, if so great authority be once granted to men. They see also how wide a window is opened to the mockings and cavils of the wicked, if we say that that which men have judged is to be taken for an oracle among christians. Beside that, Christ speaking according to the consideration of his own time, giveth this name to the synagogue, that his disciples should afterward learn to reverence holy assemblies of the church. So should it come to pass that every city and village should have equal authority in coining of doctrines.

Baptizing of infants and the consubstantiality of Christ with God the father, are not warranted by the sole authority of the church, but have their sufficient grounds in scripture.

16. The examples which they use, do nothing help them. They say that the baptising of infants, proceeded not so much from the express commandment of the scripture as from the decree of the church. But it were a very miserable succour, if we were compelled to flee to the bare authority of the church for defence of the baptism of infants: but it shall in another place sufficiently appear that it is far otherwise. Likewise whereas they object that that is no where found in the scripture, which was pronounced in the Nicene synod, that the son is consubstantial with the father: therein they do great wrong to the fathers, as though they had rashly condemned Arius, because he would not swear to their words, when he professed all that doctrine which is comprehended in the writings of the prophets, and apostles, this word, I grant, is not in the scripture: but when therein is so oft affirmed, that there is but one God: again, Christ is so oft called the true and eternal God, one with the father: what other thing do the fathers of the Nicene council when they declare that he is of one substance, but simply set out the natural sense of the scripture? But Theodorit reporteth (*Histo. Eccle. lib.* 1. *cap.* 5.) that Constantine used this preface in their assembly, in disputations (saith he) of divine matters, there is a prescribed doctrine of the holy Ghost: the books of the gospels and of the apostles, with the oracles of the prophets do fully shew us the meaning of God. Therefore laying away discord, let us take the discussings of questions out of the words of the spirit. There was at that time no man that spake against these holy monitions. No man took exception, that the church might add somewhat of her own: that the spirit revealed not all things to the apostles, or at least uttered them not to those that came after: or any such thing. If it be true which our adversaries would have: first, Constantine did evil, that took from the church her authority: then, whereas none of the bishops at that time rose up to defend it, this was not without breach of their faith? for so they were betrayers of the right of the church. But since Theodorit rehearseth that they willingly embraced that which the emperor said, it is certain that this new doctrine was then utterly unknown.

CHAP.

CHAP IX.

Of councils and of their authority.

A proteſtation concerning the eſtimation of councils.

NOW, although I grant them all things concerning the church: yet they ſhall thereby not much prevail for their inten'. For whatſoever is ſaid of the church, the ſame they by and by give to the councils, foraſmuch as in their opinion thoſe repreſent the church. Yea, where they ſo ſtiffly contend for the power of the church, they do it of no other purpoſe, but to give all that they can get to the biſhop of Rome and his guard. But ere I begin to diſcuſs this queſtion, I muſt needs here make proteſtation of two things beforehand. Firſt, that where I ſhall in this point be ſomewhat rough, it is not becauſe I leſs eſteem the old councils than I ought to do. For I reverence them from my heart, and wiſh them to be had in their due honour with all men. But herein is ſome mean, that is, that there be nothing withdrawn from Chriſt. Now this is the right of Chriſt, to be the head in all councils, and to have no man fellow with him in this dignity. But I ſay that then only he is the head, when he governeth the whole aſſembly with his word and ſpirit. Secondly, whereas I give leſs to councils than the adverſaries require: I do it not for this cauſe that I am afraid of the councils, as though they did make for their ſide, and were againſt ours. For as we are abundantly furniſhed with the word of the Lord to the full proof of our doctrine, and to the overthrow of the whole papiſtry that we need not much to deſire any other thing beſide it: ſo if the matter require, the old councils do for a great part miniſter unto us ſo much as may ſuffice for both.

Chriſt in the midſt of councils, but not except they be gathered in his name.

2. Now let us ſpeak of the thing it ſelf. If it be ſought of the ſcriptures, what is the authority of councils: there is no plainer promiſe than in this ſaying of Chriſt: Where two or three ſhall be gathered together in my name, there I am in the midſt of them. Mat. xviii. 20. But that doth no leſs belong to every particular aſſembly than to a general council. But the doubt of the queſtion ſtandeth not therein: but becauſe there is a condition added, that God will ſo only be in the midſt of the council, if it be gathered together in his name. Therefore although our adverſaries do a thouſand times name councils of biſhops, they ſhall little prevail: neither ſhall they make us to believe that which they affirm, that is, that they are governed of the holy Ghoſt, until they have proved that they are gathered together in the name of Chriſt. For it is as poſſible that wicked and evil biſhops may conſpire againſt Chriſt, as good and honeſt biſhops may come together in his name. For a very clear proof hereof are many decrees that have proceeded from ſuch councils. But this ſhall be ſeen hereafter. Now I do but anſwer in one word that Chriſt promiſeth nothing, but to them that are gathered together in his name. Let us therefore define what that is. I deny that they be gathered together in the name of Chriſt, which caſting away the commandment of God, wherein he forbiddeth any thing to be added to his word, or taken from it, Deut. iv. 2. Rev. xxii. 18. do decree every thing after their own will: who being not contented with the oracles of the ſcripture, that is to ſay the only rule of perfect wiſdom, do imagine ſome new thing of their own head. Surely, ſince Chriſt hath not promiſed that he will be preſent at all councils, but hath adjoined a peculiar mark, whereby to make true and lawful councils different from other: it is meet that we ſhould not neglect this difference. This is the covenant, which in old time God made with the Levitical prieſts, that they ſhould teach out of his mouth. Mal. ii. 7. This he always required of the prophets: this law alſo we ſee to have been laid upon the apoſtles. Whoſo break this covenant, God doth not vouchſafe, to let them have the honour of prieſthood, nor any authority. Let the adverſaries undo me this knot, if they will make my faith bound to the decrees of men beſide the word of God.

Truth may be in the church, although the paſtors of the church be corrupt as in the times of the prophets they were.

3. For whereas they think not that truth remaineth in the church unleſs it be among the paſtors: and that the church itſelf ſtandeth not, unleſs it appear in general councils: that is far from having been always true, if the prophets have left unto us true teſtimonies of their own times. There was in the time of Iſaiah a church at Jeruſalem, which God had not

yet forſaken. But of the paſtors he ſaith thus: The watchmen are blind, neither know they any thing. They are all dumb dogs, neither are they able to bark. They ly along and ſleep, and love ſleeping: and the paſtors themſelves know nothing, nor do underſtand: and they do altogether look back unto their own ways. Iſa. lvi. 10. After the ſame manner Hoſeah ſaith: the watchmen of Ephraim with God, the ſnare of the fowler, hatred in the houſe of God. Hoſeah. ix. 8. Where joining them with God by way of mockry, he teacheth that their pretence of the prieſthood is vain. The church alſo endured unto the time of Jeremiah. Let us hear what he ſaith of the paſtors. From the prophet even to the prieſt, every one followeth lying. Jer. vi. 13. Again: the prophets do prophecy a lie in my name, when I have not ſent them nor commanded them. Jer. xiv. 4. And leaſt we ſhould be too long in reciting his words, let thoſe things be read that he hath written in the whole xxiii and xl. Chapters. At that time on the other ſide Ezekiel did no more gently inveigh againſt the ſame men. The conſpiracy (ſaith he) of the prophets in the midſt of her as a roaring lion, and that violently taketh his prey. Her prieſts have broken my law. and have defiled my holy things, and have made no difference between holy and prophane: Ezek. xxii. 25. and the reſt that he adjoineth to the ſame effect. Like complaints are every where in the prophets, ſo that nothing is ofter found in them.

That which was in the firſt may be alſo in the laſt days of the church, and is.

4. But perhaps it might be that it was ſo among the Jews: but our age is free from ſo great an evil. I would to God indeed it were ſo: but the holy Ghoſt hath given warning that it ſhall be far otherwiſe. The words of Peter are plain. As (ſaith he) there were in the old people falſe prophets, ſo ſhall there alſo be among you falſe teachers ſlily bringing in ſects of perdition, 2 Pet. ii. See you not how he ſaith, that there is danger to come, not by men of the common people, but by them that ſhall boaſt themſelves with the title of teachers and paſtors? Moreover how often hath it been foretold by Chriſt and his apoſtles, that there ſhould very great dangers impend over the church by the paſtors? Mat. xxiv. 11. and 24. Yea, Paul plainly ſheweth, that antichriſt ſhall ſit in no other place than in the temple of God. 2 Theſ. ii. 4. Whereby he ſignifieth, that the horrible calamity of which he there ſpeaketh, ſhall come from no where elſe but from them that ſhall ſit inſtead of paſtors in the church. And in another place he ſheweth, that the beginnings of ſo great a miſchief are even already near at hand. For when he ſpeaketh to the biſhop of Epheſus, I know (ſaith he) that after my departure there ſhall enter into you ravening wolves not ſparing the flock. And they ſhall be of your own ſelves, that ſhall ſpeak perverſe things, to lead away diſciples after them. Act. xx. 19. How much corruption might a long courſe of years bring among paſtors, when they could ſo far go out of kind in ſo ſmall a ſpace of time? And, not to fill much paper with rehearſing them by name: we are admoniſhed by the examples in a manner, of all ages, that neither the truth is always nouriſhed in the boſom of the paſtors, nor doth the ſafety of the church depend upon their ſtate. They ought indeed to have been the governors and keepers of the peace and ſafety of the church, for preſervation whereof, they are ordained: but it is one thing for a man to perform that which he ought, and another thing to owe that which he performeth not.

Biſhops in the church of Rome, preſuming upon their titles as if God could not ſtrike them now with amazing dulneſs as well as others in the old world.

5. Yet let no man take theſe our words in ſuch part, as though I would every where and raſhly without any choice diminiſh the authority of paſtors. I do but only admoniſh that even among paſtors themſelves there is a choice to be had, that we ſhould not immediately think them to be paſtors that are ſo called. But the Pope withal his flock of biſhops, upon no other reaſon, but becauſe they are called paſtors, ſhaking away the obedience of the word of God, do tumble and toſs all things after their own luſt: and in the mean time they labour to perſuade, that they cannot be deſtitute of the light of truth, that the ſpirit of God perpetually abideth in them, that the church conſiſteth in them and dieth with them. As though there were now no judgments of the Lord, whereby he may puniſh the world at this day with the ſame kind of puniſhment wherewith ſometimes he took vengeance of the unthankfulneſs of the old people, that is, to ſtrike the paſtors with blindneſs and amazing dulneſs. Zech. xii. 4. Neither do they, moſt fooliſh men underſtand, that they ſing the ſame ſong, which thoſe in old time did ſing that warred againſt the word of God. For the enemies of Jeremiah did thus prepare themſelves againſt the truth: come, and we will imagine

gine imaginations againſt Jeremiah: foraſmuch as the law ſhall not periſh from the prieſt, nor counſel from the wiſe man, nor the word from the prophet. Jer. xviii. 18.

The blind prieſts and falſe prophets that were of old being aſſembled in a council together might no doubt have erred, and did.

6. Hereby it is eaſy to anſwer to that other objection concerning general councils. It cannot be denied but that the Jews had a true church in the time of the prophets. But if there had then been a general council gathered together of the prieſts, what manner of a face of the church had there appeared? We hear what God ſaith, not to one or two of them but to the whole order: the prieſts ſhall be aſtonied, and the prophets ſhall be made afraid. Jer. iv. 9. Again, the law ſhall periſh from the prieſt, and counſel from the elders. Ezek. vii. 26. Again, Night ſhal be to you inſtead of a viſion, and darkneſs inſtead of prophecying: and the ſun ſhall fall down upon the prophets and be darkened upon theſe days, &c. Micah. iii. 6. Well: if all ſuch had then been gathered together in one, what ſpirit ſhould have governed in that aſſembly? Of that thing we have a notable example in that counſel which Achab called together. There were preſent four hundred prophets. But becauſe they were come together of no other mind but to flatter the wicked king: therefore Satan was ſent of the Lord to be a lying ſpirit in the mouth of them all. There, by all their voices the truth was condemned. 1 King. xxii. 5. and 22. Micah was condemned for an heretic, ſtriken and caſt in priſon: ſo was done to Jeremiah, ſo to the other prophets.

A counſel of biſhops and Phariſees aſſembled together againſt Chriſt in Jeruſalem.

7. But let one example ſuffice for all, which is more notable than the reſt. In that council which the biſhops and Phariſees gathered at Jeruſalem againſt Chriſt, what can a man ſay that there wanted, in ſo much as pertained to the outward ſhew? For if there had not then been a church at Jeruſalem, Chriſt would never have communicate with their ſacrifices and other ceremonies. There was made a ſolemn ſummoning of them together: the high biſhop ſat as chief: the whole order of prieſts ſat by him: John. xi. 47. yet Chriſt was there condemned, and his doctrine driven away. This doing is a proof that the church was not encloſed in that council. But there is no peril that any ſuch thing ſhould happen to us. Who hath given us aſſurance thereof? For it is not without fault of ſluggiſhneſs, to be too careleſs in ſo great a matter. But where the holy Ghoſt doth with expreſs words prophecy by the mouth of Paul, that there ſhall come a departing 2 Theſ. ii. 3. (which cannot come but that the paſtors muſt be the firſt that ſhall forſake God) why are we herein wilfully blind to our own deſtruction? Wherefore it is in no wiſe to be granted, that the church conſiſteth in the company of paſtors, for whom the Lord hath no where undertaken that they ſhall perpetually be good, but he hath pronounced that they ſhall ſometimes be evil. But when he warneth us of the danger, he doth it to this intent to make us beware.

How far councils are to be received.

8. What then? wilt thou ſay: Shall the councils have no authority in determining? Yes forſooth. For neither do I here argue that all councils are to be condemned, or all their acts to be repelled, or (as the ſaying is) to be defaced with one blot. But (thou wilt ſay to me) thou bringeſt them all into ſubjection, that it may be free for every man to receive or refuſe that which the councils have determined. Not ſo. But ſo oft as the decree of any council is brought forth, I would have it firſt to be diligently weighed, at what time it was holden, for what cauſe it was holden, what manner of men were preſent: and then the very thing that is treated of, to be examined by the rule of the ſcripture: and that in ſuch ſort as the determination of the council may have his force, and be as a forejudged ſentence, and yet not hinder the aforeſaid examination. I would to God all men did keep that moderation which Auguſtine preſcribeth in the third book againſt Maximinus. For when he minded briefly to put to ſilence this heretic contending about the decrees of councils: neither (ſaith he) ought I to object againſt thee the ſynod of Nice, nor thou againſt me the ſynod of Ariminum, as to the intent to conclude one another by forejudged ſentence, neither am I bound by the authority of the one nor thou of the other. By authorities of ſcriptures, not ſuch as are proper to either one, but ſuch as are common to both, let there ſtrive matter with matter, cauſe with cauſe, reaſon with reaſon. So ſhould it come to paſs, that councils ſhould have the majeſty that they ought: but in the mean ſeaſon the ſcripture ſhould be alone in the higher place that there might be nothing that ſhould not be ſubject to the rule thereof. So theſe old ſynods, as of Nice, of Conſtanti-

nople, the first of Ephesus, of Chalcedon, and such others, which were holden for confuting of errors, we willingly embrace and reverence as holy, so much as belongeth to the doctrines of faith: for they contain nothing but the pure and natural exposition of scripture, which the holy fathers with spiritual wisdom applied to the subduing of the enemies of religion that then rose up. In some of the latter councils also, we see appearing a true zeal of godliness, and plain tokens of wit, learning, and wisdom. But as things are wont commonly to grow to worse, we may see by the latter councils, how much the church hath now and then degenerate from the pureness of that golden age. And I doubt not but that in these corrupter ages also, councils have had some bishops of the better sort. But in these the same happened which the senators themselves complained to be not well done in making of ordinances the senate of Rome. For while the sentence are numbered, not weighed, it is of necessity that oftentimes the better part is overcome of the greater. Truly they brought forth many wicked sentences. Neither is it here needful to gather the special examples, either because it should be too long, or because others have done it so diligently, that there cannot much be added.

The disagreement between the council of Constantinople and Nice, of Chalcedon and Ephesus.

9. Now, what need I to rehearse, councils disagreeing with councils? And it is no cause that any should murmur against me, and say that of those councils that disagree the one is not lawful. For, how shall we judge that? By this, if I be not deceived, that we shall judge by the scriptures, that the decrees thereof are not agreeable with true doctrine. For this is the only certain law to discern them by. It is now about nine hundred years ago, since the synod of Constantinople gathered together under Leo the emperor, judged that images set up in churches should be overthrown, and broken in pieces. A little afterward, the council of Nice, which Irene the empress assembled in spite of him, decreed that they should be restored. Whether of these two shall we acknowlege for a lawful council? The latter which gave images a place in churches, hath prevailed among the people. But Augustine saith that that cannot be done without most present peril of idolatry. Epiphanius which was before in time, speaketh much more sharply: for he saith that it is wickedness and abomination to have images seen in a church of christians. Would they that so speak, allow that council, if they were alive at this day? But if both the historians tell truth, and the very acts he believed, not only images themselves, but also the worshipping of them was there received. But it is evident that such a decree came from Satan. How say you to this, that in depraving and tearing the scripture, they shew that they made a mocking stock of it? Which thing I have before sufficiently made open. Howsoever it be, we shall no otherwise be able to discern between contrary and disagreeing synods which were many, unless we try them all by that balance of all men and angels, that is, by the word of the Lord. So we embrace the synod of Chalcedon, refusing the second synod of Ephesus, because in this latter one the wickedness of Eutyches was confirmed, which the former condemned. This thing holy men have judged no otherwise but by the scripture: whom we so follow in judging: that the word of God which gave light to them doth also now give light to us. Now let the Romanists go and boast, as they are wont, that the holy Ghost is fastened and bound to their councils.

The great weakness of the fathers assembled in the council of Nice against Arius.

10. Howbeit there is also somewhat which a man may well think to be wanting in those ancient and purer councils: either because they that then were at them, being otherwise learned and wise men, wholly bent to the business then in hand, did not foresee many other things, or for that many things of lighter importance escaped them being busied with weightier and more earnest matters: or for that simply, as being men they might be deceived with unskilfulness: or for that they were sometimes carried headlong with too much affection. Of this last point (which seemeth the hardest of all) there was a plain example in the Nicene synod, the dignity whereof hath by consent of all men, as it was worthy, been received with most high reverence. For when the principle article of our faith was there in danger, Arius the enemy was present in readiness, with whom they must fight hand to hand, and the chief importance lay in the agreement of them that came prepared to fight against the error of Arius, this notwithstanding, they careless of so great dangers, yea, as it were having forgotten gravity, modesty, and all humanity, leaving the battle that they had in hand, as if they had come thither of purpose to do Arius a pleasure, began to wound themselves with inward dissentions, and to turn against themselves the stile that should have been bent against Arius.

Arius. There were heard foul objectings of crimes, there were ſcattered books of accuſations, and there would have been no end made of contentions, until they had with mutual wounds one deſtroyed another, unleſs the emperor Conſtantine had prevented it, which profeſſing that the examining of their life was a matter above his knowlege, and chaſtiſed ſuch intemperance rather with praiſe than with rebuking. How many ways is it credible that the other councils alſo failed, which followed afterward? Neither doth this matter need long proof. For if a man read over the acts of the councils, he ſhall note therein many infirmities: though I ſpeak of nothing more grievous.

The ſynod of Chalcedon charged with ambition and unadviſed raſhneſs: infirmities apparent in holy ſynods leaſt we ſhould too much reſt upon men.

11. And Leo biſhop of Rome ſticketh not to charge with ambition and unadviſed raſhneſs, the ſynod of Chalcedon, which yet he confeſſeth to be ſound in doctrines. He doth indeed not deny that it was a lawful ſynod: but he openly affirmeth, that it might err. Some man peradventure will think me fond, for that I buſy myſelf in ſhewing ſuch errors: foraſmuch as our adverſaries do confeſs, that councils may err in thoſe things that are not neceſſary to ſalvation. But this labour is not yet ſuperfluous. For although becauſe they are compelled, they do indeed confeſs it in word: yet when they thruſt unto us the determination of all councils in every matter whatſoever it be, for an oracle of the holy Ghoſt, they do therein require more than they took at the beginning. In ſo doing what do they affirm, but that conncils cannot err: or if they err, yet it is not lawful for us to ſee the truth, or not to ſooth their errors? And I intend nothing elſe, but that it may thereby be gathered that the holy Ghoſt, ſo governed the godly and holy ſynods, that in the mean rime he ſuffered ſomewhat to happen to them by the nature of men, leaſt we ſhould too much truſt to men. This is a much better ſentence, than that of Gregory Nazianzene that he ever ſaw a good end of any council. For he that affirmeth that all without exception ended ill doth not leave them much authority. It is now nothing needful to make mention ſeverally of provincial councils: foraſmuch as it is eaſy to judge by the general, how much authority they ought to have to make new articles of faith and to receive what kind of doctrine ſoever it pleaſeth them.

Spiritual rulers no further to be followed than themſelves do follow the conduct of their heavenly guide.

12. But our Romaniſts, when they ſee that in defence of their cauſe all help of reaſon doth fail them, do reſort to that extreme and miſerable ſhift: that although the men themſelves be blockiſh in wit and council, and moſt wicked in mind and will, yet the word of God remaineth, which commandeth to obey rulers. Is it ſo? what if I deny that they be rulers that are ſuch? For they ought to take upon themſelves no more than Joſhua had, which was both a prophet of the Lord, and an excellent paſtor, Joſh. ii. 7. But let us hear with what word he is ſet by the Lord into his office. Let not (ſaith he) the volume of this law depart from thy mouth: but thou ſhalt ſtudy upon it days and nights. Thou ſhalt neither bow to the right hand nor to the left: then ſhalt thou direct thy way and underſtand it. They therefore ſhall be to us ſpiritual rulers which ſhall not bow from the law of the Lord, neither to the one ſide or to the other. But if the doctrine of all paſtors whatſoever they be, is to be received without any doubting, to what purpoſe was it that we ſhould ſo oft and ſo earneſtly be admoniſhed not to hearken to the ſpeech of falſe prophets. Hear not (ſaith he by Jeremiah) the words of the prophets that prophecy unto you. For they teach vanity and not out of the mouth of the Lord, Jer. xxiii. 16. Again, Beware of falſe prophets, that come unto you in ſheeps clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves, Matth. vii. 15. And John ſhould in vain exhort us, that we ſhould prove the ſpirits, whether they be of God, 1 John iv. 1. From which judgment the very angels are not exempted, much leſs Satan with all his lies. What is to be ſaid of this ſaying: if the blind lead the blind they ſhall both fall into the ditch? Mat. xv 10. Doth it not ſufficiently declare, that it is of great importance, what manner of prophets are heard, and that not all are raſhly to be heard. Wherefore there is no reaſon that they ſhould make us afraid with their titles, thereby to draw us into partaking of their blindneſs: foraſmuch as we ſee on the other ſide, that the Lord had a ſingular care to fray us away from ſuffering ourſelves to be led with other mens error, under what viſor of name ſoever it lurketh. For if the anſwer of Chriſt be true, then all blind guides, whether they be called fathers of the church, or prelates, or biſhops, can do nothing but draw their partners into the ſame

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headlong downfal. Wherefore let no names of councils, paſtors, biſhops (which may as well be falſely pretended as truly uſed) hinder us, but that being taught by leſſons both of words and examples, we may examine all ſpirits of all men by the rule of the word of God, that we may prove whether they be of God or no.

The uſe of councils in ſetting down the true ſenſe of ſcripture when controverſies riſe and trouble the church.

13. Foraſmuch as we have proved that there is not given to the church a power to ſet up a new doctrine, now let us ſpeak of the power which they attribute unto it in expounding of ſcripture. Truly we do willingly grant, that if there happen debate about any doctrine, there is no better, no ſurer remedy than if a ſynod of true biſhops aſſemble together, where the doctrine in controverſy may be diſcuſſed. For ſuch a determination, whereunto the paſtors of churches ſhall agree in common together, calling upon the ſpirit of Chriſt, ſhall have much greater force, than if every one ſeverally ſhould conceive it at home, and ſo teach it to the people, or if a few private men ſhould make it. Again, when biſhops are gathered in one, they do the more commodiouſly take advice in common, what and in what form they ought to teach, leaſt diverſity ſhould bread offence. Thirdly Paul preſcribeth this order in diſcerning of doctrines: for whereas he giveth to every ſeveral church a power to diſcern, he ſheweth what is the order of doing in weightier cauſes, that is, that the churches ſhould take upon them a common trial of the matter together, 1 Cor. xiv. 29. And ſo doth the very inſtinct of godlineſs inſtruct us, that if any man trouble the church with an unwonted doctrine, and the matter proceed ſo far that there be peril of greater diſſention, the churches ſhould firſt meet together, and examine the queſtion propounded: at laſt, after juſt diſcuſſing had, bring forth a determination taken out of the ſcriptures, ſuch as may both take away doubting out of the people, and ſtop the mouths of the wicked and greedy men, that they may not be ſo hardy to proceed any further: ſo when Arius was riſen, the Nicene ſynod was gathered together, which with the authority thereof both did break the wicked endeavours of the ungodly man, and reſtored peace to the churches which he had vexed, and defended the eternal godhead of Chriſt, againſt his blaſphemous doctrine. When afterward Eunomius and Macedonius ſtirred up new troubles, their madneſs was reſiſted with like remedy by the ſynod of Conſtantinople. In the council at Epheſus the wickedneſs of Neſtorius was baniſhed. Finally this hath been from the beginning the ordinary mean in the church to preſerve unity, ſo oft as Satan began to work any thing. But let us remember, that not in all ages or in all places are found Athanaſies, Baſiles, Cyrilles, and ſuch defenders of true doctrine whom the Lord then raiſed up. But let us think what happened at Epheſus in the ſecond ſynod, where the hereſy of Eutyches prevailed, the man of holy memory Flavianus was baniſhed with certain other godly men, and many ſuch miſchiefs committed: even becauſe Dioſcorus a ſeditious man and of a very naughty nature, was there the chief, and not the ſpirit of the Lord. But there was not the church. I grant. For this I determine utterly that the truth doth not therefor die in the church, although it be oppreſſed of one council: but that the Lord marvellouſly preſerveth it that it my again in due time riſe up, and get the overhand. But I deny that this is perpetual, that this is a true and certain expoſition of ſcripture which hath been received by conſents of a council.

Not every determination of a council to be received as a true and ſound expoſition of the ſcripture, ſome councils having expreſly defined things againſt ſcripture: ſo far off it is that councils ſhould have power to authorize ſcripture.

14. But the Romaniſts ſhoot at another mark, when they teach that the power to expound the ſcripture belongeth to the councils, yea and that without appellation from them. For they abuſe this colour, to call it an expoſition of the ſcripture whatſoever is decreed in the councils. Of purgatory, of the interceſſion of ſaints, of auricular confeſſion, and ſuch others there cannot be found one ſyllable in the ſcriptures. But becauſe all theſe things have been eſtabliſhed by the authority of the church, that is to ſay (to ſpeak truly) received in opinion and uſe, therefore every one of them muſt be taken for an expoſition of ſcripture. And not that only: but if a council decree any thing, though ſcripture cry out againſt it, yet it ſhall bear the name of an expoſition thereof. Chriſt commandeth all to drink of the cup which he reacheth in the ſupper, Matth. xxvi. 26. The council of Conſtance forbade that it ſhould be given to the lay people, but willed that the prieſt only ſhould drink of it. That which ſo directly oppoſeth the inſtitution of Chriſt, they will have to be taken for an expoſition of it. Paul calleth the forbidding of marriage

marriage, the doctrine of devils, 1 Tim. iv. 1.: and the holy Ghoſt in another place pronounceth that marriage is in all men holy and honourable, Heb. xiii. 4. Whereas they have afterward forbidden prieſts to marry, they require to have that taken for the true and natural expoſition of the ſcripture, when nothing can be imagined more againſt it. If any dare once open his mouth to the contrary, he ſhall be judged an heretic: becauſe the determination of the church is without appellation: and to doubt of her expoſition, that it is not true, is a hainous offence. Why ſhould I inveigh againſt ſo great ſhameleſneſs? For the very ſhewing of it is an overcoming of it. As for that which they teach of the power to allow the ſcripture, I wittingly paſs it over. For in ſuch ſort to make the oracles of God ſubject to the judgment of men, that they ſhould therefore be of force becauſe they have pleaſed men, is a blaſphemy unworthy to be rehearſed: and I have before touched the ſame matter already. Yet I will aſk them one thing: If the authority of the ſcripture be founded upon the allowance of the church, what council's decree will they allege of that matter? I think they have none. Why then did Arius ſuffer himſelf to be overcome at Nice with teſtimonies brought out of the goſpel of John: for after theſe mens ſaying, it was free for him to have refuſed them, forаſmuch as there had now allowance of a general council gone before. They allege the old roll, which is called the canon, which they ſay to have proceeded from the judgment of the church. But I aſk them again, in what council that canon was ſet forth. Here they muſt needs be dumb. Howbeit I deſire further to know, what manner of canon they think that that was. For I ſee that the ſame was not very certainly agreed among the old writers. And if that which Jerom ſaith ought to be of force, the books of Macabees, Tobia, Eccleſiaſticus and ſuch others ſhall be thruſt among the apochrypha: which thoſe canons do in no wiſe ſuffer to be done.

CHAP. X.

Of the power in making of laws: wherein the pope and his, have uſed a moſt cruel tyranny and butchery upon ſouls.

The tyranny of the church of Rome in charging the conſciences of men with the burden of their laws.

NOW followeth the ſecond part, which they will have to conſiſt in making of laws, out of which ſpring have flowed innumerable traditions of men, even ſo many ſnares to ſtrangle poor ſouls. For they have had no more conſcience, than had the Scribes and Phariſees to lay burdens upon other mens ſhoulders, which they themſelves would not touch with one finger. I have in another place taught how cruel a butchery is that which they command concerning auricular confeſſion. In other laws there appeareth not ſo great violence: but thoſe which ſeem the moſt tolerable of all, do tyrannically oppreſs conſciences. I leave unſpoken how they corrupt the worſhip of God, and do ſpoil God himſelf of his right, who is the only law-maker. This power is now to be treated of, whether the church may bind conſciences with her laws. In which diſcourſe the order of policy is not touched, but this only is intended, that God be rightly worſhipped according to the rule which himſelf hath preſcribed, and that the ſpiritual liberty, which hath regard unto God, may remain ſafe unto us. Uſe hath made that all thoſe decrees be called traditions of men, whatſoever they be that have concerning the worſhipping of God proceeded from men beſide his word. Againſt theſe do we ſtrive, not againſt the holy and profitable ordinances of the church which make for the preſervation either of diſcipline, or honeſty, or peace. But the end of our ſtriving is, that the immeaſurable and barbarous empire may be reſtrained, which they uſurp upon ſouls, that would be counted paſtors of the church, but in very deed are moſt cruel butchers. For they ſay that the laws which they make are ſpiritual, and pertaining to the ſoul, and they affirm them to be neceſſary to eternal life. But ſo (as I have even now touched) the kingdom of Chriſt is invaded, ſo the liberty by him given to the conſciences of the faithful is utterly oppreſſed and thrown down. I ſpeak not now with how great ungodlineſs they ſtabliſh the obſerving of their laws, while out of it they teach men to ſeek both forgiveneſs of ſins, and righteouſneſs and ſalvation, while they ſet in it the whole ſum of religion and godlineſs. This one thing I earneſtly hold, that there ought no neceſſity to be laid upon conſciences in thoſe things wherein they

are made free by Chriſt, and unleſs they be made free, as we have before taught, they cannot reſt with God. They muſt acknowlege one only king Chriſt their deliverer, and be governed by one law of liberty, even the holy word of the Goſpel, if they will ſtill keep the grace which they have once obtained in Chriſt: they muſt be holden with no bondage, and bound with no bonds.

The liberty which Chriſt hath given abridged in the church of Rome by many hard and heavy conſtitutions: which notwithſtanding they call ſweet and eaſy burthens.

2. Theſe Solons do indeed feign that their conſtitutions are laws of liberty, a ſweet yoke, a light burden: but who cannot ſee that they are mere lies? They themſelves indeed do feel no heavineſs of their own laws, who caſting away the fear of God, do careleſly and ſtoutly neglect both their own and God's laws. But they that are touched with any care of their ſalvation, are far from thinking themſelves free ſo long as they are intangled with theſe ſnares. We ſee with how great warineſs Paul did deal in this behalf, that he durſt not ſo much as in any one thing lay upon men any ſnare at all, 1 Cor. vii. 2, 5. and that not without cauſe. Truly he foreſaw with how great a wound conſciences would be ſtriken, if they ſhould be charged with a neceſſity of thoſe things whereof the Lord had left them at liberty. On the other ſide the conſtitutions are almoſt innumerable, which theſe men have moſt grievouſly ſtabliſhed with threatning of eternal death, which they moſt ſeverely require as neceſſary to ſalvation. And among thoſe there are many moſt hard to be kept, but all of them (if the whole multitude of them be laid together) are impoſſible: ſo great is the heap. How then ſhall it be poſſible, that they upon whom ſo great a weight of difficulty lieth, ſhould not be vexed in perplexity with extreme anguiſh and terror? Therefore my purpoſe is here to impute ſuch conſtitutions, as tend to this end, inwardly to bind ſouls before God, and charge them with a religion, as though they taught them of things neceſſary to ſalvation.

What conſcience is.

3. This queſtion doth therefore incumber the moſt part of men, becauſe they do not ſubtily enough put difference between the outward court (as they call it) and the court of conſcience. Moreover this increaſeth the difficulty, that Paul teacheth that the magiſtrate ought to be obeyed not only for fear of puniſhment, but for conſcience ſake. Rom. xiii. 1. Whereupon followeth, that conſciences are alſo bound with the politic laws. But if it were ſo, then all ſhould fall that we have ſpoken in the laſt chapter, and intend now to ſpeak concerning the ſpiritual government. For the looſing of this knot, firſt it is good to learn what is conſcience. The definition is to be gathered of the proper derivation of the word. For as when men do with mind and underſtanding conceive the knowlege of things, they are thereby ſaid *ſcire*, to know, whereupon is derived the name of ſcience knowlege: ſo when they have a feeling of God's judgments as a witneſs adjoined with them which doth not ſuffer them to hide their ſins, but that they be brought accuſed to the judgment ſeat of God, that ſame feeling is called conſcience. For it is a certain mean between God and man: becauſe it ſuffereth not man to ſuppreſs that which he knoweth, but purſueth him ſo far till it bring him to guiltineſs. This is it that Paul meaneth when he teacheth that conſcience doth together witneſs with men, when their thoughts do accuſe or acquite them in the judgment of God. Rom. xii. 15. A ſimple knowlege might remain in man as incloſed. Therefore this feeling which preſenteth man to the judgment of God, is as it were a keeper joined to man, to mark and watch all his ſecrets, that nothing ſhould remain buried in darkneſs. Whereupon alſo cometh that old proverb, conſcience is a thouſand witneſſes. For the ſame reaſon alſo Peter hath ſet the examination of a good conſcience, for quietneſs of mind, when we being perſuaded of the grace of Chriſt, do without fear preſent our ſelves to God. 1 Pet iii. 21. And the author of the epiſtle to the Hebrews uſeth theſe words, to have no more conſcience of ſin, Heb. x. 2. inſtead of, to be delivered or acquitted, that ſin may no more accuſe us.

How a law is ſaid to bind the conſcience.

4. Therefore as works have reſpect to men, ſo the conſcience is referred to God: ſo that conſcience is nothing elſe but the inward pureneſs of the heart. In which ſenſe Paul writeth that charity is the fulfilling of the law, out of a pure conſcience, and, faith unfeigned, 1 Tim. i. 5. Afterward alſo in the ſame chapter he ſheweth how much it differeth from underſtanding, ſaying that ſome had ſuffered ſhipwreck from the faith, becauſe they had forſaken a good conſcience. For in theſe words he ſignifieth, that it is a lively affection to worſhip God, and

a ſincere deſire to live godlily and holily. Sometime indeed it is referred alſo to men, as in Luke, when the ſame Paul teſtifieth, that he exerciſed himſelf that he might walk with a good conſcience toward God and men. Act xxiv. 16. But this was therefore ſaid, becauſe the fruits of a good conſcience do flow and come even to men. But in ſpeaking properly, it hath reſpect to God only, as I have already ſaid. Hereupon cometh that a law is ſaid to bind conſcience, which ſimply bindeth a man, without regard of men, or not having any conſideration of them. As for example. God commanded not only to keep the mind chaſte and pure from all luſts, but alſo forbiddeth all manner of filthineſs of words and outward wantonneſs whatſoever it be. To the keeping of this law my conſcience is ſubject, although there lived not one man in the world. So he that behaveth himſelf intemperately, doth not only ſin in this that he giveth evil example to his brethren, but he hath his conſcience bound with guiltineſs before God. In things that are of themſelves mean, there is another conſideration. For we ought to abſtain from them, if they breed any offence: but the conſcience ſtill being free. So Paul ſpeaketh of fleſh conſecrate to idols. If any (ſaith he) make doubt, touch it not, for conſciences ſake. I ſay for conſcience, not thine own, but the others. 1 Cor. x. 28. A faithful man ſhould ſin, who being firſt warned, ſhould nevertheleſs eat of ſuch fleſh. But howſoever in reſpect of his brother, it be neceſſary for him to abſtain, as it is preſcribed of God, yet he ceaſeth not to keep ſtill the liberty of conſcience. We ſee how this law binding the outward work, leaveth the conſcience unbound.

How men for conſcience ſake are bound to obey the laws of men.

4. Now let us return to the laws of men. If they are made to this end, to charge us with a religion, as though the obſerving of them were of it ſelf neceſſary, then we ſay that that is laid upon conſcience which was not lawful to be laid upon it. For our conſciences have not to do with men, but with God only: whereunto pertaineth that common difference between the earthly court and the court of conſcience. When the whole world was wrapped in a moſt thick miſt of ignorance, yet this ſmall ſparkle of light remained, that they acknowleged a man's conſcience to be above all judgments of men. Howbeit the ſame thing that they did with one word confeſs, they did afterward in deed overthrow: yet it was God's will that there ſhould then alſo remain ſome teſtimony of chriſtian liberty, which might deliver conſciences from the tyranny of men. But that difficulty is not yet diſſolved, which ariſeth out of the words of Paul. For if we muſt obey princes not only for penalties ſake, but alſo for conſcience, it ſeemeth thereupon to follow that princes laws haue alſo dominion over conſcience. If this be true, then the ſame alſo ought to be ſaid of the laws of the church: I anſwer, that firſt here we muſt put a difference between the generalty and ſpecialty. For though all ſpecial laws do not touch the conſcience, yet we are bound by the general commandment of God, which commendeth unto us the authority of magiſtrates. Rom. xiii. 1. And upon this point ſtandeth the diſputation Paul, that magiſtrates are to be honoured becauſe they are ordained of God. In the mean time he teacheth not that thoſe laws that are preſcribed by them, do belong to the inward government of the ſoul: whereas he every where extolleth both the worſhipping of God, and the ſpiritual rule of living righteouſly, above all the ordinances of men whatſoever they be. Another thing alſo is worthy to be noted, (which yet dependeth upon the former) that the laws of men, whether they be made by the magiſtrate or by the church, although they be neceſſary to be kept, (I ſpeak of the good and righteous laws) yet therefore do not by themſelves bind conſcience, becauſe the whole neceſſity of keeping them is referred to the general end, but conſiſteth not in the things commanded. From this ſort do far differ both thoſe that preſcribe a new form of the worſhipping of God, and thoſe that appoint neceſſity in things that are indifferent.

The authority which the popiſh prelacy challengeth in making laws.

5. But ſuch are thoſe that at this day are called eccleſiaſtical conſtitutions in the papacy, which are thruſt in, inſtead of the true and neceſſary worſhipping of God. And as they are innumerable: ſo are there infinite bonds to catch and ſnare ſouls. But although in the declaration of the law we have ſomewhat touched them: yet becauſe this place was fitter to treat fully of them, I will now labour to gather together the whole ſum in the beſt order that I can. And becauſe we have already diſcourſed ſo much as ſeemed to be ſufficient, concerning the tyranny

which the false bishops do take upon themselves, in liberty to teach whatsoever they list. I will now omit all that part: And I will here tarry only upon declaring the power, which they say they have, to make laws. Our false bishops therefore do burden consciences with new laws, under this pretence, that they are ordained to the Lord spiritual law-makers, since the government of the church is committed unto them. Therefore they affirm that whatsoever they command and prescribe, ought necessarily to be observed of the christian people: and that he that breaketh it, is guilty of double disobedience, for that he is rebellious both to God and to the church. Certainly, if they were true bishops, I would in this behalf grant to them some authority, not so much as they require, but so much as is requisite to the well ordering of the policy of the church. Now since they are nothing less than that which they would be accounted, they cannot take any thing to them, be it never so little, but that they shall take too much. But because this hath been elsewhere considered, let us grant them at this present, that whatsoever power true bishops have, the same rightly belongeth to them also: yet I deny that they are therefore appointed law-makers over the faithful, that may of themselves prescribe a rule to live by, or compel to their ordinances the people committed unto them. When I say this, I mean, that it is not lawful for them, to deliver to the church to be observed of necessity, that which they have devised of themselves without the word of God. Forasmuch as that authority both was unknown to the apostles, and so oft taken away from the ministers of the church by the Lord's own mouth: I wonder who have been so bold as to take it upon them, and at this day are so bold as to defend it, contrary the example of the apostles, and against the manifest prohibition of God.

All things needful to the perfect rule of well living contained in the law.

7. As touching that, that pertained to the perfect rule of well living, the Lord hath so contained all that in his law, that he hath left nothing for men that they might add to that sum. And this he did first for this purpose, that because the whole uprightness of living standeth in this point, if all works be governed by his will as by a rule, he should be holden of us the only master and directer of life: then, to declare that he requireth of us nothing more than obedience. For this reason James saith: he that judgeth his brother judgeth the law: he that judgeth the law, is not an observer of the law, but a judge. But there is one only law-maker, that can both save and destroy. Jam. iv. 12. We hear that God doth claim this one thing as proper to himself, to rule us with the government and laws of his word. And the same thing was spoken before of Isaiah, although somewhat more darkly: the Lord is our king, the Lord is our law-maker, the Lord is our judge he shall save us. Isa. xxxiii. 22. Truly in both these places is shewed, that he that hath power over the soul, hath the judgment of life and death. Yea James pronounceth this plainly: Now, no man can take that upon him. Therefore God must be acknowleged to be the only king of souls, to whom alone belongeth the power to save and destroy, as those words of Isaiah express, and to be the king, and judge, and law-maker and Saviour. Therefore Peter, when he admonisheth the pastors of their duty, exhorteth them so to feed the flock not as using a lordship over the clergy, 1 Pet. ix. 2. by which word clergy he signifieth the inheritance of God, that is to say, the faithful people. That if we rightly weigh, that it is not lawful, that that should be transferred to man, which God maketh his own only: we shall understand that so all the power is cut off whatsoever it be, that they challenge, which advance themselves to command any thing in the church without the word of God.

The way to judge what ordinances of men are repugnant to the word of God.

8. Now, forasmuch as the whole cause dependeth thereupon, that if God be the only law-maker, it is not lawful for men to take that honour to themselves: it is meet also therewithal to keep in mind those two reasons which we have spoken, why the Lord claimeth that to himself alone. The first is that his will may be to us a perfect rule of all righteousness and holiness: and that so in the knowing of him may be the perfect knowlege to live well. The other is, that (when the manner is sought how to worship him rightly and well) he only may have authority over our souls, whom we ought to obey, and upon whose back we ought to depend. These two reasons being well marked, it shall be easy to judge, what ordinances of men are contrary to the word of God. Of that sort are all those which are feigned to belong to the true worshipping of God, and to the observing whereof consciences are bound, as though they were necessary to be observed.

ved. Let us therefore remember that all laws of men ought to be weighed with this balance, if we will have a ſure trial that may never ſuffer us to err. The firſt of theſe reaſons Paul in the epiſtle to the Coloſſians uſeth in contending againſt the falſe apoſtles that attempted to oppreſs the churches with new burthens. The ſecond reaſon he more uſeth with the Galatians in the like caſe. This therefore he laboureth to prove in the epiſtle to the Coloſſians, that the doctrine concerning the true worſhipping of God is not to be ſought at mens hands: becauſe the Lord hath faithfully, and fully inſtructed us how he ought to be worſhipped. To prove the ſame in the firſt chapter, he ſaith that in the Goſpel is contained all wiſdom, whereby the man of God may be made perfect in Chriſt. Col. i. 8. In the beginning of the ſecond chapter he ſaith, that all the treaſures of wiſdom and underſtanding are hidden in Chriſt. Thereupon he afterward concludeth, let the faithful beware that they be not by vain philoſophy led from the flock of Chriſt, according to the conſtitutions of men. But in the end of the chapter, he doth yet with greater boldneſs condemn all Ethelothreſkias, that is to ſay, all feigned worſhippings, which men deviſe to themſelves, or receive of others, and whatſoever precepts they dare of themſelves give concerning the worſhipping of God. We have therefore, that all thoſe ordinances are wicked, in obſerving whereof the worſhipping of God is feigned to be. As for the places in the Galatians wherewith he earneſtly affirmeth that conſciences, which ought to be ruled of God only, ought not to be intangled with ſnares, they are open enough, ſpecially in the fifth chapter. Therefore let it be ſufficient to have but noted them.

The cauſe why the eccleſiaſtical conſtitutions of the Pope as well concerning ceremonies as diſcipline are impugned.

9. But becauſe the whole matter ſhall better be made open by examples, before that we go any further, it is good alſo to apply this doctrine to our own times. We ſay that the conſtitutions which they call eccleſiaſtical, wherewith the Pope and his do burden the church, are pernitious and wicked: our adverſaries defend that they are holy and available to ſalvation. There be two kinds of them: for ſome concern ceremonies and rites, other ſome pertain more to diſcipline. Is there then a juſt cauſe to move us to impugn them both? Truly a juſter than we would. Firſt do not the authors themſelves clearly define, that the very worſhipping of God is contained in them? To what purpoſe do they apply their ceremonies, but that God ſhould be worſhipped by them? And that cometh to paſs not only by the error of the ignorant multitude, but by their allowance that have the place of teaching. I do not touch the groſs abominations, wherewith they have gone about to overthrow all godlineſs. But it ſhould not be imagined among them to be ſo hainous an offence to have failed in any of the leaſt petty traditions, unleſs they did make the worſhipping of God ſubject to their feigned deviſes. What do we then offend, if at this day we cannot bear that which Paul taught to be intolerable, that the lawful order of the worſhipping of God ſhould be reduced to the will of men: ſpecially when they command men to worſhip according to the elements of the world, which Paul teſtifieth to be againſt Chriſt? Col. ii. 20. Again, it is not unknown, with how preciſe neceſſity they bind conſciences to keep whatſoever they command. Here when we cry out to the contrary, we have all one cauſe with Paul, which in no wiſe ſuffereth faithful conſciences to be brought into bondage of men. Gal. v. 1.

A leſs fault in the papacy to tranſgreſs the law of God than to miſs in the keeping of human conſtitutions.

10. Moreover this worſt of all is added, that when religion hath once begun to be defiled with ſuch vain inventions, there ever followeth after that perverſeneſs, another abominable frowardneſs, whereof Chriſt reproached the Phariſees that the commandment of God is made void by the traditions of men. I will not uſe mine own words in fighting againſt our law-makers at theſe days. Let them have the victory, if they can by any means purge themſelves from this accuſation of Chriſt. But how ſhould they excuſe them, when among them it is thought infinitely more hainous, to have omitted auricular confeſſion when time of year cometh about, than to have continued a moſt wicked life a whole year together? to have infected their tongue with a little taſting of fleſh on a Friday, than to have defiled their body with whoredom all the days of the week? to have put their hand to an honeſt work upon a day conſecrate to I wot not what petty ſaints, than to have continually exerciſed their members in moſt wicked offences? for a prieſt to be coupled with one lawful marriage, than to be entangled with a thouſand adulteries? not to have performed a vowed pilgrimage, than to break faith in all promiſes? not to

have wasted somewhat upon monstrous and no less superfluous, and unprofitable excessive gorgeousness of temples, than to have failed to help the extreme necessities of the poor? to have passed by an idol without honour, than to have despitefully intreated all kinds of men? not to have mumbled up at certain hours a great number of words without understanding, than never to have conceived a true prayer in their heart? What is it to make void the commandment of God for the traditions of men, if this be not: when commending the keeping of God's comandments, but coldly and as it were lightly by the way, they do no less earnestly and busily exact the obeying of their own, than if they contained in them the whole strength of godliness? when revenging the transgressing of God's law, with light penalties of satisfactions, they punish the very least offence of one of their own decrees with no less pain than with prisonment, banishment, fire or sword? Being not so sharp and hard to entreat against the despisers of God, they persecute the despisers of themselves with unappeasable hatred to the extremity, and do so instruct all those, whose simplicity they hold captive, that they would with more contented mind see the whole law of God overthrown, than one small title (as they call it) in the commandments of the church to be broken. First in this point is grievous offence committed, that for small matters, and such as (if it should be tried by God's judgment) are at liberty, one man despiseth, judgeth and casteth away another. But now as though that were not evil enough, those trifling elements of the world (as Paul calleth them in writing to the Galatians. Gal. iv. 9.) are weighed of more value than the oracles of God. And he that is in a manner acquitted in adultery, is judged in meat: he that hath leave to use a harlot, is forbidden to have a wife. This profit verily is gotten by that transgressing obedience, which is so much turned from God as it declineth to men.

Human ordinances though unprofitable in respect of their quality, and for their number burdensome, yet embraced by man because they are most agreeable to his vanity, because they seem introductions to humility, and because they make a shew of restraining fleshly desires.

11. There be also other two not slender faults, which we disallow in the same ordinances. First, because they prescribe for the most part unprofitable, and sometimes also fond observations: then, because godly consciences are oppressed with the infinite multitude of them, and being rolled back into a certain Jewishness, they so cleave to shadows, that they cannot attain to Christ. Whereas I call them foolish and unprofitable, I know that that will not seem credible to the wisdom of the flesh, which so well liketh them, that it thinketh the church to be utterly deformed when they are taken away. But this is it, that Paul writeth of, to have a resemblance of wisdom in counterfeit worshipping, in humility, and in this that they think that with their severities they are able to tame their flesh. Col. ii. 23. This is truly a most wholsome admonition, such as ought never to slip away from us. Mens traditions (saith he) do deceive under the shew of wisdom, whence have they this colour? because they are feigned of men therefore the wit of man doth therein own his own, and owning it doth more, gladly embrace it, than any thing were it never so good, that less agreed with his vanity. Again they have hereby another commendation, because they seem to be fit introductions to humility, for that with their yoke they hold the minds of men pressed down to the ground. Last of all, because they seem to tend to this end to restrain the wantonness of the flesh, and to subdue it with rigor of abstinence, therefore they are thought to be wisely devised. But what saith Paul to these things? doth he not shake off those visors: lest the simple should be deceived with false pretences? Because he judged this enough for confutation of them, that he had said that they were the inventions of men, he passeth over all these things without confutation, as though he esteemed them for nothing: yea, because he knew that all feigned worshippings in the church were condemned, and are so much more suspicious to the faithful as they more delight the wit of man: because he knew that the feigned image of outward humility doth so much differ from true humility, as it might easily be discerned: finally because he knew that that childish introduction was no more esteemed than an exercise of the body: therefore he willed that the very same things should be to the faithful instead of a confutation of mens traditions, by favour of which they were commended among the ignorant.

Vain men, hypocrites and fools delighted, the wiser sort offended with the toyish

12. So at this day not only the unlearned common people, but every man as he is most puffed up with worldly wisdom, so is he most marvelously delighted with beholding of ceremonies. But hypocrites

ceremonies of the church of Rome.

hypocrites and fooliſh women think that there be nothing deviſed more glorious nor better. But they who do more deeply ſearch, and more truly weigh according to the rule of godlineſs, of what value ſo many and ſuch ceremonies are, do underſtand firſt that they are trifles, becauſe they have no profit: then, that they are deceits, becauſe they do with vain pomp beguile the eyes of the beholders. I ſpeak of thoſe ceremonies, under which the Romiſh maſters will that there be great myſteries: but we find them by experience to be nothing elſe but merry mockeries. And it is no wonder that the authors of them have fallen ſo far as to mock both themſelves and others with trifling follies: becauſe they partly took their examplar out of the dotages of the Gentiles, and partly after the manner of apes did undiſcreetly counterfeit the old uſages of the law of Moſes, which no more pertained to us, than the ſacrifices of beaſts and ſuch other things. Truly although there were none other argument, yet no man that hath his ſound judgment will look for any goodneſs of a heap ſo ill patched together. And the thing itſelf plainly ſheweth that many ceremonies have no other uſe but to amuſe the people rather than to teach them. So in theſe new found canons, they do rather pervert than preſerve diſcipline, the hypocrites repoſe great importance: but if a man do better look into them he ſhall find that they are nothing elſe but a ſhadowiſh and vaniſhing ſhew of diſcipline.

The number of ceremonies grown intolerable in the church.

13. But now (to come to the other point) who doth not ſee that traditions with heaping one upon another, are overgrown into ſo great a number, that the chriſtian church may in no wiſe bear them. Hereby it is come to paſs, that in ceremonies there appeareth I wot not what Jewiſhneſs, and the other obſervations bring a grievous butchery to chriſtians ſouls. Auguſtine complained (*Ad Jan. epiſt.* 119.) that in his time, the commandments of God neglected, all things were full of ſo many preſumptions, that he was more grievouſly rebuked that in his Octaves had touched the ground with bare foot, than he that had buried his wit with drukenneſs. He complaineth that the church, which the mercy of God willed to be free, was ſo burdened, that the ſtate of the Jews was much more tolerable. If that holy man had happened to live in our age, with what complaints would he have bewailed the bondage that now is? For both the number is ten times greater, and every ſmall title is a hundred times more rigorouſly looked unto, than at that time. So is wont to be done: when theſe perverſe law-makers have gotten the dominion, they make no end of bidding and forbidding, till they come to extreme peeviſhneſs. Which thing Paul hath alſo very well declared in theſe words: If ye be dead to the world, why are ye holden as though ye were living with traditions, as eat not, taſte not, handle not? Col. ii. 20. For whereas the Greek word *apteſthai*, ſignifieth both to eat and to touch, doubtleſs in this place it is taken in the firſt of theſe two ſignifications, leaſt there ſhould be a ſuperfluous repetition. Therefore he doth here excellently well deſcribe the proceedings of the falſe apoſtles. They begin at ſuperſtition, ſo that they do not only forbid to eat, but alſo even ſo ſlenderly to chaw: when they have obtained this, they then alſo forbid to taſte. When this is alſo granted them, they reckon it not lawful ſo much as to touch with a finger.

Chriſtianity buried under heaps of ceremonies.

14. This tyranny in the ordinances of men we do at this day worthily blame, by which it is come to paſs that poor conſciences are marvellouſly tormented with innumerable decrees and immeaſurable exacting of keeping of them. Of canons pertaining to diſcipline we have ſpoken in another place. Of the ceremonies what ſhall I ſay, by which it is brought about that Chriſt being half buried, we are returned to Jewiſh figures? Our Lord Chriſt (ſaith Auguſtine, *Epi.* 118. *ad. Januar.*) hath bound together the fellowſhip of the new people, with ſacraments very few in number, moſt excellent in ſignification, moſt eaſy in obſerving. How far the multitude and diverſity of uſages wherewith at this day we ſee the church to be intangled, doth differ from this ſimplicity, it cannot be ſufficiently declared. I know with what crafty ſhift ſome ſubtle men do excuſe this perverſneſs. They ſay that among us there are many as rude as they were in the people of Iſrael: that ſuch introduction was ordained for their ſakes, which although the ſtronger may well want, yet they ought not to neglect it, foraſmuch as they ſee it to be profitable for the weak brethren. I anſwer, that we are not ignorant, what we owe to the weakneſs of our brethren: but on the other ſide we take exception and ſay, that this is not the way whereby the weak may be provided for, that they ſhould be overwhelmed with great heaps of ceremonies. The Lord did not in vain put this difference between us

and

and the old people, that his will was to inſtruct them like children with ſigns and figures, but us more ſimply without ſuch outward furniture. As (ſaith Paul, Gal. iv. 2.) a child is ruled of his ſchool-maſter, and kept under cuſtody, according to the capacity of his age: ſo the Jews are kept under the law. But we are like unto full grown men, who being ſet at liberty from tutorſhip and government, have no more need of childiſh introductions. Truly the Lord did foreſee what manner of common people there ſhould be in his church, and how they ſhould be ruled. Yet he did in this manner as we have ſaid, make difference between us and the Jews. Therefore it is a fooliſh way, if we will provide for the ignorant, in raiſing up Jewiſhneſs which is abrogate by Chriſt: Chriſt alſo touched in his own words this difference of the old and new people, when he ſaid to the woman of Samaria, that the time was come, wherein the true worſhippers ſhould worſhip God in ſpirit and in truth. This verily had always been done: but the new worſhippers differed from the old in this point, that under Moſes the ſpiritual worſhipping of God was ſhadowed and in a manner intangled with many ceremonies, which being aboliſhed, he is now more ſimply worſhipped. Therefore they that confound this difference, do overthrow the order inſtitute and eſtabliſhed by Chriſt. Shall there then (wilt thou ſay) no ceremonies be given to the ruder ſort to help their unſkilfulneſs? I ſay not ſo: for I verily think that this kind of help is profitable for them. I do here labour only that ſuch a mean may be uſed, as may brightly ſet out Chriſt and not darken him. Therefore there are given us of God few ceremonies, and thoſe not labourſome, that they ſhould ſhew Chriſt being preſent. The Jews had more given them, that they ſhould be images of him being abſent. Abſent I ſay he was, not in power, but in manner of ſignifying. Therefore, that mean may be kept, it is neceſſary to keep that fewneſs in number, eaſineſs in obſerving, and dignity in ſignifying, which alſo conſiſteth in clearneſs. What need I to ſay that this hath not been done? For the thing itſelf is in all mens eyes.

Righteouſneſs ſought in the church of Rome by the obſervation of ceremonial ordinances ſevered from the doctrine that ſhould direct men unto Chriſt, and invented many of them only to make money of.

15. Here I omit with how pernitious opinions mens minds are filled in thinking that they are ſacrifices wherewith oblation is rightly made to God, whereby ſins are cleanſed, whereby righteouſneſs and ſalvation is obtained. They will deny that good things are corrupted with ſuch foreign errors: foraſmuch as in this behalf a man may no leſs offend in the very works alſo commanded of God. But this hath hainouſneſs, that ſo much honour is given to works raſhly feigned by the will of man, that they are thought to be the things deſerving eternal life. For the works commanded of God have reward therefore, becauſe the law-maker himſelf in reſpect of obedience accepteth them. Therefore they receive not their value of their own worthineſs, or of their own deſerving, but becauſe God ſo much eſteemeth our obedience toward him. I ſpeak here of the perfection of of works which is commanded of God, and is not performed of men. For therefore the very works of the law which we do, have no thank but of the free goodneſs of God, becauſe in them our obedience is weak and lame. But becauſe we do not here diſpute, of what value works are without Chriſt, therefore let us paſs over that queſtion. I come back again to that which properly belongeth to this preſent argument, that whatſoever commendation works have in them, they have it in reſpect of the obedience, which only the Lord doth look upon as he teſtifieth by the prophet, Jer. vii. 22. I gave not commandment of ſacrifices and burnt offrings, but only that ye ſhould with hearing, hear my voice. But of feigned works he ſpeaketh in another place, ſaying, (Iſa. lv. 2. and xxix. 13.) Ye ſpend your ſilver, and not in bread. Again, They worſhip me in vain with the precepts of men, Mat. xv. 9. This therefore they can by no ways excuſe, that they ſuffer the ſilly people to ſeek in thoſe outward trifles the righteouſneſs whereby they may ſtand againſt God and uphold themſelves before the heavenly judgment ſeat. Moreover, is not this a fault worthy to be inveighed againſt, that they ſhew forth ceremonies not underſtood, as it were a ſtage play, or a magical inchantment? For it is certain that all ceremonies are corrupt and hurtful, unleſs men be by them directed to Chriſt. But the ceremonies that are uſed under the papacy, are ſevered from doctrine, that they may the more hold men in ſigns without all ſignification: finally (ſuch a cunning craftſman is the belly) it appeareth that many of them have been invented by covetous ſacrificing prieſts, to be ſnares to catch money. But what beginning ſoever they have, they are all ſo given forth in common for filthy gain, that we muſt needs cut off a great part of them, if we will

will bring to pass that there be not a prophane market, and full of sacrilege used in the church.

What human ordinances are, and the inconveniences whereunto they are subject.

16. Although I seem not to teach a continual doctrine concerning the ordinances of men, because this speaking is altogether applied to our own time: yet there is nothing spoken that shall not be profitable for all times. For so oft as this superstition creepeth in, that men will worship God with their own feigned devices, whatsoever the laws be that are made to that purpose, they do by and by degenerate to those gross abuses. For the Lord threatneth not this curse to one or two ages, but to all ages of the world, that he will strike them with blindness and amazed dulness, that worship him with the doctrines of men, Isa. xxix. 13. This blinding continually maketh that they fly from no kind of absurdity, which despising so many warnings of God, do wilfully wrap themselves in those deadly snares. But if, setting aside circumstances, you will have simply shewed what are the mens tradition of all ages, which it is meet to be rejected of the church, and to be disallowed of all the godly, that same shall be a sure and a plain definition which we have above set: that all laws without the word of God, are made by men to this end, either to prescribe a manner of worshipping God, or to bind consciences with religion, as though they gave commandment of things necessary to salvation. If to the one or both of these there be adjoined other faults: as, that with the multitude they darken the brightness of the gospel: that they nothing edify, but are rather unprofitable and trifling occupations than true exercises of godliness: that they are laid abroad to filthiness and dishonest gain: that they be too had to be kept: that they are defiled with evil superstitions: these shall be helps that we may the more easily find how much evil is in them.

The defence which the church of Rome maketh for traditions, that a great part of them were delivered by Christ and his apostles, that for the rest the church is authorised to make ordinances, and to injoin men to observe them as the apostles did injoin the Gentiles.

17. I hear what they answer for themselves, that their traditions are not of themselves, but of God. For, they say that the church is governed of the holy Ghost, that it cannot err: and that the authority thereof remaineth with them. When this is obtained, it therewithal followeth, that their traditions are the revelations of the holy Ghost, which cannot be despised but wickedly and with the contempt of God. And that they should not seem to have attempted any thing without great authority, they will have it believed that a great part of their observations came from the apostles: and they affirm that by one example is sufficiently declared what the apostles did in other things, when being assembled in one council, they did by the decree of the council command the Gentiles to abstain from things offered to idols, from blood and things strangled, Acts xv. 20. and 29. We have already in another place declared, how falsly for boasting of themselves, they lyingly usurp the title of the church. So much as concerning this present cause of plucking away visors, and deceitful colours, we truly look upon that which we ought principally to care for, and which chiefly is for our behoof, that is, what manner of church Christ will have, that we may fashion and frame ourselves to the rule thereof: it shall easily be evident unto us, that it is not the church, which passing the bounds of the word of God, doth outrage and run at riot in making of new laws. For doth not that law which was once prescribed to the church, remain eternal? What I command thee, that thou shalt keep that thou mayest do it. Thou shalt not add any thing, nor take any thing from it, Deut. xii. 32. And in another place: Add not to the word of the Lord, nor diminish any thing: lest he peradventure reprove thee, and thou be found a liar, Prov. xxx. 6. Since they cannot deny that this was spoken to the church, what do they else but report the stubbornness of that church, which they boast to have been so bold as after such prohibitions nevertheless to add and mingle of her own with the doctrine of God? But God forbid that we should assent to their lies, whereby they burden the church with so great a slander: but let us understand, that the name of the church is falsly pretended, so oft as this lust of mens rashness is spoken of, which cannot hold it self within the prescribed bounds of God, but that it wildly rangeth and runneth out into her own inventions? There is nothing intangled, nothing dark, nothing doubtful in these words, in which the whole church is forbidden to add to the word of God, or take any thing from it, when the worshipping of God, and precepts concerning salvation, are intreated of. But this (say they) was spoken of the law only, after which followed the prophecies and the whole ministration of the gospel. I grant indeed: and I add also, which are rather fulfillings of the law, than additions

or diminishings. But if the Lord suffered nothing to be added to, or taken from the ministry of Moses, which was (as I may so term it) dark by reason of many doubtful inwrappings, till by his servants, the prophets, and at length by his beloved Son, he ministred a clearer doctrine: why should we not think it much more severely forbidden us, that we should add nothing to the law, the prophets, the psalms, and the gospel? The Lord is not inconsistent with himself, who hath long ago declared, that he is with nothing so highly offended, as when he is worshipped with the inventions of men. Wherefore came those notable sayings in the prophets, which ought to have continually sounded in our ears, Jer. vii. 22. I spake no words to your fathers, in the day that I brought them out of Egypt, concerning sacrifice and burnt offerings. But this word I commanded them, saying: With hearing hear my voice: and I will be your God and you shall be my people, and you shall walk in all the way that I shall command you. Again, Jer. xi. I have with protesting protested unto your fathers, Hear my voice. And other like sayings: but this is notable above the rest, 1 Sam. xv. 22. Will God have burnt offerings and sacrifices, and not rather that his voice be obeyed? For, obedience is better than sacrifice, and to harken is better than to offer the fat of rams. For, to resist is as the sin of soothsaying: and not to obey is as the wickedness of idolatry. Therefore whatsoever inventions of men are in this behalf defended with the authority of the church, forasmuch as the same cannot be excused from the crime of ungodliness, it is easy to prove that it is falsly imputed to the church.

The apostles no authors of those things for which their names are pretended in the church of Rome.

18. After this sort we freely inveigh against this tyranny of mens traditions, which is proudly thrust in among us, under the title of the church. For neither do we scorn the church (as our adversaries, to bring us in hatred, do unjustly lie upon us) but we give unto her the praise of obedience, than which she knoweth no greater praise. They rather are very sore wrong doers to the church, which make her obstinate against her Lord, while they feign that she hath proceeded further than she lawfully might do by the word of God: though I speak nothing how it is a notable shamelessness joined with as great malice, continually to cry out of the authority of the church, and in the mean time dissemblingly to hide both what is commanded by the Lord, and what obedience she oweth to the commandment of the Lord. But if we have a mind, as it is meet we should have, to agree with the church, this pertaineth rather to the purpose, to have an eye unto, and remember what is commanded by the Lord both to us and the church, that we should with one agreement obey him. For there is no doubt but we shall very well agree with the church, if we do in all things shew ourselves obedient to the Lord. But now to father upon the apostles, the original of the traditions wherewith the church hath been hitherto oppressed, was a point of mere deceit: forasmuch as the doctrine of the apostles serveth wholly to this end, that consciences should not be burdened with new observations, nor the worshipping of God be defiled with our inventions. Moreover, if there be any faithfulness in histories and ancient monuments, the apostles not only never knew, but also never heard of this that they attribute unto them. Neither let them prate, that the most part of their decrees were received in use and in mens behaviours, which never were put in writing: even those things forsooth, which, while Christ was yet living, they could not understand, after his ascending they learned by the revelation of the holy Ghost. Of the exposition of that place we have elsewhere already seen, so much as is sufficient for this present cause: truly they make themselves worthy to be laughed at, while they feign that those great mysteries, which so long time were unknown to the apostles, were partly observations either Jewish or Gentile (of which all the one sort had been long before published among the Jews, and all the other sort among the Gentiles, and partly fooliſh gesturings and vain petty ceremonies, which fooliſh sacrificing priests that can neither skill of swimming nor of letters, use to do very trimly: yea such as children and fools do so aptly counterfeit that it may seem that there are no fitter ministers of such holy mysteries. If there were no histories at all: yet men that have their sound judgment might consider by the thing itself, that so great a heap of ceremonies and observations did not suddenly burst into the church, but by little and little crept in. For when those holier bishops, which were next in time to the apostles, had ordained some things that belonged to order and discipline, afterward there followed men, some after others, not discreet enough, and too curious and greedy, of which the latter that every one was, so he more strived

ſtrived with his predeceſſors in fooliſh envious counterfeitings, not to give place in inventing of new things. And becauſe there was peril leſt their devices would ſhortly grow out of uſe, by which they coveted to get praiſe among their poſterity, they were much more rigorous in exact calling upon the keeping of them. This wrongful zeal hath bred us a great part of theſe ceremonies which they ſet out unto us for apoſtolic. And this alſo the hiſtories do teſtify.

The acceſs of ceremonies unto that which the apoſtles themſelves uſed and preſcribed unto others concerning the ſupper of the Lord.

19. Leſt in making a regiſter of them we ſhould be too tedious: we will be content with one example. In the miniſtring of the Lord's ſupper, there was in the apoſtles time great ſimplicity. The next ſucceſſors, to garniſh the dignity of the myſtery, added ſomewhat that was not to be diſallowed. But afterward there came thoſe fooliſh counterfeiters, which with now and then patching of pieces together, have made us this apparel of the prieſts which we ſee in the maſs, thoſe ornaments of the altar, thoſe geſturings, and the whole furniture of unprofitable things. But they object, that this in old time was the perſuaſion, that thoſe things which were with one conſent done in the univerſal church, came from the apoſtles themſelves, whereof they cite Auguſtine for witneſs. But I will bring a ſolution from no other where than out of the words of Auguſtine himſelf, *Epiſt.* 118. Thoſe things (ſaith he) that are kept in the whole world, we may underſtand to have been ordained either of the apoſtles themſelves, or of the general councils, whoſe authority is moſt healthful in the church: as, that the Lord's paſſion, and reſurrection, and his aſcending into heaven, and the coming of the holy Ghoſt are celebrate with yearly ſolemnity: and whatſoever like thing be found, that is kept of the whole church, which way ſoever it be ſpread abroad. When he reckoneth up ſo few examples, who doth not ſee that he meant to impute to authors worthy of credit and reverence, the obſervations that then were uſed, even none but thoſe ſimple, rare, and ſober ones, with which it was profitable that the order of the church ſhould be kept together? but how far doth this differ from that which the Romiſh maſters would enforce men to grant, that there is no petty ceremony among them that ought not to be judged apoſtolic.

20. That I be not too long, I will bring forth only one example. If any man aſk them, whence they have their holy water: they by and by anſwer, from the apoſtles. As though the hiſtories do not attribute this invention to I wot not what biſhop of Rome, which truly if we had called the apoſtles to council, would never have defiled baptiſm with a ſtrange and unfit ſign. Altho' I do not think it like to be true, that the beginning of that hallowing is ſo old as it is there written. For, that which Auguſtine ſaith, (*Epiſt.* 118. *ad Janu.*) that certain churches in his time did ſhun that ſolemn following of Chriſt's example in waſhing of feet, leſt that uſage ſhould ſeem to pertain to baptiſm, ſecretly ſheweth that there was then no kind of waſhing that had any likeneſs with baptiſm. Whatſoever it be, I will not grant that this proceeded from an apoſtolic ſpirit, that baptiſm, when it is with a daily ſign brought into remembrance, ſhould after a certain manner be repeated. And I paſs not upon this, that the ſelf ſame Auguſtine in another place aſcribeth other things alſo to the apoſtles. For ſince he hath nothing but conjectures, judgment ought not upon them to be given of ſo great a matter. Finally, admit that we grant them alſo, that thoſe things which he rehearſeth came from the time of the apoſtles: yet there is great difference between inſtituting ſome exerciſe of godlineſs, which the faithful with a free conſcience may uſe, or if the uſe of it ſhall not be profitable for them, they may forbear it: and making a law that may ſnare conſciences with bondage. But now, from what author ſoever they proceeded, ſince we ſee that they are ſlidden into ſo great abuſe, nothing withſtandeth, but that we may without offence of him aboliſh them: foraſmuch as they were never ſo commended, that they muſt be perpetually immoveable.

The inſtitution of holy water.

21. Neither doth it much help them, that to excuſe their tyranny they pretend the example of the apoſtles. The apoſtles (ſay they) and the elders of the firſt church, made a decree beſide the commandment of Chriſt, wherein they commanded all the Gentiles to abſtain from things offered to idols, from ſtrangled, and from blood. If that was lawful for them, why is it not alſo lawful for their ſucceſſors, to follow the ſame ſo oft as occaſion ſo requireth? I would to God, they did both in all other things and in this thing fol-

The church of Rome in her ordinances nothing leſs than a follower of the apoſtles in theirs.

low them. For I deny that the apoſtles did there inſtitute or decree any new thing, which is eaſy to be proved by a ſtrong reaſon. For whereas Peter in that council pronounceth that God is tempted, if a yoke be laid upon the necks of the diſciples: he doth himſelf overthrow his own ſentence, if he afterward conſent to have any yoke laid upon them. But there is a yoke laid, if the apoſtles do decree of their own authority that the Gentiles ſhould be forbidden, that they ſhould not touch things offered to idols, blood, and ſtrangled. Indeed there yet remaineth a doubt, for that they do nevertheleſs ſeem to forbid. But this doubt ſhall eaſily be diſſolved, if a man do more nearly conſider the meaning of the decree it ſelf: in the order and effect whereof the chief points is, that to the Gentiles their liberty is to be left, and that they ought not to be troubled, nor accombered about the obſervations of the law. Hitherto it very well maketh of our ſide. But the exception that immediately followeth, neither is any new law made by the apoſtles, but the divine and eternal commandment of God that charity ought not to be broken, nor doth diminiſh one title of that liberty: but only admoniſh the Gentiles, how they ſhould temper themſelves to their brethren, that they abuſe not their liberty to the offence of them. Let this therefore be the ſecond point, that the Gentiles ſhould uſe a harmleſs liberty, and without offence to the brethren. But yet they preſcribe ſome certain thing: that is, they teach and appoint, ſo far as was expedient for the time, by what things they might run into the offence of their brethren, that they might beware of thoſe things: but they add no new thing of their own to the eternal law of God, which forbiddeth the offending of brethren.

The apoſtles in their conſtitution about the Gentiles, made no new law of their own, but applied to the times a law which God had made before.

22. Like as if the faithful paſtors which govern the churches not yet well reformed, ſhould command all their people, that till the weak with whom they live do grow ſtronger, they ſhould not openly eat fleſh on Friday, or openly labour upon holy days, or any ſuch thing. For although theſe things ſetting ſuperſtition aſide, are by themſelves indifferent: yet when there is added offence of brethren, they cannot be done without a fault. But the times are ſuch, that the faithful cannot ſhew ſuch a ſight to the weak brethren, but that they ſhall ſore wound their conſciences. Who, but a caviller, will ſay that ſo they make a new law, whereas, it is certain that they do only prevent offences, which are expreſly enough forbidden of the Lord: and no more can it be ſaid of the apoſtles, whoſe purpoſe was nothing elſe, but in taking away the matter of offences, to call upon the law of God concerning the avoiding of offence: as if they had ſaid: it is the Lord's commandment that ye offend not a weak brother. Ye cannot eat things offered to images, ſtrangled and blood, but that the weak brethren ſhall be offended. Therefore we command you in the word of the Lord, that ye eat not with offence. And that the apoſtles had reſpect to the ſame thing, Paul himſelf is a very good witneſs, which writeth thus, verily none otherwiſe than according to the meaning of the council: concerning meats that are offered to idols, we know that the idol is nothing. But ſome with conſcience of the idol, do eat it as offered to idols, and their conſcience, foraſmuch as it is weak, is defiled. 1 Cor. viii. 4. See that your liberty be not made an offence to the weak. He that ſhall have well weighed theſe things, ſhall not afterward be deceived with ſuch a falſe colour as they make, that pretend the apoſtles for defence of their tyranny, as though the apoſtles had begun with their decree to break the liberty of the church. But, that they may not be able to eſcape, but be driven even with their own confeſſion to allow this ſolution, let them anſwer me, by what right they were ſo bold to abrogate the ſame decree. Becauſe there was no more peril of thoſe offences and diſſentions: which the apoſtles meant to provide for, and they know that the law was to be weighed by the end thereof. Foraſmuch as therefore this law was made in reſpect of charity, there is nothing preſcribed in it, but ſo much as pertaineth to charity. When they confeſs that the tranſgreſſing of this law is nothing but a breaking of charity, do they not therewithal acknowlege, that it is not a forged addition to the law of God, but a natural and ſimple appliance to the times and manners whereunto it was directed?

The commandment of God ſtrictly to be obſerved in things appertaining to his honour and ſervice.

23. But although ſuch laws are a hundred times unjuſt and injurious unto us, yet they affirm that they muſt be heard without exception: for they ſay that this is not here intended, that we ſhould conſent to errors, but only that being ſubjects we ſhould bear the hard commandments of our governors which it is not our parts to refuſe. But here alſo the Lord very well reſiſteth them with the truth of

of his word, and delivereth us out of ſuch bondage into the liberty, which he hath purchaſed for us with his holy blood, the benefit whereof he hath more than once confirmed with his word. For that it is not here only intended (as they maliciouſly feign) that we ſhould ſuffer ſome grievous oppreſſion in our body, but that our conſciences being ſpoiled of their liberty, that is of the benefit of the blood of Chriſt, ſhould be ſlaviſhly tormented. Howbeit let us paſs over this alſo, as though it made little to the matter. But of how great importance do we think it is, that the Lord's kingdom is taken away from him, which he claimeth to himſelf with ſo great ſeverity? But it is taken away ſo oft as he is worſhipped with the laws of mens inventions, whereas he will be holden for the only law-maker of his own worſhip. And leſt any man ſhould think it to be a matter of nothing, let us hear how much the Lord eſteemeth it? Becauſe (ſaith he) this people hath feared me with the commandment and doctrine of men: behold I will aſtoniſh them with a great and wondrous miracle. For wiſdom ſhall periſh from the wiſe men thereof, and underſtanding ſhall depart from the elders. Iſa. xxix. 13. In another place, They worſhip me in vain, teaching doctrines, the commandments of men. Matth. xv. 9. And truly whereas the children of Iſrael defiled themſelves with many idolatries, the cauſe of all that evil is aſcribed to this unclean mixture, that tranſgreſſing the commandments of God, they have forged new worſhippings. And therefore the holy hiſtory rehearſeth that the new ſtrangers that had been tranſplanted by the king of Babylon to inhabit Samaria, were torn in pieces and conſumed of wild beaſts, becauſe they knew not the judgments or ſtatutes of the God of that land. Although they had nothing offended in the ceremonies, yet God would not have allowed a vain pomp: but in the mean time he ceaſed not to take vengeance of the defiling of his worſhip, for that men did thruſt in devices ſtrange from his word. Whereupon it is afterward ſaid, that they being made afraid with that puniſhment, received the ceremonies preſcribed in the law: but becauſe they did not yet purely worſhip the true God, it is twice repeated that they did fear him and did not fear him. Whereupon we gather, that the part of reverence which is given to him, conſiſteth in this, while in worſhipping him we ſimply follow what he commandeth with mingling none of our inventions. And therefore the godly kings are oftentimes praiſed, becauſe they did according to all the commandments, and declined not to the right hand nor to the left. 2 Kings. xxii. I go yet further: although in ſome feigned worſhipping there do not openly appear ungodlineſs, yet it is ſeverely condemned of the holy Ghoſt, ſo ſoon as men depart from the commandment of God. The altar of Ahaz, the pattern whereof was brought out of Samaria, might have ſeemed to increaſe the garniſhment of the temple, whereas his device was to offer ſacrifices thereupon to God only, which he ſhould do more honourably than upon the firſt and old altar: 2 Kings. xvi. 10. yet we ſee how the Spirit deteſteth that boldneſs, for none other cauſe but for that the inventions of men in the worſhipping of God are unclean corruptions. And how much more clearly the will of God is opened unto us, ſo much the leſs excuſable is our forwardneſs to attempt any thing. And therefore worthily with this circumſtance the crime of Manaſſes is inforced, for that he builded a new altar at Jeruſalem, of which God had pronounced, I will there ſet my name, 2. Kings. xxi. 3. becauſe the authority of God is now as it were of ſet purpoſe refuſed.

The reaſon why God abhorreth ſervices wherewith men deviſe to pleaſe him.

24. Many do marvel why God ſo ſharply threateneth that he will do things to be wondered at to the people of whom he was worſhipped with the commandments of men, and pronounceth that he is worſhipped in vain with the precepts of men. But if they conſidered, what it is in the cauſe of religion, that is to ſay of heavenly wiſdom, to hang upon the only mouth of God, they would therewithal ſee, that it is no ſlender reaſon why God ſo abhorreth ſuch perverſe ſervices, that are done to him according to the luſt of man's wit. For although they that obey ſuch laws for the worſhipping of God, have a certain ſhew of humility in this their obedience, yet they are not humble before God, to whom they preſcribe the ſame laws which they themſelves do keep. This is the reaſon why Paul willeth us ſo diligently to beware, that we be not deceived by the traditions of men, Col. ii. 4. and that which he calleth *Ethelthreſkian*, that is, will-worſhip invented of men beſide the doctrine of God. This is verily true, both our own wiſdom, and all mens wiſdom muſt be fooliſh unto us, that we may ſuffer him alone

to be wise. Which way they keep not which do ſtudy with ſuperſtitious obſervations framed by the will of men to commend themſelves unto him, and do thruſt unto him as it were againſt his will a tranſgreſſing obedience toward him, which is indeed given to men. As it hath been done both in many ages heretofore, and in the time within our own remembrance, and is alſo at this day done in thoſe places where the authority of the creature is more eſteemed than of the creator: where religion (if yet the ſame be worthy to be called religion) is defiled with more and more unſavoury ſuperſtitions, than ever was any heathen wickedneſs. For what could the wit of men breed but all things carnal and fooliſh and ſuch as truly reſemble their authors?

Samuel and Manoah no examples to juſtify the church of Rome in her boldneſs, but rather Gideon to condemn her.

25. Whereas alſo the patrons of ſuperſtitions allege, that Samuel ſacrificed in Ramatha, and though the ſame was done beſide the law, yet it pleaſed God: the ſolution is eaſy, that it was not a certain ſecond altar to ſet againſt the one only altar: but becauſe the place was not yet appointed for the ark of the covenant, he appointed the town where he dwelled for ſacrifices, as the moſt convenient place. Truly the mind of the holy prophet was not to make any innovation in holy things, whereas God had ſo ſtraitly forbidden any thing to be added or diminiſhed. As for the example of Manoah, I ſay that it was an extraordinary and ſingular caſe. He being a private man offered ſacrifice to God and not without the allowance of God: verily becauſe he enterpriſed it not of a raſh motion of his own mind, but by a heavenly inſtinction. But how much the Lord abhorreth thoſe things that men deviſe of themſelves to worſhip him withal, another not inferior to Manoah, Gideon is a notable example, Judg. viii. 27. whoſe ephod turned to deſtruction not only to him and his family, but to the whole people. Finally, every new fond invention, wherewith men covet to worſhip God, is nothing elſe but a defiling of true holineſs.

The miniſterial authority of the Scribes and Phariſees confirmed by Chriſt but not their preſumption to burden men with what they liſted.

26. Why then (ſay they) did Chriſt will that thoſe intolerable burdens ſhould be born, which the Scribes and Phariſees bound upon men? but why in another place did the ſame Chriſt will that men ſhould beware of the leaven of the Phariſees: calling leaven (as Matthew the Evangeliſt expoundeth it) all their own doctrine that they mingled with the pureneſs of the word of God? what would we have more plain, than that we be commanded to flee and beware of all their doctrine? whereby it is made moſt certain unto us, that in the other place alſo the Lord willed not, that the conſciences of his, ſhould be vexed with the Phariſees own traditions. And the very words, if they be not wreſted, ſound of no ſuch thing. For the Lord purpoſing there to inveigh ſharply againſt the manners of the Phariſees, did firſt ſimply inſtruct them that heard him, that although they ſaw nothing in their life meet for them to follow, yet they ſhould not ceaſe to do thoſe things which they taught in words, while they ſat in the chair of Moſes, that is, to declare the law. Therefore he meant nothing elſe but to provide that the common people ſhould not with the evil examples of the teachers be brought to deſpiſe the doctrine. But for as much as many are nothing at all moved with reaſons, but alway require authority, I will allege Auguſtine's words, *In Joh. Tract.* 46. in which the very ſame thing is ſpoken. The Lord's ſheepfold hath governors, ſome faithful, and ſome hirelings. The governors that are faithful, are true paſtors: but hear ye, that the hirelings alſo are neceſſary: for many in the church following earthly profits, do preach Chriſt, and by them the voice of Chriſt is heard: and the ſheep do follow, not a hireling, but a paſtor by the means of a hireling. Hear ye that hirelings are ſhewed by the Lord himſelf. The ſcribes (ſaith he) and the Phariſees ſit in the chair of Moſes. Do ye thoſe things that they ſay, but do not thoſe things that they do. What other thing ſaid he, but hear the voice of the paſtor by the hirelings? for in ſitting in the chair they teach the law of God: therefore God teacheth by them. But if they will teach their own, hear it not, do it not. This ſaith Auguſtine.

In forbidding mens conſciences to be charged with human traditions, laws whereby the church is ſet in order are not prejudiced.

27. But whereas many unſkilful men, when they hear that conſciences are wickedly bound and God worſhipped in vain with the traditions of men, do at once blot out altogether all laws whereby the order of the church is ſet in frame: therefore it is convenient alſo to meet with their error: verily in this point it is eaſy to be deceived, becauſe at the firſt ſight

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it doth not by and by appear what difference is between the one sort and the other. But I will so plainly in few words set out the whole matter, that the likeness may deceive no man. First let us hold this, that if we see in every fellowship of men some policy to be necessary, that may serve to nourish common peace, and to retain concord: if we see that in the doing of things there is alway some orderly form, which is behooveful for public honesty and for very humanity not to be refused, the same ought chiefly to be observed in churches, which are both best maintained by a well framed disposition of all things, and without agreement are no churches at all. Therefore if we will have the safety of the church well provided for, we must altogether diligently procure that which Paul commandeth, that all things be done comely and according to order. 1 Cor. xiv. 40. But forasmuch as there is so great diversity in the manners of men, so great variety in minds, so great disagreement in judgments and wits: neither is there any policy stedfast enough, unless it be stablished by certain laws, nor any orderly usage can be observed without a certain appointed form: therefore we are so far off from condemning the laws that are profitable to this purpose, that we affirm that when those be taken away, churches are dissolved from their sinews, and utterly deformed and scattered abroad. For this which Paul requireth, that all things be done decently and in order, cannot be had, unless the order it self and comliness be established, with observations adjoined as with certain bonds. But this only thing is alway to be excepted in those observations, that they be not either believed to be necessary to salvation, and so bind consciences with religion, or be applied to the worshipping of God, and so godliness be reposed in them.

The difference between wicked observations and the lawful constitutions of the church.

28. We have therefore a very good and most faithful mark, which putteth difference between those wicked ordinances, by which we have said that true religion is darkened and consciences subverted, and the lawful observations of the church: if we remember that the lawful observations tend alway to one of these two things or to both together, that in the holy assembly of the faithful all things be done comely and with such dignity as beseemeth: and that the very common fellowship of men should be kept in order as it were by certain bonds of humanity and moderation. For when it is once understood that the law is made for public honesties sake, the superstition is now taken away, into which they fall that measure the worshipping of God by the inventions of men. Again, when it is known that it pertaineth to common use, then that false opinion of bond and necessity is overthrown, which did strike a great terror into consciences, when traditions were thought necessary to salvation. For herein is nothing required but that charity should with common dutiful doing be nourished among us. But it is good yet to define more plainly, what is comprehended under that comeliness which Paul commendeth, and also what under order. The end of comeliness is, partly that when such ceremonies are used as may procure a reverence to holy things, we may by such helps be stirred up to godliness: partly also that the modesty and gravity which ought to be seen in all honest doings may therein principally appear. In order this is the first point, that they which govern may know the rule and law to rule well; and the people who are governed may be accustomed to obeying of God, and to right discipline: then, that the state of the church being well framed, peace and quietness may be provided for.

What things they are that serve for comeliness and order in the church.

29. Therefore we shall not say that comeliness is in that, wherein shall be nothing but vain delectation: such as we see in that player-like apparel, which the Papists use in their ceremonies, where appeareth nothing else, but an unprofitable visor of gayness, and excess without fruit. But we shall account that to be comeliness, which shall so be becoming the reverence of holy mysteries, that it be a fit exercise to godliness, or at the least such as shall serve to convenient garnishing for the celebrating thereof: and the same not without fruit, but that it may put the faithful in mind with how great modesty, religiousness and reverence, they ought to handle holy things. Now, that ceremonies may be exercises of godliness, it is necessary that they lead us the straight way to Christ. Likewise we may not say that order consisteth in those trifling pomps that have nothing else than a vanishing splendor: but that it standeth in such an orderly framing as may take away all confusion, barbarousness, obstinacy, and all strifes and dissensions. Of the first sort are these examples in Paul: 1 Cor. xi. 21. and 5. that prophane banquetings should not be mingled with the holy supper of the Lord: that women should not come abroad, but covered: and many other which we have in com-

common use: as this, that we pray kneeling and bare headed: that we minister the Lord's sacraments not uncleanly, but with some dignity: that in the burying of the dead we use some honest rites: and other things that are of the same sort. Of the other kind are the hours appointed for public prayers, sermons, and celebrations of mysteries: at sermons, quietness and silence, places appointed, singing together of hymns, days prefixed for celebrating of the Lord's supper, that Paul forbiddeth that women should teach in the church, and such like. 1 Cor xiv. 34. But specially those things that concern discipline, as the teaching of the catechism, the censures of the church, excommunication, fastings, and such as may be reckoned in the same number. So all the constitutions of the church, which we receive for holy and wholesome, we may refer to two chief titles: for some pertain to rites, and ceremonies, and the other to discipline and peace.

A rule for church ordinances.

30. But because here is peril, lest on the one side the false bishops should thereby catch a pretence to excuse their wicked and tyrannous laws, and lest on the other side there be some men too fearful, who admonished with the foresaid evils, do leave no place to laws be they never so holy: here it is good to protest, that I allow only those ordinances of men which are both grounded upon the authority of God, and taken out of the scripture, yea and altogether God's own. Let us take for an example the kneeling which is used in time of common prayer. It is demanded, whether it be a tradition of man, which every man may lawfully refuse or neglect, I say that it is of men, that it is also of God. It is of God, in respect that it is a part of that comeliness, the care and keeping whereof is commended unto us by the apostle: 1 Cor. xiv. 40. it is of men, in respect that it specially betokeneth that which had in generality rather been pointed to, than declared. By this one example we may judge, what is to be thought of that whole kind: verily because the Lord hath in his holy oracles both faithfully contained and clearly set forth both the whole sum of true righteousness, and all the parts of the worshipping of his divine majesty, and whatsoever was necessary to salvation: therefore in these things he is alone to be heard as our schoolmaster. But because in outward discipline and ceremonies his will we ought to follow (because he foresaw this to depend upon the state of times, and did not think one was not to prescribe every thing particularly what form to be fit for all ages) herein we must flee to those general rules which he hath given, that thereby all those things should be tried which the necessity of the church shall require to be commanded for order and comeliness. Finally, forasmuch as he hath therefore taught nothing expressly, because these things both are not necessary to salvation, and according to the manners of every nation and age ought diversly to be applied to the edifying of the church: therefore as the profit of the church shall require, it shall be convenient as well to change and abrogate those that are used, as to institute new. I grant indeed, that we ought not rashly, nor oft, nor for light causes to run to innovation. But what may hurt or edify, charity shall best judge: which if we will suffer to be the governess, all shall be safe.

The obedience required unto lawful ordinances of the church.

31. Now it is the duty of christian people, to keep such things as have been ordained according to this rule, with a free conscience and without any superstition, but yet with a godly and easy readiness to obey, not to despise them, not to pass them over with careless negligence: so far is it off, that they ought by pride and obstinacy openly to break them. What manner of liberty of conscience (wilt thou say) may there be in so great observation and wariness? Yea, it shall stand excellently well when we shall consider, that they are not stedfast and perpetual stayed laws, whereunto we are bound, but outward rudiments for the weakness of men: which although we do not all need, yet we do all use them, because we are mutually one bound to another, to nourish charity among us. This we may gather from the examples above rehearsed. What? Doth religion stand in a woman's vail, that it is not lawful to go out of doors with her head uncovered: Is that holy decree of his concerning silence, such as cannot be broken without most hainous offence? Is there any mystery in kneeling, or in burying of a dead carcase, that may not be omitted without sin? No, For if a woman need, for the helping of her neighbour, to make such haste as may not suffer her to cover her head, she offendeth not if she run thither with her head uncovered. And it may sometime befal that it may be no less convenient for her to speak, than at another time to hold her peace. And there is no cause to the contrary, but that he who by reason of disease cannot bow his knees may pray standing. Finally, it is better to burd a dead man speedily

ſpeedily in time, than when they lack a winding ſheet, or when there are not men preſent to convey him, or tarry till he rot unburied. But nevertheleſs in theſe things there is ſomewhat which the manner and ordinances of the country, and finally very natural honeſty, and the rule of modeſty appointeth to be done or avoided: wherein if a man ſwerve any thing from them, by unwarineſs, or forgetfulneſs, there is no crime committed: but if upon contempt, ſuch ſtubbornneſs is to be diſallowed. Likewiſe the days themſelves, which they be, and the hours, and how the places be builded, and what pſalms be ſung upon ſuch a day, it maketh no matter. But it is meet that there be both certain days, and appointed hours, and a place fit to receive all, if there be regard had to the preſervation of peace. For how great an occaſion of brawlings ſhould the confuſion of theſe things be, if it were lawful for every man as he liſts, to change thoſe things that belong to common ſtate: foraſmuch as it will never come to paſs that the ſelf ſame thing ſhall pleaſe all men, if things be left as it were in the midſt to the choice of every man? If any man do carp againſt us, and will herein be more wiſe than he ought, let him ſee himſelf by what reaſon he can defend his own preciſeneſs to the Lord. As for us, this ſaying of Paul ought to ſatisfy us, that we have not an uſe to contend, nor the churches of God. 1 Cor. xi. 16.

Cautions touching church ordinances.

32. Moreover it is with great diligence to be endeavoured, that no error creep in, that may corrupt or obſcure this pure uſe. Which ſhall be obtained, if all obſervations, whatſoever they ſhall be, ſhall have a ſhew of manifeſt profit, and if very few be received: but principally if there be adjoined a faithful doctrine of the paſtor, that may ſtop up the way to perverſe opinions. This knowlege maketh that in all theſe things every man may have his own liberty preſerved, and nevertheleſs ſhall willingly charge his own liberty with a certain neceſſity, ſo far as either this comelineſs that we have ſpoken of, or the order of charity ſhall require. Secondly that both we our ſelves ſhould without any ſuperſtition, be buſied in the obſerving of thoſe things, and ſhould not too preciſely require them of others, ſo as we ſhould think the worſhipping of God to be the better for the multitude of ceremonies that one church ſhould not deſpiſe another for the diverſity of diſcipline: laſt of all that ſetting herein no perpetual law to our ſelves, we ſhould refer the whole uſe and end of obſervations to the edification of the church, that when it requireth we may without any offence ſuffer not only ſomewhat to be changed, but all the obſervations that were before in uſe among us, to be altered. For this age is a preſent experience, that certain rites, which otherwiſe are not ungodly nor uncomely, may according to the fit occaſion of the matter, be conveniently abrogate. For (ſuch hath been the blindneſs and ignorance of the former times) churches have heretofore, with ſo corrupt opinion and with ſo ſtiff affection, ſtuck to ceremonies, that they can ſcarcely be ſufficiently purged from monſtrous ſuperſtitions, but that many ceremonies muſt be taken away, which in old time were peradventure ordained not without cauſe, and of themſelves have no notable ungodlineſs in them.

CHAP. XI.

Of the juriſdiction of the church, and the abuſe thereof, ſuch as is ſeen in the Papacy.

The uſe of a policy in the church different from that which is civil: the antiquity of eccleſiaſtical judgments: the difference of authority given to the church in the xviii. of Mat.

NOW remaineth the third part of the power of the church, yea and the chief part in a well ordered ſtate, which we have ſaid to conſiſt in juriſdiction. The whole juriſdiction of the church pertaineth to the diſcipline of manners of which we ſhall treat by and by. Foraſmuch as no city nor town can ſtand without magiſtrate and policy: ſo the church of God (as I have already taught, but now I am compelled to repeat it again) needeth her certain ſpiritual policy: but ſuch as is utterly ſevered from the civil policy, and is ſo far from hindering or miniſhing it, that it rather doth much help and further it. Therefore this power of juriſdiction ſhall in ſum be nothing elſe but an order framed for the preſervation of ſpiritual policy. To this

from that which is given in the xvi. of Mat. and the xxi. of John.

end from the beginning were ordained judicial orders in churches, which might uſe examination of manners, correct vices and exerciſe the office of the keys. This order Paul ſpeaketh of in the epiſtle to the Corinthians, when he nameth governments. 1 Cor xii. 21. Again, to the Romans, when he ſaith: let him that ruleth, rule in carefulneſs. Rom. xii. 8. For he ſpeaketh not to the magiſtrates, (for at that time there were no chriſtian magiſtrates) but to them that were joined with the paſtors for the ſpiritual government of the church. Alſo in the epiſtle to Timothy, he maketh two ſorts of elders: ſome, that labour in the word: other ſome, that do not uſe the preaching of the word, and yet do rule well. 1 Tim. v. 17. By this latter ſort it is no doubt that he meaneth them that were appointed to look unto manners, and to the whole uſe of the keys. For this power, of which we now ſpeak, dependeth wholly upon the keys which Chriſt gave to the church, in the xviii. chapter of Matthew: where he commandeth, that they ſhould be ſharply admoniſhed in the name of the whole church, that have deſpiſed private admonitions: but if they go forward in their obſtinacy, he teacheth that they ſhould be put out of the fellowſhip of the faithful. But theſe admonitions and corrections cannot be without knowlege of the cauſe: therefore there needeth both ſome judgment and order. Wherefore unleſs we will make void the promiſe of the keys, and take utterly away excommunication, ſolemn admonitions and all ſuch things whatſoever they be: we muſt needs give to the church ſome juriſdiction. Let the readers mark that that place treateth not of the general authority of doctrine as in the xvi. chapter of Matthew, and the xxi. of John: but that the power of the ſynagogue is for the time to come transferred to the flock of Chriſt. Until that day the Jews had their order of governing, which Chriſt ſtabliſheth in his church, and that with great penalty, ſo much as concerneth the pure inſtitution of it. For ſo it behoved, foraſmuch as otherwiſe the judgment of an unnoble and unregarded congregation might be deſpiſed of raſh and proud men. And that it ſhould not encumber the readers, that Chriſt doth in the ſame words expreſs things ſomewhat differing one from the other, it ſhall be profitable to diſſolve this doubt. There are therefore two places, that ſpeak of binding and looſing. The one is in the xvi. chapter of Matthew, where Chriſt, after that he had promiſed that he would give to Peter the keys of the kingdom of heaven, immediately addeth, that whatſoever he ſhall bind or looſe in earth, ſhall be confirmed in heaven. In which words he meaneth no other thing, than he doth by other words in John, John. xx. 23. when ſending his diſciples to preach, after that he had breathed upon them, he ſaid, whoſe ſins ye forgive, they ſhall be forgiven: and whoſe ye retain they ſhall be retained in heaven. I will bring an expoſition not ſubtile, not enforced, not wreſted: but natural, flowing, and offering it ſelf. This commandment of forgiving and retaining ſins, and that promiſe of binding and looſing made to Peter, ought to be referred to no other thing but to the miniſtry of the word: which when the Lord committed to the apoſtles, he did therewith alſo arm them with this office of binding and looſing. For what is the ſum of the goſpel, but that we all being bond ſervants of ſin and of death, are looſed and made free by the redemption that is in Chriſt Jeſus: and that they who do not receive nor acknowlege Chriſt their deliverer and redeemer, are damned and adjudged to everlaſting bonds? When the Lord delivered this meſſage to his apoſtles, to be carried into all nations, to approve that it was his own, and proceeding from himſelf, he honoured it with this noble teſtimony; and that to the ſingular ſtrengthening both of the apoſtles themſelves, and of all thoſe to whom it ſhould come. It behoved that the apoſtles ſhould have a ſtedfaſt and ſound certainty of their preaching, which they ſhould not only execute with infinite labours, cares, troubles and dangers, but alſo at the laſt ſeal it with their blood. That they might (I ſay) know the ſame not to be vain nor void, but full of power and force: it behoved that in ſo great carefulneſs, in ſo great hardneſs of things, and in ſo great dangers, they ſhould be perſuaded that they did the buſineſs of God: that when all the world withſtood them, and fought againſt them, they ſhould know that God ſtood on their ſide; that having not Chriſt the author of their doctrine preſent by ſight in earth, yet they ſhould underſtand him to be in heaven, to confirm the truth of the doctrine which he had delivered them. It behoved again that it ſhould alſo be moſt certainly proved by teſtimony to the hearers, that the doctrine of the goſpel was not the word of the apoſtles, but of God himſelf: not a voice bred in earth, but come down from heaven. For theſe things, the forgiveneſs of ſins, the promiſe of everlaſting life, the meſſage of ſalvation, cannot be in the power of man. Therefore Chriſt hath teſtified, that in the preaching of the goſpel there is nothing of the apoſtles, but the miniſtry only: that it was he himſelf that ſpake

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and promiſed all things by their mouths as by inſtruments: and therefore that the forgiveneſs of ſins which they preached, was the true promiſe of God: and the damnation which they pronounced, was the certain judgment of God. But this teſtifying is given to all ages, and remaineth in force, to certify and aſſure all men, that the word of the goſpel, by what man ſoever it is preached, is the very ſentence of God, publiſhed at the ſovereign judgment ſeat, written in the book of life, ratified, firm and fixed in heaven. Thus we ſee that in thoſe places the power of the keys is nothing but the preaching of the goſpel: and that it is not ſo much a power as a miniſtry, if we have reſpect to men. For Chriſt hath not given this power properly to men, but to his own word, whereof he hath made men miniſters.

The power of binding and looſing by diſcipline committed to the church.

2. The other place which we have ſaid to be concerning the power of binding and looſing, is in the xviii. chapter of Matthew, where Chriſt ſaith: If any brother hear not the church, let him be to thee as a heathen man or publican. Verily I ſay unto you, whatſoever ye bind upon earth, ſhall be bound alſo in heaven: whatſoever ye looſe ſhall be looſed. This place is not altogether like the firſt, but is a little otherwiſe to be underſtood But I do not make them ſo diverſe, that they have not great affinity together. This firſt point is like in both, that either of them is a general ſentence, that in both, there is always all one power of binding and looſing, namely by the word of God, all one commandment, all one promiſe. But herein they differ, that the firſt place peculiarly belongeth to preaching, which the miniſters of the word do execute: this latter place to the diſcipline of excommunication, which is committed to church. The church bindeth, whom ſhe excommunicateth, not that ſhe throweth him into perpetual ruin and deſperation, but becauſe ſhe condemneth his life and manners, and unleſs he repent, doth already warn him of his damnation. She looſeth whom ſhe receiveth into communion: becauſe ſhe doth make him as it were partaker of the unity which ſhe hath in Chriſt Jeſus. Therefore that no man ſhould obſtinately deſpiſe the judgment of the church, or little regard that he is condemned by the conſenting voices of the faithful: the Lord teſtifyeth that ſuch judgment of the faithful is nothing elſe but a publiſhing of his own ſentence: and that whatſoever they do in earth is confirmed in heaven. For they have the word of God, whereby they may condemn the perverſe: they have the word, whereby they may receive the repentant into grace. And they cannot err, nor diſſent from the judgment of God: becauſe they judge not but after the law of God: which is not an uncertain or earthly opinion, but the holy will of God, and a heavenly oracle. Out of theſe two places, which I think I have both briefly, familiarly, and truly expounded, thoſe furious men without difference as they are carried with their own giddineſs, go about to eſtabliſh ſometimes confeſſion, ſometimes excommunication, ſometimes juriſdiction, ſometimes the power to make laws, ſometimes pardons. But the firſt place they allege the ſupremacy of the ſee of Rome: they are ſo well ſkilled to fit their keys to all locks and doors, that a man may ſay they have practiſed ſmiths-craft all their life.

The difference between eccleſiaſtical judgment and civil, and the neceſſity as well for the one as the other to continue.

3. For whereas many think that thoſe things endured but for a time, when the magiſtrates were yet ſtrangers from the profeſſion of our religion: they are deceived in this, that they conſider not, how great difference and what manner of unlikeneſs there is of the eccleſiaſtical and civil power. For the church hath not the power of the ſword to puniſh or reſtrain, no empire to command, no priſon, no other pains which the magiſtrate is wont to lay upon men. Again, it tendeth not to this end, that he that hath ſinned ſhould be puniſhed againſt his will, but ſhould with willing chaſtiſement profeſs his repentance. Therefore there is a far diverſe order becauſe neither doth the church take to it ſelf any thing which properly belongeth to the magiſtrate, nor can the magiſtrate execute that which the church doth. This ſhall be made plainer by an example. Is any man drunk? In a well ordered city, priſon ſhall be his puniſhment. Hath he committed fornication? He ſhall have like or rather greater puniſhment. So ſhall both the laws, and the magiſtrate, and outward judgment be ſatisfied: but it may be that he ſhall give no ſignification of repentance, but rather murmur and grudge againſt it. Shall the church in this caſe do nothing? But ſuch cannot be received to the ſupper, without doing wrong both to Chriſt and his holy inſtitution. And reaſon requireth this, that he which offendeth the church with an evil example, ſhould with ſolemn declaration of repentance take away the offence which he hath raiſed. The reaſon which they bring that are of a contrary opinion, is too cold: Chriſt ſay they, committed theſe doings to the church, when there

was no magiſtrate to execute them. But it happeneth oftentimes that the magiſtrate is more negligent, yea ſometimes peradventure that himſelf is to be chaſtiſed, which happened to the emperor Theodoſius. There may beſide this as much be ſaid of the miniſtry of the word. Now therefore after that ſentence, let paſtors ceaſe to blame manifeſt wicked doings, let them ceaſe to chide, to reprove, to rebuke, for there are Chriſtian magiſtrates, who ought to correct theſe things with the law and with the ſword. But as the magiſtrate ought by puniſhing, and by reſtraining with force, to purge the church of offences; ſo likewiſe the miniſter of the word for his part ought to help the magiſtrate that there may not ſo many offend. So ought their workings to be conjoined that the one may be a help, not a hinderance to the other.

Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction not aboliſhed by civil.

4. And truly if a man more nearly weigh the words of Chriſt he ſhall eaſily perceive that in theſe places, is deſcribed a ſtayed ſtate, and a perpetual order of the church, not ſuch as endureth but for a time. For it is not meet that we ſhould accuſe them to the magiſtrate, that will not obey our admonitions: which yet ſhould be neceſſary if the magiſtrate ſucceeded into the office of the church. What is this promiſe? Shall we ſay that it is a promiſe of one or a few years? Verily verily I ſay unto you, whatſoever you bind on earth, &c. Moreover Chriſt did here inſtitute no new thing, but followed the cuſtom alway obſerved in the ancient church of his own nation: whereby he ſignifieth that the church cannot want the ſpiritual juriſdiction, which had been from the beginning. And this hath been confirmed by the conſent of all times. For when emperors and magiſtrates began to profeſs Chriſt, the ſpiritual juriſdiction was not by and by aboliſhed: but only ſo ordered, that it ſhould diminiſh nothing of the civil juriſdiction, or be confounded with it. And rightfully. For the magiſtrate, if he be godly, will not exempt himſelf from the common ſubjection of the children of God, whereof it is not the leaſt part to ſubmit himſelf to the church, judging by the word of God: ſo far is it off, that he ought to take away that order of judgment. For what is more honourable (ſaith Ambroſe *Epiſt.* 32. *ad. Valent.*) for the emperor, than to be called the ſon of the church? For a good emperor is within the church, not above the church. Therefore they who to honour the magiſtrate do ſpoil the church of her power, do not only with falſe expoſition corrupt the ſentence of Chriſt, but alſo do not ſtenderly condemn ſo many holy biſhops which have been from the time of the apoſtles, that they have by falſe pretence uſurped the honour and office of the magiſtrate.

Spiritual power ſevered from the power of the ſword.

5. But on the other ſide it is good to ſee this, what was in old time the true uſe of the juriſdiction of the church, and how great abuſe is crept in, that we may know what is to be abrogate, and what is to be reſtored of antiquity, if we will overthrow the kingdom of Antichriſt, and ſet up the true kingdom of Chriſt again. Firſt this is the mark to be ſhot at, that offences be prevented, and if any offence be riſen up, that it may be aboliſhed. In the uſe two things are to be conſidered: firſt, that this ſpiritual power be altogether ſevered from the power of the ſword: then, that it be not executed by the will of one man, but by a lawful aſſembly. Both theſe things were obſerved in the purer church. For the holy biſhops did not exerciſe their power with fines, or impriſonments, or other civil puniſhments: but they uſed only the word of the Lord, as they ought to do. For the ſevereſt revenge, and as it were the uttermoſt thunderbolt of the church is excommunication, which is not uſed but in neceſſity. But this requireth neither force nor ſtrong hand, but is content with the power of the word of God. Finally, the juriſdiction of the old church was nothing elſe but a declaration in practice (as I may ſo call it) of that which Paul teacheth concerning the ſpiritual power of paſtors. There is (ſaith he 2 Cor. x. 4.) power given to us, whereby we may throw down ſtrong holds, whereby we may make low all height that lifteth up itſelf againſt the knowlege of God, whereby we may ſubdue all thought, and may lead it captive into the obedience of Chriſt, and we have in readineſs a revenge againſt all diſobedience. As this is done by the preaching of the doctrine of Chriſt: ſo leſt the doctrine ſhould be ſcorned, according to that which is taught ought they to be judged which profeſs themſelves of the houſhold of faith. But that cannot be done, unleſs there be joined wth the miniſtry a power to call them that are to be privately admoniſhed; or to be more ſharply corrected, and alſo a power to exclude them from the communion of the ſupper, which cannot be received without prophaning of ſo great a myſtery. Therefore when in another place he ſaith, that it belongeth not to us to judge ſtrangers, 1 Cor. v. 12. he maketh the children ſubject to the

the cenſures of the church, which may chaſtiſe their faults, and he ſecretly ſignifieth that there were then judicial orders in force from which none of the faithful were free.

Spiritual juriſdiction executed by the will not of one but of many in the time of Cyprian and Ambroſe.

6. But ſuch authority (as we have declared) was not in the power of one man, to do every thing according to his own will: but in the power of the aſſembly of the elders, which was the ſame thing in the church that a ſenate is in a city. Cyprian, when he maketh mention by whom it was exerciſed in his time, uſeth to join the whole clergy with the biſhop. But in another place alſo he ſheweth, that the very clergy ſo governed, that in the mean time the people were not excluded from the hearing of matters. For this he writeth: (*Epiſt.* 14. and 9. *lib.* 2.) Since the beginning of my biſhopric I have determined to do nothing without the counſel of the clergy and conſent of the people. But this was the common and uſual manner, that the juriſdiction of the church ſhould be exerciſed by a ſenate of elders: of whom (as I have ſaid) there were two ſorts: for ſome were ordained to teaching, and other ſome were only judges in manners. By little and little this inſtitution grew out of kind from the beginning of it: ſo that even in the time of Ambroſe only clerks were judges in eccleſiaſtical judgments. Which thing he himſelf complaineth of in theſe words: (*In* 5. *capite.* 1. *ad Tim.*) The old ſynagogue (ſaith he) and ſince that time the church hath had elders, without whoſe counſel nothing was done; which by what negligence it is grown out of uſe I know not, unleſs peradventure by the ſlothfulneſs or rather the pride of the teachers, while they alone would be thought to be ſomewhat. We ſee how much the holy man is diſpleaſed, that any thing of the better ſtate is decayed, when notwithſtanding they had yet continuing an order that was at the leaſt tolerable. What then would he do if he ſaw thoſe deformed ruins that ſhew almoſt no ſign of the old building? What bewailing would he uſe? Firſt, againſt law, and right, the biſhop hath claimed to himſelf alone, that which was given to the whole church. For it is like as if the council, driving out the ſenate, ſhould take the empire upon himſelf alone. But as he is above the reſt in honour, ſo in the whole aſſembly is more authority than in one man. Therefore it was too wicked a deed, that one man removing the common power to himſelf, hath both opened an entry to tyrannous luſt, and hath taken from the church that which belonged unto her, and hath ſuppreſſed and put away the aſſembly ordained by the ſpirit of Chriſt.

The abuſe of ſpiritual courts.

7. But (as of one evil always groweth another) biſhops diſdaining it as a thing unworthy of their care, have committed it over to others. Hereupon are created officials to ſerve that room: I do not yet ſpeak what kind of men they are, but only this I ſay, that they differ nothing from prophane judges. And yet they ſtill call it a ſpiritual juriſdiction, where men contend about nothing but earthly matters. Although there were no more evil, with what face dare they call a brawling court the judgment of the church? but there are admonitions, there is excommunication. So verily they mock with God. Doth a poor man owe a little money? he is cited: if he appear, he is condemned. When he is condemned, if he do not ſatisfy it, he is admoniſhed: after the ſecond admonition they proceed one ſtep toward excommunication: if he appear not, he is admoniſhed to come and yield himſelf to judgment: if he then make delay, he is admoniſhed, and by and by excommunicate. I beſeech you, what is there any thing like either to the inſtitution of Chriſt, or to the ancient manner, or to an eccleſiaſtical order? But there is alſo correction of vices. But how? Verily they not only ſuffer, but with ſecret allowance do after a certain manner cheriſh and confirm adulteries, wantonneſs, drunkenneſs and ſuch kind of miſchievous doings: and that not only in the common people, but alſo in the clergy themſelves. Of many they call a few before them, either that they ſhould not ſeem ſlothful in winking at them, or that they may milk out ſome money. I ſpeak not of the pillages, robberies, briberies, and ſacrileges that are gathered thereby, I mention not what manner of men are for the moſt part choſen to this office. This is enough and too much, that when the Romaniſts do boaſt that their juriſdiction is ſpiritual, it is eaſy to ſhew that there is nothing more contrary to the order inſtitute by Chriſt, and that it hath no more likeneſs to the ancient cuſtom than darkneſs hath to light.

Spiritual power abuſed, civil uſurped by the Pope.

8. Although we have not ſpoken all things that might be alleged for this purpoſe, and thoſe things that we have ſpoken of, are knit up in few words: yet I truſt that we have ſo ſought it out, that there is now no more cauſe why any

man ſhould doubt, that the ſpiritual power whereof the pope with all his kingdom proudly glorieth, is wicked againſt God, and an unjuſt tyranny over his people. Under the name of ſpiritual power I comprehend both boldneſs in framing new doctrines, wherewith they have turned away the ſilly people from the natural pureneſs of the word of God, and the wicked traditions wherewith they have inſnared them, and alſo the falſe eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction which they execute by ſuffrages and officials. For if we grant unto Chriſt a kingdom among us, it is not poſſible but that all this kind of dominion muſt immediately be overthrown and and fall down. As for the power of the ſword which they alſo give to themſelves, becauſe it is not exerciſed upon conſciences, it pertaineth not to our preſent purpoſe to treat of it. In which behalf yet it is alſo to note, that they be alway like themſelves, verily nothing leſs than that which they would be taken for, that is to ſay, paſtors of the church. Neither do I blame the peculiar faults of men, but the common wickedneſs of the whole order, yea the very peſtilence of the order: foraſmuch as it is thought that the ſame ſhould be maimed, unleſs it be glorioufly ſet forth with wealth and proud titles. If we require the authority of Chriſt concerning this matter, it is no doubt but that his mind was to debar the miniſters of his word from civil dominion and earthly government, when he ſaid, The kings of the Gentiles bear rule over them: but you ſhall not do ſo. Matth. xx. 25. Luke xxii. 25. For he ſignifieth not only that the office of a paſtor is diſtinct from the office of a prince, but that they are things ſo ſevered, that they cannot meet together in one man. For whereas Moſes did bear both the offices together: firſt that was done by rare miracle: again, it was but for a time till things were better ſet in order. But when a certain form was once preſcribed of God, the civil government was left unto him, and he was commanded to reſign the prieſthood to his brother. Exod. xviii. 16. And worthily: for it is above nature, that one man ſhould ſuffice to bear both burdens. And this hath in all ages been diligently obſerved in the church. And there was never any of the biſhops, ſo long as the true form of the church endured, that once thought of uſurping the power of the ſword: ſo that this was a common proverb in the time of Ambroſe, that emperors rather coveted the prieſthood, than prieſts the empire. *Hom. de Baſilic. traden.* For this which he afterward ſaith, was imprinted in the minds of all men, that palaces pertained to the emperor, and churches to the prieſts.

Neither honourable for the church, nor, if performance of duty be reſpected, profitable for Romiſh prelates to be both biſhops and kings.

9. But ſince that a way hath been deviſed, whereby biſhops might hold the title, honour and riches of their office without burden or care: leſt they ſhould be left altogether idle, the power of the ſword was given them, or rather they did by uſurpation take it upon themſelves. By what colour will they defend this ſhameleſneſs? Was this the duty of biſhops to wrap themſelves with judicial hearing of cauſes, with the governments of cities and provinces, and through large circuits to meddle in buſineſs ſo unpertaining to them: who have ſo much work and buſineſs in their own office, that if they were wholly and continually occupied in it, and were withdrawn with no callings away from it, yet they were ſcarcely able to manage it? But (ſuch is their frowardneſs) they ſtick not to boaſt, that by this means the church doth flouriſh according to her worthineſs, and that they themſelves in the mean time are not too much drawn away from the duties of their vocation. As touching the firſt point: if this be a comely ornament of the holy office, that they be advanced to ſuch height, that the higheſt monarchs may ſtand in fear of them: then they have cauſe to quarrel with Chriſt, which hath in ſuch ſort grievouſly pinched their honour. For, at leaſt in their opinion what could have been ſpoken more diſhonourably than thoſe words: the kings of the Gentiles and princes bear rule over them, but you ſhall not do ſo? Matth. xx. 25. Luke xxii. 25. And yet he laid no harder law upon his ſervants than he firſt laid and received upon himſelf. Who (ſaith he) hath made me a judge or divider among you? Luke xii. 14. We ſee that he plainly putteth away from himſelf the office of judging, which he would not do if it were a thing agreeing with his office: will not the ſervants ſuffer themſelves to be brought into that order, whereunto the Lord hath yielded himſelf ſubject? As for the other point, I would to God they could prove it ſo in experience as it is eaſy to ſpeak it. But foraſmuch as the apoſtles thought it not good, to leave the word of God and miniſter at tables: Acts vi. 2. thereby, becauſe they will not be taught, they are convinced, that it is not all one man's work to be both a good biſhop and a good prince. For

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if they (who according to the largeneſs of the gifts wherewith they were endued, were able to ſatisfy more and greater cares than any men that have been born ſince them) have yet confeſſed that they cannot at once apply the miniſtry both of the word and of tables, but that they ſhould faint under the burden: how could theſe that are men of no valour in compariſon of the apoſtles a hundred fold excel the induſtry of the apoſtles? Truly, to attempt it was a point of moſt ſhameleſs and too preſumptuous boldneſs: yet we ſee that it hath been attempted: but with what ſucceſs, it is evident. For it could not otherwiſe come to paſs, but that forſaking their own office they ſhould remove into other men's charge.

The ſteps and occaſions whereby Romiſh biſhops have riſen unto more than convenient power

10. And it is no doubt but that of ſmall beginning they have by little and little grown to ſo great increaſes. For it was not poſſible that they ſhould at the firſt ſtep climb up ſo high. But ſometimes with ſubtilty and crooked crafty means they privily advanced themſelves, ſo as no man could foreſee that it would come to paſs till it was done: ſometimes when occaſion ſerved they did by terror and threatenings wring from princes ſome augmentation of their power: ſometimes when they ſaw princes not hard laced to give, they abuſed their fooliſh and unadviſed gentleneſs. In old time if any controverſy happened, the godly to eſcape the neceſſity of going to law, committed the arbitrement to the biſhop, becauſe they doubted not his uprightneſs. With ſuch arbitrements the old biſhops were oftentimes encumbered, which indeed greatly diſpleaſed them (as Auguſtine in one place teſtifieth) but leſt the parties ſhould run to contentious lawing, they did though againſt their wills take that encumbrance upon them. Theſe men have of voluntary arbitrements, which were altogether differing from the noiſe of judicial courts, made an ordinary juriſdiction. In a little while after, when cities and countries were troubled with divers hard diſtreſſes, they reſorted to the protection of biſhops, to be ſafe guarded by their faithful ſuccour: the biſhops by marvellous ſubtlety, of protectors made themſelves lords. Yea, and it cannot be denied that they have gotten the poſſeſſion of a great part by violent ſeditious partakings. As for the princes, that willingly gave juriſdiction to biſhops, they were by divers affections moved thereunto. But admitting that their gentleneſs had ſome ſhew of godlineſs: yet with this their wrongful liberality, they did not very well provide for the profit of the church, whoſe ancient and true diſcipline they have ſo corrupted, yea (to ſay truth) have utterly aboliſhed. But thoſe biſhops that have abuſed ſuch goodneſs of princes to their own intereſt, have by ſhewing of this one example, enough and too much teſtified that they are not biſhops. For if they had had any ſparkle of an apoſtolic ſpirit, they would without doubt have anſwered out of the mouth of Paul, the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but ſpiritual. But they being raviſhed with blind greedineſs, have deſtroyed both themſelves, their ſucceſſors, and the church.

The ſhifts which the biſhops of Rome uſeth to hold the power which by robbery he hath gotten.

11. At length the biſhop of Rome not contented with mean lordſhips, firſt laid hand upon kingdoms, and afterward upon the very empire. And that he may with ſome colour whatſoever it be, retain the poſſeſſion gotten by mere robbery, he ſometimes boaſteth that he hath it by the law of God, he ſometimes pretendeth the gift of Conſtantine, ſometimes ſome other title. Firſt I anſwer with Bernard. (*Liber de Conſid.* 25. Admit that he do by any other reaſon whatſoever, claim this unto him, yet he hath it not by apoſtolic right. For Peter could not give that which he had not: but he gave to his ſucceſſors that which he had, the care of churches. But when the Lord and maſter ſaith, that he is not appointed judge between two, a ſervant and ſcholar ought not to think ſcorn if he be not judge of all men. But Bernard ſpeaketh of civil judgments. For he addeth: Therefore your power is in crimes, not in poſſeſſions: becauſe for thoſe and not for theſe ye have received the keys of the kingdom of heaven. For which ſeemeth to thee the greater dignity, to forgive ſins, or to divide lands? There is no compariſon. Theſe baſe and earthly things have kings and princes of the earth their judges. Why do ye invade the bounds of others? &c. Again, Thou art made a ſuperior: (he ſpeaketh of Pope Eugenius) but whereunto? Not to bear lordſhip, I think. Therefore how much ſoever we think of our ſelves, let us remember that there is a miniſtry laid upon us, not a lordſhip given us. Learn that thou haſt need of a weed-hook, not of a ſcepter, that thou mayeſt do the work of a prophet. Again, it is plain, lordſhip is forbidden to the apoſtles. Go thou therefore, and preſume to uſurp to thyſelf either being a Lord, an apoſtleſhip: or be-

being an apoſtle, a lordſhip,. And by and by after: the form of an apoſtleſhip is this, lordſhip is forbidden them, miniſtry is bidden them. Whereas theſe things are ſo ſpoken by that man, that it is evident to all men that the very truth it ſelf ſpeaketh to them, yea whereas the very thing it ſelf is manifeſt without all words: yet the biſhop of Rome was not aſhamed in the council at Orleance to decree that the ſupreme power of both the ſwords belong to him in the law of God. (*Concil. Arelatenſe.*)

The figment of Conſtantine's donation.

12. As for the gift of Conſtantine, they that are but meanly practiſed in the hiſtories of thoſe times need not to be taught how much this not only fabulous, but alſo to be laughed at. But to paſs over hiſtories, Gregory himſelf is both a ſufficient and moſt full witneſs hereof. For ſo oft as he ſpeaketh of the emperor, he calleth him moſt noble lord, and himſelf his unworthy ſervant. (*Epiſt. 5. lib 2. Epiſt. 20. lib. 3. Epiſt. 61. lib. 2. Epiſt. 31. lib. 4.*) Again, in another place: (*Epiſt. 34. lib. 4.*) But let not our lord by the earthly power be the ſooner angry with the prieſts: but with excellent conſideration, for his ſake whoſe ſervants they be, let him ſo rule over them, that he alſo give them due reverence. We ſee how in common ſubjection he would be accounted as one of the people. For he there pleadeth not any other man's cauſe but his own. In another place, I truſt in the almighty God, that he will give a long life to our godly lords, and will diſpoſe us under your hand according to his mercy. Neither have I therefore alledged theſe things, for that it is my purpoſe throughly to diſcuſs this queſtion concerning the gift of Conſtantine: but only that the readers ſhould ſee by the way how childiſhly the Romaniſts do lie, when they go about to challenge an earthly empire to their biſhop. And ſo much the more abominable, is the ſhameleſneſs of Auguſtine Steuchus, who in ſuch a deſperate cauſe hath been ſo bold to ſell his labour and tongue to the biſhop of Rome. Valla (as it was not hard for a man learned and of a ſharp wit) had ſtrongly confuted that fable. And yet (as a man little exerciſed in eccleſiaſtical matters) he had not ſaid all that might have made for that purpoſe. Steuchus burſt in, and ſcattered ſtinking triſles to ſuppreſs the clear light. And truly he doth no leſs coldly handle the cauſe of his maſter, than if ſome merry conceited fellow feigning himſelf to do the ſame, would indeed take Valla's part. But verily it is a worthy cauſe, for which the Pope ſhould hire ſuch patrons for money: and no leſs worthy are thoſe hired cheats to be deceived of their hope of gain, as it happened to Eugubinus.

The time when the Pope began firſt to overtop the emperor.

13. But if any man require to know the time, ſince his feigned empire began to riſe up, there are not yet paſſed five hundred years, ſince the biſhops yet remained in ſubjection to the princes, neither was the pope created without authority of the emperor. Henry the fourth of that name, a light and raſh man, and of no forecaſt, of great boldneſs and diſſolute life, gave firſt occaſion to Gregory the ſeventh to alter this order. For when he had in his court the biſhoprics of all Germany partly to be ſold, and partly laid open for ſpoil: Hildebrand, who had received diſpleaſure at his hand, caught hold of a ſpecious pretext to purſue an honeſt and godly cauſe, he was furthered with the favour of many. And Henry was otherwiſe, by reaſon of his inſolent manner of governing, hated of the moſt part of princes. At the length Hildebrand, who called himſelf Gregory the ſeventh, as he was a filthy and naughty man, bewrayed the malice of his heart: which was the cauſe that he was forſaken of many that had conſpired with him. But he thus much prevailed, that his ſucceſſors might freely without puniſhment not only ſhake off the yoke, but alſo bring emperors in ſubjection to them. Hereunto was added that from thenceforth there were many empeperors liker to Henry than to Julius Cæſar: whom it was no hard thing to ſubdue, while they ſat at home careleſs of all things and ſlothful, when they had moſt need with virtue and lawful means to repreſs the greedineſs of the biſhops. Thus we ſee with what colour that ſame godly gift of Conſtantine is ſhadowed, whereby the Pope feigneth that the empire of the weſt was delivered unto him.

The violent means whereby the power of the Pope hath grown.

14. In the mean time the Popes ceaſed not, ſometimes with fraud, ſometimes with treaſon, and ſometimes with force to invade other mens dominions: and the very city it ſelf, which before was free, within a hundred and thirty years, or there about they brought into their ſubjection, till they grew to the ſame power which they have at this day; and for the obtaining

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or increasing whereof, they have so troubled Christendom by the space of two hundred years, (for they began before that they took to them the dominion of the city) that they have almost destroyed it. In the old time when under Gregory the keepers of the goods of the church, did take possession of the lands which they reckoned to belong to the church, and after the manner of the seasing to the use of the prince, did set titles upon them for token of claim. Gregory assembling a council of bishops, inveighing sore against that prophane manner, asked whether they did not judge that clerk accursed which did of his own will by writing of any title attempt to enter upon any possession. They all pronounced accursed. If to claim a piece of ground by writing of a title be in a clerk an offence worthy of accursing: when whole two hundred years together Popes do practise nothing else but battles, shedding of blood, destructions of armies, sackings of some cities, razing of others, overthrows of nations, wastings of kingdoms, only that thy might catch hold of other mens possessions: what cursings can be enough to punish such examples? Truly it is very plain that they seek nothing less than the glory of Christ. For if they of their own will do wholly resign all the secular power that they have, therein is no danger to the glory of God, no danger to sound doctrine, no danger to the safety of the church: but they are carried blind and headlong with greediness of dominion only: because they think nothing safe, unless they may bear rule with rigorousness (as the prophet saith Ezek. xxxiv. 4.) and with power.

The Romish clergy exempting themselves from the power of the civil judge, contrary to the ancient custom of the church.

15. To jurisdiction is annexed immunity, which the Romish clergy took to themselves. For they think it against their dignity, if they answer in personal causes before a temporal judge: and therein they think both the liberty and dignity of the church to consist, if they be exempt from common judgment and laws. But the old bishops, who otherwise were most rigorous in defending the rights of the church, judged themselves and their order to be nothing hurt, if they were subject to them. And the godly emperors, without gainsaying of any man did always call clerks to their judgment seats so oft as need required. For thus saith Constantine in his epistle to the Nicomedians: if any of the bishops shall indiscreetly disorder himself, his boldness shall be restrained by the execution of the minister of God, that is by my execution. And Valentinian saith; good bishops do not speak against the power of the emperor, but do sincerely both keep the commandments of God their great king, and also obey our laws. At that time all men were persuaded of this without controversy. But ecclesiastical causes were referred to the judgment of the bishop. As if any clerk had offended nothing against the laws, but only was accused by the canons: he was not cited to the common judgment seat, but in that cause had the bishop for his judge. Likewise if there were a question of faith in controversy, or such a matter as properly pertained to the church, the judgment thereof was committed to the church. So is that to be understood, which Ambrose writeth to Valentinian. (*Epi.* 32.) Your father of honourable memory, not only answered in word, but also decreed by laws, that in a cause of faith he ought to be judge that is neither unfit in office nor unlike in right. Again: if we have regard to the scriptures, or old examples, who is there that can deny that in a cause of faith (I say) of faith, bishops are wont to judge of christian emperors, and not emperors of bishops? Again: I would have come, O emperor, to your consistory, if either the bishops or the people would have suffered me to go: saying, that the cause of faith ought to be debated in the church before the people. (*Hom. de Basilic. trad.*) He affirmeth verily that a spiritual cause, that is to say, the cause of religion, ought not to be drawn into the temporal court where prophane causes are pleaded. Worthily do all men praise his constancy in this behalf. And yet in a good cause he proceedeth but thus far, that if it come to violence and strong hand, he saith that he will give place. Willingly (saith he) I will not forsake the place committed unto me; but when I am enforced, I know not how to resist: for our armour are prayers and tears. Let us note the singular modesty and wisdom of the holy man, joined with stoutness of courage and boldness. Justina the emperor's mother, because she could not draw him to the Arians side, practised to drive him from the government of the church. And so should it have come to pass, if he had come when he was called to the palace to plead his cause. Therefore he denieth the emperor to be a competent judge of so great a controversy. Which manner of doing both the necessity of that time, and the continual nature of the matter required. For he judged that he ought

rather to die than that such an example should by his consent be given to posterity: and yet if violence be offered, he thinketh not of resistance. For he denieth it to be like a bishop, to defend the faith and rights of the church with arms. But in other causes he sheweth himself ready to do whatsoever the emperor shall command him. If he demand tribute, (saith he) we deny it not: the lands of the church do pay tribute. If he ask lands, he hath power to claim them, none of us resisteth. After the same manner also speaketh Gregory, *Lib.* 3. *epist.* 20. I am not ignorant (saith he) of the mind of our most noble sovereign Lord, that he useth not to intermeddle in causes pertaining to priests, lest he should in any thing be burdened with our sins. He doth not generally exclude the emperor from judging of priests: but he saith that there be certain causes, which he ought to leave to the judgment of the church.

The immunity of Romish clergymen from secular courts in the time of Gregory not stood upon.

16. And by this very exception the holy men sought nothing else, but that princes less zealous of religion should not with tyrannous violence and wilfulness interrupt the church in doing her office. For neither did they disallow, if princes sometimes did use their authority in ecclesiastical matters, so that it were done to preserve the order of the church not to trouble it, to establish discipline, not dissolve it. For since the church hath not the power of compelling, nor ought to require it (I speak of civil constraining:) it is the office of godly kings and princes to maintain religion with laws, proclamations, and judicial proceedings. After this manner, when the emperor Maurice had commanded certain bishops that they should receive their fellow bishops that were neighbours and driven out by the barbarous nations: Gregory confirmeth that commandment, and exhorteth them to obey it, *Lib.* 1. *epist.* 43. And when he himself is admonished by the same emperor to come to atonement with John the bishop of Constantinople, he doth indeed render a reason why he ought not to be blamed, (*Lib.* iv. *epi.* 32. & 34.) yet he doth not boast of immunity from the secular court, but rather promiseth that he will be obedient, so far as his conscience will give him leave: and therewithal he saith this, that Maurice did as became a godly prince, when he gave such commandments to the priests, *Lib.* 7. *Epist.* 39.

CHAP. XII.

Of the discipline of the church, whereof the chief use is in the censures and excommunication.

The necessity of discipline in the church.

THE discipline of the church the treating whereof we have deferred unto this place, is briefly to be declared, that we may at length pass over to the rest. But that same for the most part dependeth upon the power of the keys and spiritual jurisdiction. That this may be the more easily understood, let us divide the church into two principal degrees, that is to say the clergy, and the people. Clerks I call by the usual name those that execute public ministry in the church. First we will speak of common discipline, to which all ought to be subject: then we will come to the clergy, which beside that common discipline, have a several discipline by themselves. But because many for hatred of discipline do abhor the very name thereof, let them hear this: if no fellowship, yea no house though it have but a small household, can be kept in right state without discipline, the same is much more necessary in the church, whose state ought to be most orderly of all. Therefore as the doctrine of Christ which bringeth salvation is the soul of the church, so discipline is in stead of sinews therein; whereby it is brought to pass, that the members of the body hang together every one in his fit place. Wherefore whosoever do either desire to have discipline taken away, or hinder the restoring thereof whether they do it of set purpose or by unadvisedness, verily they seek the extreme dissipation of the church. For what shall betide, if what is lustful be lawful to every man? But so would it be, if there were not with the preaching of doctrine adjoined private admonishments, corrections, and such other helps which sustain doctrine and suffer it not to be idle: discipline therefore is as it were a bridle wherewith they may be holden back and taimed, which coltishly resist against Christ: or as it were a prick, wherewith they that are not willing enough may be stirred up: and sometimes, as a fatherly rod, wherewith

with they who have more grievously fallen, may be chastised mercifully and according to the mildness of the spirit of Christ. Since therefore we do now see at hand certain beginnings of a horrible wasteness in the church, because there is no care nor order to keep the people in awe, mere necessity crieth out that there is need of remedy. But this is the only remedy, which both Christ hath commanded, and hath always been used among the godly.

The use of admonition towards them that are offenders.

2. The first foundation of discipline is, that private admonitions should have place; that is to say, that if any man of his own accord do not his duty, if he behave himself licentiously, or live not honestly, or have committed any thing worthy of blame, he should suffer himself to be admonished: and that every man should study to admonish his brother when occasion shall require. But especially let the pastors and priests be watchful to do this, whose office is not only to preach to the people, but in every house to admonish and exhort if at any time they do not sufficiently prevail by general doctrine: as Paul teacheth, when he rehearseth that he taught privately and in houses, and protesteth that he is clean from the blood of all men, because he hath not ceased with tears day and night to admonish every one, Acts xx. 20. and 26. For doctrine doth then obtain force and authority, when the minister not only doth declare to all together what their duty is to Christ, but also hath power and order to require the keeping thereof, of them whom he marketh to be either not obedient to doctrine, or slothful. If any man do either stubbornly refuse, or in going forward in his faults, do despise such admonitions: when he hath been the second time admonished with witnesses called to it, Christ commandeth them to be called to the judgment of the church, which is the assembly of elders: and that there they should be more severely admonished as it were by public authority, that if he reverence the church he may submit himself and obey. But if he be not hereby subdued, but do continue in his wickedness, then he commandeth him, as a despiser of the church, to be put away from the fellowship of the faithful, Matth. xviii. 15. and 17.

The difference of dealing in faults secretly and in faults openly committed.

3. But because he speaketh here only of secret faults, we must make this division: that some sins are private, and some public or openly manifest. Of the first sort Christ saith to every private man, Reprove him between thee and him alone, Matth. xviii. 15. Of manifest sins Paul saith to Timothy. Reprove him before all men, that the rest may fear, 1 Tim. v. 22. For Christ had said before, If thy brother have offended against thee. Which words (against thee) unless thou wilt be contentious, thou canst not otherwise understand than under thine own secret knowlege, so that there are no more privy to it. But the same thing which the apostle teacheth Timothy concerning the rebuking of them openly, that sin openly he himself disallowed in Peter. For when Peter sinned even to public offence, he did not admonish him apart by himself, but brought him forth into the sight of the church, Gal. ii. 14. Therefore this shall be the right order of doing, if in secret faults we go forward according to those degrees that Christ hath set: but in manifest faults, we immediately proceed to the churches' solemn rebuking, if the offence be public.

Not one and the same proceeding against mean, and heinous offenders.

4. Let this also be another distinction: that of sins some are defaults, other some are wicked doings, or heinous offences. To the correcting of this latter sort, not only admonishment or rebuking is to be used, but also a severe remedy: as Paul sheweth who not only chastised with word the Corinthian that had committed incest, but also punished him with excommunication, so soon as he was certified of his wicked deed, 1 Cor. v. 4. Now therefore we begin better to see how the spiritual jurisdiction of the church, which punisheth sins according to the word of the Lord, is the best maintenance of health, and foundation of order, and bond of unity. Therefore when the church doth banish out of her company manifest adulterers, whoremongers, thiever, robbers, seditious persons, perjured men, false witnesses, and such others; again, obstinate men, which being orderly admonished even of small faults do scorn God and his judgment, she taketh nothing upon herself without reason, but executeth the jurisdiction given her of the Lord. Moreover, that none should despise such judgment of the church, or lightly regard that he is condemned by the consenting voices of the faithful: the Lord hath testified, that the same is nothing else but a pronouncing of his own sentence, and that whatsoever they do in earth is confirmed in heaven, Matth. xvi. 10. For they have the word of the Lord, whereby they

may condemn the froward: they have the word, whereby they may receive the repentant into favour. They, I say, that trust that without this bond of discipline churches may long stand, are deceived in opinion: unless perhaps we want that help which the Lord foresaw that it should be necessary for us. And truly how great is the necessity thereof, shall be better perceived by the manifold use of it.

To what ends corrections and excommunications were ordained in the church.

5. There are three ends which the church hath respect unto in such corrections and excommunication. The first is, that they should not to the dishonour of God, be named among christians, that lead a filthy and a sinful life as though his holy church were a conspiracy of naughty and wicked men. For since the church is the body of Christ, it cannot be defiled with such filthy and rotten members, but that some shame must come to the head, Eph. v. 25. Therefore that there should not be any such thing in the church, whereby his holy name may be spotted with any reproach, they are to be driven out of her household, by whose dishonesty any slander might redound to the name of Christians. And herein also is consideration to be had of the supper of the Lord, that it be not prophaned with giving it to all without distinction. For it is most true, that he to whom the distribution of it is committed if he wittingly and willingly admit an unworthy man whom he might lawfully put back, is as guilty of sacrilege, as if he did give the Lord's body to dogs. Wherefore Chrysostome, (*Hom.* in Mat. iii Ezek. iv. 18. and xxxiii. 10.) grievously inveigheth against the priests who while they fear the power of great men, dare debar no man. The blood (saith he) shall be required at your hands. If ye fear man, he shall laugh you to scorn: but if ye fear God, ye shall be reverenced also among men. Let us not fear maces, nor purple, nor crowns: we have here a greater power. I verily will rather deliver mine own body to death, and suffer my blood to be shed, than I will be made partaker of this defiling. Therefore lest this most holy mystery be spotted with slander, in the distributing thereof choice is greatly requisite: which yet cannot be had but by the jurisdiction of the church. The second end is, lest (as it is wont to come to pass) with the continual company of the evil, the good should be corrupted. For such is our ready inclination to go out of the way, there is nothing easier than for us to be led by evil examples from the right course of life. This use the apostle touched, when he commanded the Corinthians to put the incestous man out of their company. A little leven (saith he) corrupteth the whole lump of dough. 1 Cor. v. 6. and 11. And he foresaw herein so great danger, that he forbade him even from all fellowship. If any brother (saith he) among you be named either a whoremonger, or a covetous man, or a worshipper of idols, or a drunkard, or an evil speaker, with such a one I grant you not leave so much as to eat. The third end is, that they themselves confounded with shame may begin to repent of their filthiness. So it is profitable for them also to have their own wickedness chastised, that with feeling of the rod they may be awaked, who otherwise by tender bearing with them would have become more obstinate. The same thing doth the apostle mean when he saith thus: If any man do not obey our doctrine, mark him, and keep no company with him, that he may be ashamed. 2 Thes. iii. 14. Again in another place, when he writeth that he hath delivered the Corinthian to satan, that his spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord: 1 Cor. v. 5. that is (as I expound it) that he went into a damnation for a time, that he might be saved for ever. But he therefore saith that he delivereth him to satan, because the devil is out of the church as Christ is in the church. For whereas some do refer it to a certain vexing of the flesh, I think that to be very uncertain. (*Aug. de ver. apost. ho* 58.)

The manner of ecclesiastical correction.

6. When these ends are set forth, now it remaineth to see how the church executeth this part of discipline which consisteth in jurisdiction. First let us keep the division above set, that of sins some are public, and other some are private or more secret. Public are those that have not only one or two witnesses, but are committed openly and with the offence of the whole church. Secret I call those, not which are altogether hidden from men, as are the sins of hypocrites, for those come not into the judgment of the church, but those of the mean kind which are not without witnesses, and yet are not public. The first kind requireth not those degrees which Christ rehearseth: but when any such thing appeareth, the church ought to do her duty in calling the sinner and correcting him according to the proportion of the offence. In the second kind according to the rule of Christ, they come not to the church till there be also obstinacy added. When it is once come to knowlege, then is that other division to be noted between wicked doings and defaults. For in lighter sins there is not to be used

uſed ſo great ſeverity, but chaſtiſement of words ſufficeth, and the ſame gentle and fatherly, which may not harden nor confound the ſinner, but bring him home to himſelf, that he may more rejoice than be ſorry that he was corrected. But it is meet that hainous offences be chaſtiſed with ſharper remedies. For it is not enough, if he that by doing a wicked deed of evil example hath grievouſly offended the church, ſhould be chaſtiſed only with words, but he ought for a time to be deprived of the communion of the ſupper, till he have given aſſurance of his repentance. For againſt the Corinthian Paul uſeth not only rebuking of words, but driveth him out of the church, and blameth the Corinthians that they had ſo long born him. 1 Cor. v. 5. The old and better church kept this order, when rightful government flouriſhed. For if any man had done any wicked deed whereupon was grown offence, firſt he was commanded to abſtain from partaking of the holy ſupper, then both to humble himſelf before God, and to teſtify his repentance before the church. There were alſo certain ſolemn uſages, whith were enjoined to them that had fallen, to be tokens of their repentance. When they had ſo done, that the church was ſatisfied, then by laying on of hands he was received into favour. Which receiving is oftentimes called of Cyprian peace, who alſo briefly deſcribeth this uſage. (*Epi.* 2. *lib.* 1. *Liber.* 3. *Epi.* 14. & 26.) They do penance (ſaith he) in a certain full time: then they come to confeſſion, and by the laying on of hands of the biſhop and the clergy they receive power to come to the communion. Howbeit the biſhop and his clergy had ſo the ruling of reconciliation, that they did therewithal require the conſent of the people: as he ſheweth in another place.

All men ſubject unto church diſcipline, which to execute belongeth unto ſome, but unto all to ſee executed not as doers but as beholders of that which is done.

7. From this diſcipine there was no man exempted, that even the princes together with the common people did ſubmit themſelves to bear it. And rigntfully, ſince it was evident that it was the diſcipline of Chriſt, to whom it is meet that all ſcepters and crowns of kings be ſubmitted. So when Theodoſius was deprived by Ambroſe of power to come to the communion becauſe of the ſlaughter committed at Theſſalonica, he threw down all the royal ornament wherewith he was clothed: he openly in the church bewailed his ſin, which had crept upon him by fraud of other men: he craved pardon with groaning and tears. For great kings ought not to think this to be any diſhonour to them, if they humbly throw down themſelves before Chriſt the king of kings, neither ought it to diſpleaſe them that they are judged by the church. For ſince in their court they hear nothing elſe but mere flatteries, it is then more neceſſary for them to be rebuked of the Lord by the mouth of the prieſts. But rather they ought to wiſh, that the prieſts ſhould not ſpare them, that the Lord may ſpare them. In this place I omit to ſpeak by whom this juriſdiction is to be exerciſed, becauſe it is ſpoken of in another place. This only I add that that is the lawful manner of proceeding in excommunicating a man which Paul ſheweth: if the elders do it not only by themſelves, but with the church knowing and allowing it: that is, in ſuch ſort that the multitude of the people may not govern the doing, but may mark it as a witneſs and a keeper that nothing ſhould be done of a few by wilful affection. But the whole manner of doing, beſide the calling upon the name of God, ought to have ſuch gravity, as may reſemble the preſence of Chriſt, that it may be undoubted that he there ſitteth for ruler of his own judgment.

The lenity and gentleneſs that ſhould be uſed in execution of church diſcipline.

8. But this ought not to be paſſed over, that ſuch ſeverity becometh the church as is joined with the ſpirit of mildneſs. For we muſt always diligently beware (as Paul teacheth 2 Cor. ii. 7.) that he which is puniſhed be not ſwallowed up of ſorrow: for ſo a remedy ſhould be made a deſtruction. But out of the end may better be gathered a rule of moderation. For whereas this is required in excommunication that the ſinner ſhould be brought to repentance, and evil examples taken away, leſt either the name of Chriſt ſhould be evil ſpoken of, or other men be provoked to follow them: if we ſhall have an eye to theſe things, we ſhall be able eaſily to judge how far ſeverity ought to proceed, and where it ought to end. Therefore when the ſinner giveth a teſtimony of his repentance, and doth by his teſtimony as much as in him lieth, blot out the offence: he is not to be enforced any further: but if he be enforced, rigorouſneſs doth then exceed meaſure. In which behalf the immeaſurable ſeverity of the old fathers cannot be excuſed, who both diſagreed from the preſcribed order of the Lord, and alſo was marvellouſly dangerous. For when they charged a ſinner with ſolemn pe-

nance, and deprivation from the holy communion sometimes for seven years, sometimes four years, sometimes three years, sometimes for their whole life: what other thing could follow thereof but either great hypocrisy or most great desperation! Likewise whereas no man that had fallen the second time was admitted to second penance, but was cast out of the church even to the end of his life: that was neither profitable nor agreeing to reason. Therefore whosever shall weigh the matter with sound judgment, shall herein perceive want of their discretion. Howbeit I do here rather disallow the public manner, than accuse all them that used it, whereas it is certain that many of them misliked it: but they did therefore suffer it, because they could not amend it. Truly, Cyprian declareth, how much against his own will he was so rigorous. (*Ad Cor. Epi.* 31. *Liber.* 1.) Our patience (saith he) and easiness and gentleness is ready to them that come. I wish all to return into the church: I wish all our fellow soldiers to be inclosed within the tents of Christ and in the houses of God the father. I forgive all things, I dissemble many things, for zeal and desire to gather brotherhood together, I examine not with full judgment those things that are committed against God, in pardoning defaults more than I ought, I am myself almost in default, I do with ready and full love embrace them that return with repentance, confessing their sins with humble and plain satisfaction. Chrysostom is somewhat harder, and yet he saith thus: If God be so kind, why will his priest seem so rigorous? Moreover we know what gentleness Augustine used toward the Donatists, insomuch that he sticked not to receive into bishopric those that had returned from schism, even immediately after their repentance. But because a a contrary order had grown in force, they were compelled to leave their own judgment to follow it.

Men separated from the church by excommunication not rashly to be condemned in the judgment of men.

9. But as this mildness is required in the whole body of the church, that it should punish them that are fallen, mercifully and not to the extremity of rigor, but rather according to the precept of Paul, should confirm charity toward them: so every private man for himself ought to temper himself to this mercifulness and gentleness. Therefore it is not our part to wipe out of the number of the elect such as are driven out of the church, or to despair of them as though they were already lost. We may indeed judge them strangers from the church, and therefore strangers from Christ: but that is only during the time that they abide in divorce. But if then also they shew a greater resemblance of stubbornness than of gentleness, yet let us commit them to the judgment of the Lord, hoping better of them in time to come than we see in time present, and let us not therefore cease to pray to God for them, and (to comprehend all in one word) let us not condemn to death the person it self, which is in the hand and judgment of God alone, but let us rather weigh by the law of the Lord of what sort every man's works are. Which rule while we follow, we rather stand to the judgment of God than pronounce our own. Let us not take to our selves more liberty in judging, unless we will bind the power of God within bounds, and appoint a law to his mercy, at whose pleasure when he thinketh it good, very evil men are turned into very good, strangers are graffed and foreigners are chosen into the church. And this the Lord doth, thereby to mock out the opinion of men, and rebate their rashness: which if it be not restrained, presumeth to take to itself power of judging more than it ought.

The difference between excommunicating and accursing.

10. For whereas Christ promiseth that that shall be bound in heaven, which they that are his shall bind in earth, he limiteth the power of binding, to the censure of the church: by which they that are excommunicate, are not thrown into everlasting ruin and damnation: but hearing their lives and manners to be condemned, they are, also certified of their own everlasting condemnation, unless they repent. For excommunication herein differeth from accursing, that accursing taking away all pardon doth condemn a man and adjudge him to eternal destruction: excommunication rather revengeth and punisheth manners. And though the same do also punish the man, yet it doth so punish him, that in forewarning him of his damnation to come, it doth call him back to salvation. If that be obtained, reconciliation and restoring to the communion is ready. But accursing is either very seldom or never in use. Therefore, although ecclesiastical discipline, permitteth not to live familiarly, or to have friendly conversation with them that are excommunicate: yet we ought to endeavour by such means as we may, that returning to amendment, they may return to the fellowship and unity of the church: as the apostle also teacheth. Do not (saith he) count them as enemies,

nemies, but correct them as brethren. 2 Thes. iii. 15. Unless this gentleness be kept as well privatly as in common, there is danger lest from discipline we forthwith fall to butchery.

Mens duties in keeping unity where transgressions cannot conveniently be corrected.

11. This also is principally required to moderate discipline, which Augustine treateth of in disputing against the Donatists: (*Lib. 2 contra. Parm. cap.* 1.) that private men, if they see faults not diligently enough corrected by the council of elders, should not therefore depart from the church: nor the pastors themselves, if they cannot according to their heart's desire purge all things that need amendment, should therefore throw away the ministry, or with unusual rigour trouble the whole church. For it is most true which he writeth: that he is free and discharged from the curse, whosoever he be that either by rebuking amendeth what he can: or what he cannot amend excludeth, always preserving the bond of peace: or what he cannot exclude, saving the bond of peace, he disalloweth with equity, and bear with stedfastness. He giveth the reason thereof in another place: (*Lib.* 3. *cap.* 1.) because godly order and manner of ecclesiastical discipline ought always to have respect to the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace: which the apostle commandeth to be kept by our bearing one with another, and when it is not kept the medicine of punishment begins to be not only superfluous, but hurtful, and therefore ceaseth to be a medicine. He that (saith he *Cap.* 2.) diligently thinks upon these things doth neither in preserving of unity neglect the severity of discipline, nor doth by immoderate correction break the bond of fellowship. He granteth indeed that not only the pastors ought to labour to gain this point, that there may remain no fault in the church, but also that every man ought to his power endeavour thereunto: and he plainly declareth that he who neglecteth to admonish, rebuke, and correct the guilty, though he do not favour them, nor sin with them, yet is guilty before the Lord. But if he be in such a station, that he may sever them from the partaking of sacraments, and doth it not, he sinneth not by anothers evil, but his own. Only he willeth it to be done, with discretion, which the Lord also requireth, lest while the tares be rooting out, the corn be hurt. Hereupon he gathereth out of Cyprian, let a man therefore mercifully correct what he can: and what he cannot, let him patiently suffer, and with love groan and lament it.

The preciseness of the Donatists, making sacrilegious schism in the church, under pretence of a religious desire to have vice severely punished, wherein the bishops being less keen and fiery than some wished, they were accounted betrayers of discipline.

12. This he saith because of the preciseness of the Donatists, who when they saw faults in the churches which the bishops did indeed rebuke with words, but not punish with excommunication, (because they thought that they could this way nothing prevail) did sharply inveigh against the bishops as betrayers of discipline, and did with an ungodly schism divide themselves from the flock of Christ. As the Anabaptists do at this day, which when they acknowlege no congregation to be of Christ, unless it do in every point shine with angelic perfection, do under pretence of their zeal overthrow all edification. Such (saith Augustine) not for hatred of other mens wickednesses, but for desire to maintain their own contentions, covet either wholly to draw away, or at least to divide weak people who are led aside by the boasting of their name: they swelling with pride, mad with stubbornness, traiterous with slanders, troublesome with seditions, lest it should openly appear that they want the light of truth, do pretend a shadow of rigorous severity: and those things which in scripture are commanded to be done with moderate healing for correcting of the faults of brethren, preserving the sincerity of love, and keeping the unity of peace, they abuse to sacrilege of schism and occasion of cutting off. So doth Satan transform himself into an Angel of light, when by occasion as it were of just severity he persuadeth to unmerciful cruelty, coveting nothing else but to corrupt and break the bond of peace and unity: which bond remaining fast among christians, all his forces are not able to hurt, his traps of treasons are broken, and his councils of overthrowing do vanish away.

How to deal in faults so common that they cannot with the peace of the church be corrected.

13. This one thing he chiefly commendeth, that if the infection sin have entred into the whole multitude, then the severe mercy of lively discipline is necessary. For (saith he) the devices of separation are vain, hurtful and full of sacrilege, because they are ungodly and proud, and do more trouble the weak good ones, than

than they amend bold transgressors. And that which he there teacheth others, he himself also faithfully followed. For writing to Aurelius bishop of Carthage, he complaineth that drunkenness which is so sore condemned in scripture, doth range unpunished in Africa: and he adviseth him, that assembling a council of bishops he should provide a remedy for it. He addeth by and by after, these things (as I think) are taken away not roughly, not hardly, not after an imperious manner, but more by teaching than by commanding, more by admonishing than by threatning. For so must we deal with a multitude of sinners, but severity is to be exercised upon the sins of a few. Yet he doth not mean that bishops should therefore wink or hold their peace at public faults, because they cannot severely punish them: as he himself afterwards expoundeth it: but he willeth that the measure of correction be so tempered, that so far as may be, it may rather bring health than destruction to the body. And therefore at length he concludeth thus: Wherefore both this commandment of the apostle 1 Cor. v. 7. is in no wise to be neglected, to sever the evil, when it may be done without peril of breaking of peace: and this is also to be kept, Ephes. iv. 2. that bearing one with another, we should endeavour to preserve the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of peace.

The use of exhortation to public exercises of humility in the church.

14. The part that remaineth of discipline, which is not properly contained in the power of the keys, standeth in this, that according to the necessity of times the pastors should exhort the people either to fasting, or to common supplications, or to other exercises of humility, repentance, and faith, of which things there is neither time, nor measure, nor form prescribed by the word of God, but is left to the judgment of the church. The observing of this part also, as it is profitable, so it hath always been used by the old church even from the very apostles. Howbeit the apostles themselves were not the first authors of them, but took their example out of the law and the prophets. For we see that there so oft as any weighty business happened, the people were called together, common prayers enjoined, and fasting commanded. Therefore the apostles followed that which was not new to the people of God, and they also foresaw that it would be profitable. Likewise is to be thought of other exercises, wherewith the people may either be stirred up to their duty, or kept in awe and obedience. There are examples every where in holy scripture, which we need not gather together. In short this is to be holden, that so oft as there happeneth any controversy of religion, which must be determined either by a synod or by ecclesiastical judgment so oft as they are about choosing of a minister, finally, so oft as any hard matter or of great importance is in doing: again, when there appear tokens of the wrath of God, as pestilence, war, or famine: this is a holy ordinance and profitable for all ages that pastors should exhort the people to common fasting, and to extraordinary prayer. If any man do not allow the testimonies which may be cited out of the old Testament, as though they were not meet for the christian church, it is certain that the apostles also did the same. Howbeit of prayer I think there will scarcely any be found that will make any question. Therefore let us say somewhat of fasting: because many when they understand not what profit it hath, judge it not so necessary: some also utterly refuse it as superfluous: and when the use of it not well known, it is easy to fall into superstition.

A triple use of fasting.

15. Holy and true fasting hath three ends. For we use it, either to make lean and subdue the flesh, that it should not wax wanton, or that we may be better disposed to prayer and holy meditation, or that it should be a testimony of our humbling ourselves before God, when we are willing to confess our guilt before him. The first end hath not so often place in common fasting, because all men have not like estate of body, nor like health: therefore it rather agreeth with private fasting. The second end is common to both, for as well the whole church as every one of the faithful hath need of such preparation to prayer. The third also is likewise common. For it will sometimes happen that God shall strike some nation with war, or pestilence, or with some calamity. In such a common scourge the whole people must accuse themselves, and openly confess their own guilt. But if the hand of the Lord strike any private man, he ought to do the same either alone, or with his own family. That standeth chiefly in the affection of the mind. But when the mind is affected as it ought to be, it is scarcely possible, but that it will break out in outward testifying: and then chiefly if it turn to common edifying, that altogether in openly confessing their sin they should yield praise of righteousness to God, and every one mutually exhort each other with their example.

16. Where-

Fasting joined with prayer by the Antiochians, Anna, Nehemias, Paul.

16. Wherefore fasting, as it is a sign of humbling, is of more use publicly, than among private men, howsoever it be common, as is already said. Therefore as touching the discipline whereof we now treat: so oft as we must make supplication to God for any great matter, it were expedient to command fasting together with prayer. So when the Antiochians Act. xiv. 3. laid hands upon Paul and Barnabas, that they might the better commend their ministry to God which was of so great importance, they joined fasting with prayer: so both they afterwards, Act. xiv. 23. when they made ministers over churches, were wont to pray with fasting. In this kind of fasting they had regard to no other thing, but that they might be made fresher and more uncumbered to pray. Verily this we find by experience, that when the belly is full, the mind is is not so lifted up to God, that it can both with hearty and fervent affection be carried to prayer, and continue in it. So is that to be understood which Luke rehearseth of Anna, Luke. ii. 37. that she served the Lord by fasting and prayer. For he doth not set the worshipping of God in fasting: but signifieth that the holy woman did after that manner exercise her self to continuance in prayer. Such was the fasting of Nehemias Nehem. i. 4. when he did with earnest zeal pray to God for the deliverance of his people. For this cause Paul saith 1 Cor. vii. 5. that the faithful do well, if they abstain for a time from their wedding bed, that they may the more freely apply to prayer and fasting. Where joining fasting to prayer instead of a help, he putteth us in mind that it is of no value but so far as it is referred to this end. Again, when in the same place he giveth a rule to married folks, that they should mutually render good will one to another, it is plain that he doth not speak of daily prayers, but of such as require a more earnest attention of mind.

Public fasting in the public calamities of the church.

17. Again, if either pestilence, or famine, or war begin to range abroad, or if any other calamity seem to hang over any country and people: then also it is the duty of pastors to exhort the church to fasting, that they may humbly beseech the Lord to turn away his wrath. For he giveth warning that he is prepared and in a manner armed to revenge, when he maketh any danger to appear. Therefore as accused men in time past with long hanging beard, with uncombed hair, with black array, were wont humbly to abase themselves, to procure the mercy of the judge: so when we are accused before the judgment seat of God, it behoveth us both for his glory, and for our common edification, and also it is profitable and healthful for us, that we should in piteous array pray to escape his severity. And that this was used among the people of Israel, it is easy to gather by the words of Joel. ii. 25. For when he commandeth a trumpet to be sounded, the congregation to be gathered together, fasting to be appointed, and the rest that follow: he speaketh of them as a common custom. He had a little before said, that examination is appointed of the wicked deeds of the people, and had declared that the day of judgment was now at hand: and had summoned them being accused to plead their cause: then he crieth out that they should hast to put on sackcloth and ashes, to weeping and fasting: that is, that they should also with outward appearances throw themselves down before the Lord. Sackcloth and ashes peradventure did more agree with those times: but there is no doubt that the calling together, and weeping, and fasting and such like do pertain also to our age, so oft as the state of things doth so require. For since is a holy exercise, both to humble men, and to confess humility, why should we use it less than the old people did in like necessity? We read that not only the people of Israel, who were informed and instructed by the word of God, but also the Ninivites who had no doctrine, but the preaching of Jonas, fasted in token of sorrow. What cause is there therefore why we should not do the same? But it is an outward ceremony, which was with the rest ended in Christ. Yea rather even at this day it is, as it always hath been, a very good help to the faithful, and a profitable admonition, to stir them up, that they should not with too great carelessness and sluggishness more and more provoke God when they are chastised with his scourges. Therefore Christ when he excuseth his apostles, (Matth. ix. 15.) because they fasted not, doth not say that fasting is abrogate: but he appointeth it for times of calamity, and joineth it with mourning. The time shall come (saith he Luke v. 34.) when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them.

In fasting time, quality and quantity of meat to be respected.

18. But that there may be no error in the name, let us define what fasting is. For we do not here understand by it only abstinence and sparing in meat and drink

but a certain other thing. The life of the godly ought indeed to be tempered with honest sparing and sobriety, that so near as is possible it may in the whole course thereof bear a certain resemblance to fasting. But besides this there is another fasting for a time, when we withdraw any of our wonted diet, either for one day or for a certain time, and charge ourselves with a stricter and severer abstinence in diet than ordinary. This consisteth in three things, in time, in quality of meats, and in straitness of quantity. I mean by time, that we should use those doings fasting, for which fasting is ordained. As for example, if a man fast for common prayer: that he come empty unto it. Quality standeth in this, that all daintiness should be absent, and being content with common and baser meats, we should not stir up appetite with delicates. The rule of quantity is in this, that we eat more sparingly and less than we are wont, only for necessity, and not for pleasure.

Superstition and the opinion of merit in fasting to be taken heed of.

19. But we must always principally beware, that no superstition creep in upon us, as it hath heretofore happened to the great hurt of the church. For it were much better that there were no use at all of fasting than that it should be diligently kept, and in the mean time be corrupted with false and hurtful opinions, whereunto the world sometimes falleth, unless the pastors do with great faithfulness and wisdom prevent it. The first point therefore is, that they should always inforce that which Joel teacheth, (Joel ii. 13.) that they should rent their hearts and not their garments: that is, that they should inform the people that God doth not greatly esteem fasting of itself unless there be an inward affection of the heart, a true misliking of sin and himself, true humbling, and true sorrow through the fear of God: yea that fasting is profitable for no other cause but for that it is joined to these as an inferior help. For God abhorreth nothing more than when men in setting signs and an outward shew instead of innocency of heart, labour with fair colours to deceive themselves. Therefore Isaiah most sharply inveigheth against this hypocrisy, that the Jews thought they had satisfied God, when they had only fasted, altho' they nourished ungodliness and unclean thoughts in their heart. Is it (saith he, Isa. lviii. 5.) such a fasting which the Lord requireth? and so forth as followeth. Therefore hypocritical fasting is not only an unprofitable and superfluous wearying, but also a great abomination. Another evil near unto this is chiefly to be taken heed of, that it be not taken for a meritorious work, or a form of worshipping God. For since it is a thing indifferent of itself, and hath no value but by reason of those ends which it ought to have respect unto, it is a most hurtful superstition, to confound it with the works commanded by God, and necessary of themselves without any other respect. Such was in old time the dotage of the Manichees: whom when Augustine confuteth, he doth plainly enough teach, that fasting is to be judged by no other ends than those which I have spoken of, and is no otherwise allowed of God, unless it be referred to the same. The third error is indeed not so ungodly, yet it is perilous: to require the keeping of it more precisely and rigorously as it were one of the chief duties, and so to advance it with immoderate praise, that men should think they have done some excellent thing when they have fasted. In which behalf I dare not altogether excuse the old fathers, because they have sown some seeds of superstition, and given occasion to the tyranny which hath risen since. There are found indeed sometimes in them sound and wise sentences of fasting, but afterwards we now and then meet with extravagant praises of fasting which set it among the chief virtues.

The fast of Lent superstitious if it be used under colour of following Christ in his forty days fast.

20. And at that time the superstitious observing of Lent was every where grown in use: because both the common people thought that they therein did some notable service to God, and the pastors did commend it for a holy following of Christ: whereas it is plain, Matth. iv. 2. that Christ did not fast to prescribe an example to others, but that in so beginning the preaching of the gospel he might in very deed prove that it was not a doctrine of men, but descended from heaven. And it is marvellous, that so gross an error, which is confuted with so many and so evident reasons, could creep into men of so sharp judgment. For Christ did not fast oft (which he must needs have done if he would have set forth a law of yearly fasting) but only once when he prepared himself for publishing the gospel. And he fasted not after the manner of men, as he would have done if he would have provoked men to follow him; but rather he sheweth an example, whereby he may draw men to wonder at him than stir them up to follow him. Finally there is no other cause of this fasting than for that which Moses fasted (Exod. xxiv.

xxiv. 18. and xxxiv. 28.) when he received the law at the hand of the Lord. For since that miracle was shewed in Moses to establish the authority of the law, it ought not to have been omitted in Christ, lest the gospel should seem to give place to the law. But since that time it never came into any any man's mind under colour of following of Moses to require such a form of fasting in the people of Israel. Neither did any of the holy prophets and fathers follow it, when yet they had mind and zeal enough to godly exercises. For, that which is said of Elias, 1 Kings xix. 6. that he spent forty days without meat and drink, tended to no other end but that the people should know that he was stirred up to be a restorer of the law from which almost all Israel had departed. Therefore it was a wrong zeal and full of superstition, that they set forth fasting with the title and colour of following of Christ. Howbeit in the manner of fasting there was then great diversity, as Cassiodorus rehearseth out of Socrates in the ninth book of his history. For the Romans (saith he) had but three weeks, but in these three there was a continual fasting, except on the Sabbath and Saturday. The Slavonians and Grecians had six weeks: others had seven: but their fasting was by divided times. And they disagreed no less in difference of meats. Some did eat nothing but bread and water: some added herbs: some did not forbear fish and fowls; some had no difference in meats. Of this diversity Augustine also maketh mention in the latter epistle to Januarius.

The gross abuse of fasting.

21. Then followed worse times, and to the preposterous zeal of the people was added both ignorance and rudeness of the bishops, and a lust to bear rule, and a tyrannical rigour. There were made wicked laws, which strained consciences with pernicious bonds. The eating of flesh was forbidden, as though it defiled a man. There were added opinions full of sacrilege one upon another, till they came to the bottom of all errors. And that no perverseness should be omitted, they began with a most foolish pretence of abstinence to mock with God. For in the most exquisite daintiness of fare is sought the praise of fasting: no delicates do then suffice, there is never greater plenty, or diversity, or sweetness of meats. In such and so gorgeous preparation they think that they serve God rightly. I speak not how they never more foully glut themselves, than when they would be counted most holy men. Briefly, they count it the greatest worshipping of God to abstain from flesh, and (these excepted) to use all kind of dainties. On the other side they think this the greatest ungodliness, and such as can scarcely be recompensed by death, if a man taste never so little a piece of bacon or unsavory flesh with brown bread. Jerome telleth, (*Ad Nepotian.*) that even in his time were some that with such follies did mock with God: who because they would not eat oil, caused most dainty meats from every place to be brought them: yea to oppress nature by violence, they abstained from drinking of water, but caused sweet and costly suppings to be made for them, which they did not drink out of a cup, but out of a shell. Which fault was then in a few, at this day it is a common fault among all rich men, that they fast to no other end but that they may feast more sumptuously and daintily. But I will not waste many words in a matter not doubtful. Only this I say, that both in fasting and in all other parts of discipline, the papists have nothing right, nothing pure, nothing well framed and orderly, whereof they may be proud, as if there were any thing remaining among them worthy of praise.

The ancient canons and orders of the church for the government of the clergy.

22. There followeth another part of discipline, which peculiarly belongeth to the clergy, which is contained in the canons which the old bishops have enjoined themselves, and their order. Such as these: that no clerk should give himself to hunting, or dicing, nor to banqueting: that none should occupy usury, or merchandise: that none should be present at wanton dancings, and such other ordinances. There were also added penalties whereby the authority of the canons was established, that none might break them unpunished. For this end to every bishop was committed the government of his own clergy, that they should rule their clerks according to the canons, and hold them in their duty. For this end were ordained yearly overseeings and synods, that if any was negligent in his duty, he should be admonished: if any had offended, he should be punished according to the measure of his offence. The bishops also themselves had yearly their provincial synods, and in old time yearly two synods, by which they were judged if they had done any thing beside their duty. For if any bishop was too hard or violent against his clergy, they might appeal to those synods, although there was but one that com-

complained. The severest punishment was that he who had offended should be removed from his office, and be deprived for a time of the communion, And because that same was a continual order, they never used to dismiss any synod, but they appointed a place and time for the next synod. For, to gather a general council, pertained to the emperor only, as all the old summonings of councils do testify. So long as this severity flourished, the clerks did require in word no more of the people, than themselves did perform in example and deed. Yea they were much more rigourous to themselves than to the people. And verily it is proper, that the people should be ruled with a gentler and looser discipline, if I may so term it: but the clerks should use a deeper discipline among themselves, and should less bear with themselves, than with other men. How all this is grown out of use, there is no need to rehearse, when at this day nothing can be imagined more unbridled and dissolute than the clergy, and they are broken forth to so great licentiousness, that the whole world exclaimeth against it. That all antiquity should not seem to be utterly buried among them, I grant indeed that they do with certain shadows deceive the eyes of the simple: but those come no nearer to the ancient manners, than the counterfeiting of an ape approacheth to that which men do by reason and advice. There is a notable place in Xenophon, where he teacheth how foully the Persians had swerved from the ordinances of their elders, and were fallen from the rigorous kind of life, to softness and daintiness, that yet they covered this shame, saying, that they diligently kept the ancient usages. For when in the time of Cyrus sobriety and temperance so far flourished that men needed not to weep, yea, and it was accounted a shame: with posterity this continued a religious observation, that no man should draw snot out of his nostrils, but it was lawful to suck it up, and feed within even till they had rotten the stinking humours which they had gathered by gluttonous eating. So by the old order it is unlawful to bring wine pots to the table: but to swill in wine that they need to be carried away drunken is tolerable. It was ordained to eat but once a day: this these good successors have not abrogate, but they give leave to continue their surfeitings from mid-day to mid-night. The custom was that men should make an end of their days journey fasting. But they were at liberty, and it was the common custom to avoid weariness, to shorten their journey to two hours. Whensoever the papists shall pretend their bastard rules, to shew themselves like the holy fathers: this example will sufficiently reprove their foolish counterfeiting, so that no painter can more lively express it.

23. In one thing they are too rigorous and severe, that they give not leave to priests to marry. But how great liberty there is among them to use whoredom unpunished, is not needful to be spoken: and being bold upon their abominable unmarried life, they have hardened themselves to all wicked doings: but for this forbidding doth plainly shew, how pestilent all their traditions are, for as much as it hath not only spoiled the church of good and fit pastors, but also hath brought in a horrible train of mischiefs, and thrown many souls into the gulf of desperation. Truly whereas marriage hath been forbidden to priests, that same hath been done by wicked tyranny, not only against the word of God, but also against all equity. First to forbid that which the Lord had left at liberty, was by no means lawful for men: again, God hath expressly provided by his word that this liberty should not be broken, is so evident that it needeth no long demonstration. I speak not how Paul in many places willeth a bishop to be the husband of one wife. 1 Tim. iii. 2. But what could be more vehemently spoken, than where he pronounceth by the holy Ghost, Tit. i. 6. 1 Tim. iv. 3. that there shall be in the last times wicked men that shall forbid marriage: and he calleth them not only deceivers, but devils? This therefore is a prophecy, this is a holy oracle of the holy Ghost, wherewith he chose to arm the church beforehand against dangers, that the forbidding of marriage is the doctrine of devils. But they think they have happily escaped when they wrest this sentence to Montanus, the Tatians, Encratites, and other old heretics. They only (say they) condemned marriage: but we do not condemn it, but debar the clergy from it, for whom we think it is not convenient. As though this prophecy being first fulfilled in the aforesaid men, it might not also be applied to these: or as though this childish foolish subtilty were worth the hearing, when they say they forbid it not, because they forbid it not to all. For it is all one as if a tyrant would affirm that it is not an unjust law, by the injustice whereof only one part of the city is oppressed.

The clergy forbidden marriage in the church of Rome.

24. They object, that the priest by some mark differs from the people. As though the Lord

Marriage in the clergy allowed by

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the apostle, by the church of Rome not only disallowed, but disgraced by unseemly speech.

did not foresee with what ornaments priests ought to excel. Thus they accuse the apostle of troubling the order and confounding the comliness of the church, who when he described the form of a good bishop placed marriage among the other gifts which he required in him. I know how they expound this, namely that none is to be chosen that hath had a second wife. And I grant that this is no new exposition: but that it is a false exposition, appeareth by the text itself, because he by and by after setteth out what qualities the wives of bishops and deacons ought to have. Paul reckoneth marriage among the virtues of a bishop, these men teach that it is an intolerable fault among the clergy. And, on God's name, not contented with this general dispraise they call it in their canons, uncleanness and a defiling of the flesh. Let every man think with himself out of what work-shop these things are come: Christ vouchsafeth so to honour marriage that he pitched upon it as an image of his holy union with the church. What could be spoken more honourably to set out the dignity of marriage? With what face therefore shall that be called unclean or defiled, wherein shineth a likeness of the spiritual grace of Christ.

The separation of Levites from their wives when they ministred in the temple, proveth but slenderly the forbidding of marriage in the clergy under the gospel.

25. But even when their prohibition so evidently fighteth with the word of God, yet they find in the scriptures wherewith to defend it. The Levitical priests were bound to lie asunder from their wives, so oft as it came to their turns to minister, that they might handle the holy things pure and undefiled. Therefore, say they, it were very uncomely, that our holy things, since they are both much more noble and daily, should be handled by married men. As though a minister of the gospel, and a Levitical priest were all one. They, as figures, represented Christ, who being the Mediator of God and men should with most absolute purity reconcile the Father unto us: but as sinners could not in every behalf express the figure of his holiness, yet that they might with certain rough draughts yield a shadow of him, they were commanded to purify themselves beyond the manner of men, when they came to the sanctuary; namely because they then properly figured Christ, because as pacifiers, to reconcile the people to God, they appeared at the tabernacle, the image of the heavenly judgment seat. Forasmuch as the pastors of the church do not represent this person at this day, therefore they are rashly compared with them. Wherefore the apostle Heb. xiii. 4. doth without exception boldly pronounce, that marriage is honourable among all men, but that for whoremongers, and adulterers abideth judgment of God. And the apostles themselves did by their own example prove that marriage is not unmeet for the holiness of any office be it never so excellent. For Paul witnesseth 1 Cor. ix. 5. that they not only kept wives, but also carried them about with them.

Marriage allowed in bishops by the ancient fathers of the church.

26. Again it was a marvellous shamelessness that they durst set out this comliness of chastity as a necessary thing, to the great reproach of the old church: which when it abounded with singular learning of God, yet excelled more in holiness. For if they will not submit to the apostles, (as they are wont sometimes stoutly to despise them) what I beseech you will they do with all the old fathers, who it is certain have not only suffered but also allowed marriage in the order of bishops? They forsooth did nourish a filthy prophaning of holy things, for as much as by it the mysteries of the Lord were not properly reverenced among them. It was moved indeed in the Nicene synod to have an unmarried life commanded: as there always want not some superstitious men, who still invent some new thing, to bring themselves into admiration. But what was decreed? The sentence of Paphnutius was assented to, which pronounceth that a man's lying with his own wife is chastity. Therefore marriage remained holy among them: neither did it reflect any shame on them, nor was it thought to defile the ministry.

How a single life grew to be so much advanced in the clergy.

27. Then followed times, in which too superstitious an observation of a single life gained force. Hence came those often and extravagant praises of virginity, so that scarcely any other virtue was thought among the people to be compared with it. And though marriage was not condemned as unclean, yet the dignity thereof was so diminished, and the holiness of it obscured, that he seemed not to aspire with a strong enough courage to perfection, who did not refrain himself from it. Hence came those canons

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whereby it was first forbidden that they who were come to the degree of priests should not contract marriage; then, that none should be taken into that order but unmarried men, or such as did forsake marriage together with their wives. These things, because they seemed to procure reverence to the priesthood, were (I grant) even from antiquity received with great good liking. But if our adversaries object antiquity against me, first I answer that this liberty remained both under the apostles and in certain ages after them, that bishops might be married; that the apostles themselves, and other pastors of great authority who succeeded in their places, used the same without hesitation. The example of that ancienter church ought worthily to be of greater weight with us, than that we should think it either unlawful or indecent for us, which was then with praise received and used. Secondly I say that that age which for an immoderate affection to virginity began to be partial against marriage, did not lay upon priests the law of an unmarried life, as if it were a thing necessary of it self, but because they preferred unmarried men above the married. Finally I answer, that they did not so require it, that they did with force and necessity constrain them to continence who were not fit to keep it. For when they punished whoredom with most severe laws, in them that contracted marriage, they decreed no more but that they should give over the execution of their office.

Two notes to the church of Rome concerning the life: so of single life which they require in the order of priests.

28. Therefore whenever the defenders of this new tyranny shall seek the pretence of antiquity to defend their unmarried life: so oft we shall answer by requiring them to restore the old chastity in their priests: that they remove adulterers and whoremongers: that they will not allow those in whom they suffer not the honest and chaste use of the marriage bed, to run unpunished into all kind of lust: that they revive the discontinued discipline, whereby all wantonness may be restrained: that they deliver the church from this wicked filthiness, wherewith it hath been long deformed. When they have granted this, then they must again be put in mind not to boast of any thing as necessary, which being of it self at liberty, dependeth upon the profit of the church. Yet I say not this, because I think that in any condition place is to be given to those canons which lay the bond of unmarried life upon the order of priests; but that the wiser sort may understand with what face our enemies slander marriage in priests by objecting the name of antiquity. As touching the fathers, whose writings remain, even they when they speak their own judgment, except Jerome, did not with so great spitefulness deface the honesty of marriage. We shall be content with one commendation of Chrysostom, because he, since he was a principal esteemer of virginity, cannot be thought to have been more lavish than others in the commendation of marriage. Thus he saith. The first degree of chastity is pure virginity: the second is faithful marriage. Therefore the second kind of virginity is the chaste love of matrimony.

CHAP. XIII.

Of vows, by the rash promising whereof every man hath miserably entangled himself.

The hurt that hath come to the church by vows.

IT is verily a thing to be lamented, that the church, for whom liberty was purchased with the inestimable price of the blood of Christ, hath been so oppressed with cruel tyranny, and almost overwhelmed with a huge heap of traditions: but in the mean time every man's private madness sheweth, that not without most just cause there hath been so much permitted by God to Satan and his ministers. For they thought it not enough neglecting the commandment of Christ, to bear any burdens that were laid upon them by false teachers, unless they did also each man procure to himself several burdens of his own, and so with digging pits for themselves should drown themselves deeper. This was done while they strove in devising of vows, by which there might be added to the common bonds a greater and straiter binding. Since therefore we have taught, that by their boldness who have born rule under the title of pastors in the church, the worshipping of God hath been corrupted, when they ensnared silly consciences with their unjust laws: here it will not be out of season to adjoin another evil which is near unto it, that it may appear that the world according to the perverseness of its own disposition, hath always

always, with such stops as it could, put away the helps whereby it should have been brought to God. Now, that it may the better appear that very great hurt hath been brought in by vows, let the readers keep in mind the principles above set. For first we have taught, that whatever may be required to the framing of life godly and holily, is comprehended in the law. Again, we have taught that the Lord, that he might thereby the better call us away from devising of new works, hath comprehended the whole praise of righteousness in the simple obedience of his will. If these things be true, it is easy to judge that all feigned worshippings, which we invent to ourselves to deserve the favour of God, are not acceptable to him, how much soever they please us. And truly the Lord himself in many places doth not only openly refuse them, but also grievously abhor them. Hence ariseth a doubt of those vows which are made without the express word of God, what account is to be made of them, whether they may rightly be vowed by Christian men, and how far they bind them. For the same which among men is called a promise, in respect of God is called a vow. But to men we promise those things either which we think will be pleasant unto them, or which we owe out of duty. Therefore there ought to be a much more careful observation in vows which are directed to God himself, with whom we ought to deal more earnestly. In this point superstition hath in all ages marvellously raged, so that men without judgment and without choice, vowed unto God whatsoever came in their mind, or into their mouth. Hence came those follies, yea monstrous absurdities of vows among the heathens, wherewith they did too insolently mock with their gods. And I would to God that Christians also had not followed this their boldness. It ought not indeed to have been so; but we see that in certain ages past nothing hath been more usual than this wickedness, that people every where despising the law of God did wholly burn with mad greediness to vow whatsoever had pleased them in their dreams. I will not hatefully enforce, nor particularly rehearse how hainously and how many ways herein men have offended: but I thought good to say this by the way, that it may the better appear that we do not move a question of a needless matter, when we treat of vows.

The first thing to be respected in vows, is the person of God to whom they are made.

2. Now if we would not err in judging what vows are lawful and what are unlawful, it behooveth us to weigh three things: that is to say, who it is to whom the vow is made: who we are that make the vow: last of all with what mind we vow. The first point hath respect to this, that we should think that we have to do with God, whom our obedience so much delighteth, that he pronounceth all will-worship to be accursed, how gay and glorious soever it be in the eyes of men. If all voluntary worship, which we devise without commandment, be abominable to God, it followeth that no worship can be acceptable to him but that which is allowed by his word. Therefore let us not take so great liberty to ourselves as to dare to vow any thing to God which hath no testimony how it is esteemed of him. For whereas that which Paul teacheth, that whatsoever is done without faith is sin, extendeth to all actions, then verily it chiefly hath place, when thou directest thy thought the straight way to God. But if we fail and err even in the smallest things, (as Paul there disputeth of the difference of meats) where we have not a certainty of faith; how much more modesty is to be used, when we attempt a thing of the greatest weight? For nothing ought to be more earnest unto us than the duties of religion. Let this therefore be the first consideration in vows, that we never vow any thing till conscience have first certainly determined that it attempeth nothing rashly. But it shall then be free from danger of rashness, when it shall have God going before it, and as it were informing it by his word what is good and profitable to be done.

The second thing to be regarded in the making of a vow, is the measure of their strength that make it.

3. In the other thing which we have said ought here to be considered, this is contained, that we measure our own strength, that we have an eye to our vocation, that we neglect not the benefit of the liberty which God hath given us. For he who voweth what either is not in his power, or disagreeth with his vocation, is rash: and he that despiseth the bounty of God, whereby he is appointed Lord of all things, is unthankful. When I say thus, I do not mean that any thing is so set in our own hand, that standing upon the confidence of our own strength we may promise the same to God. For it was most truly decreed in the council at Araufum, that nothing is rightly vowed to God but that which we have received of his hand, forasmuch as all things which

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are offered him are his mere gifts. But ſince ſome things are by God's goodneſs given us, and other ſome things by his equity denied us: let every man (as Paul commandeth Rom. xii. 3. and 1 Cor. xii. 11.) have reſpect to the meaſure of grace given unto him. Therefore I here mean nothing elſe, but that vows muſt be tempered to that meaſure which the Lord preſcribeth there in his giving: leſt if thou attempt further than he permitteth, thou throw thy ſelf down headlong with taking too much upon thee. As for example. When thoſe murderers, of whom mention is made in Acts xxiii. 12. vowed that they would taſte no meat till Paul was ſlain: though the device had not been wicked, yet the raſhneſs itſelf was not to be ſuffered, that they made the life and death of a man ſubject to their power. So Iephtha Judg. xi. 30. ſuffered puniſhment for his folly, when with a raſh heat he conceived an unadviſed vow. In which kind unmarried life hath the chief place of mad boldneſs. For ſacrificing prieſts, monks, and nuns, forgetting their own weakneſs, think themſelves able to remain unmarried. But by what oracle are they taught that they ſhall have chaſtity throughout all their life, to the very end whereof they vow it? They hear the word of God concerning the univerſal ſtate of men, Gen. ii. 18. it is not good for man to be alone. They underſtand, and would to God that they did not feel that ſin remaining in us is not without moſt ſharp pricks. With what confidence dare they ſhake off that general calling all their life long: whereas the gift of continence is oftener granted for a certain time as opportunity requireth? In ſuch ſtubbornneſs let them not look for God to be their helper: but let them rather remember that which is ſaid, Thou ſhalt not tempt the Lord thy God. And this is to tempt God, to endeavour againſt the nature put in us by him, and to deſpiſe his preſent gifts as though they did not belong unto us. Which they not only do: but alſo marriage itſelf, which God thought it not againſt his majeſty to inſtitute, which he hath pronounced honourable in all men, Heb. xiii. 4. which Chriſt our Lord John ii. 2. hath ſanctified with his preſence, which he vouchſafed to honour with his firſt miracle, yet they dare call defiling, only to advance with marvellous commendations a certain unmarried life of what ſort ſoever it be. As though they themſelves did not ſhew a clear example in their life, that an unmarried ſtate is one thing, and virginity another: which life they moſt ſhamelesly call angelic, doing herein verily too great injury to the angels of God, to whom they compare whoremongers, adulterers, and ſomewhat elſe much worſe and filthier. And truly we need no arguments when they are openly confuted by the thing it ſelf. For we plainly ſee, with what horrible pains the Lord doth commonly take vengeance on ſuch arrogancy, and contempt of his gifts by too much truſt in themſelves. I ſpare for ſhame to ſpeak of their more ſecret faults, of which even this that is already perceived is too much. It is beyond doubt that we ought to vow nothing, that may hinder us from ſerving our vocation. As if a houſholder ſhould vow, that he will leave his wife and his children and take other charges in hand: or if he that is fit to bear office, when he is choſen vow that he will be a private man. But what is meant by this, when we ſaid that our liberty ſhould not be deſpiſed, hath ſome difficulty if it be not declared. Therefore thus in few words I expound it. Since God hath made us lords of all things, and hath made them ſubject unto us that we ſhould uſe them all for our convenience: there is no cauſe why we ſhould hope that it will be an acceptable work to God, if we yield our ſelves in bondage to outward things, which ought to be a help unto us. I ſay this for this purpoſe, becauſe many hereby ſeek praiſe of humility, if they inſnare themſelves with many obſervations, from which God not with-out cauſe willed us to be free and diſcharged. Therefore if we will eſcape this danger, let us always remember that we ought not to depart from that order which the Lord hath ordained in the chriſtian church.

The third thing to be reſpected in a vow, is the mind of the vower which in vows that have relation to the time paſt hath two ends to be directed by.

4. Now I come to that which I ſet in the third place: that it is very material with what mind thou makeſt a vow, if thou wilt have it allowed of God. For ſince the Lord regardeth the heart, not the outward ſhew, it cometh to paſs that the ſelf ſame thing, by changing the purpoſe of the mind, doth ſometimes pleaſe him and is acceptable unto him, and ſometimes highly diſpleaſeth him. If thou vow the abſtaining from wine, as though there were any holineſs in it, thou art ſuperſtitious; if thou have reſpect to any other end which is not evil, no man can diſallow it. But in my judgment there are four ends, to which our vows ſhall be rightly directed: of which for inſtructions ſake I refer two to the time paſt, and the other two to the time to come. To the time paſt

past belong those vows, whereby we either testify our thankfulness to God for benefits received, or to crave the turning away of his wrath, we punish our selves for the offences that we have committed. Let us call the first sort, if you will, the exercises of thankfulness, the other of repentance. Of the first kind we have an example in the tithes which Jacob vowed, Gen. xxviii. 20. if the Lord did bring him home safe out of banishment into his country. Again in the old sacrifices of the peace offerings, which godly kings and captains, when they took in hand a just war, vowed that they would pay if they had obtained the victory, or at least when they were oppressed with any great distress, if the Lord had delivered them. So are all those places in the psalms Psal. xxii. 27. & lvi. 12. & cxvi. 14, 18. to be understood which speak of vows. Such vows at this day may also be in use among us, sooft as the Lord hath delivered us either out of any calamity, or from a dangerous sickness, or from any other danger. For then it is not against the duty of a godly man, to consecrate to God his vowed oblation, as a solemn token of his acknowlegement, lest he should seem unthankful toward his goodness. Of what sort the second kind is, it shall suffice to shew by a single example. If any by the vice of gluttony be fallen into any offence, nothing withstandeth but that to chastise his intemperance he may for a time forsake all dainty meats, and may do the same with a vow adjoined, that he may bind himself with the straiter bond. Yet I do not make a perpetual law to them that have likewise offended: but I shew what is lawful for them to do, who shall think such a vow profitable for themselves. I therefore make such a vow lawful, that in the mean time I leave it at liberty.

Two other ends of vows which have relation to the time to come.

5. The vows that are applied to the time to come, (as we have already said) tend partly to this end that we may be made more wary: and partly as it were by certain spurs we may be pricked forward to our duty. Some man seeth himself so inclined to some certain vice, that in a thing which otherwise is not evil, he cannot hinder himself from falling forthwith into an evil; he will do nothing inconveniently, if he do for a time by a vow cut off from himself the use of that thing. As if a man know that this or that apparel of body is dangerous to him, and yet enticed with desire he earnestly covet it, what can he do better, than if in putting a bridle upon himself, that is in charging himself with a necessity of abstaining from it, he deliver himself from all doubting? Likewise if a man be forgetful or slow to necessary duties of godliness, why may he not by taking a vow upon him both awaken his memory and shake off his slothfulness? In both I grant that there is a form of childish schooling: but even in this as they are helps to our weakness, they are not without profit used by the raw and imperfect. Therefore we shall say that those vows are lawful which have respect to one of these ends, especially in outward things, if they both be upheld with the allowance of God, and agree with our vocation, and be measured by the power of grace given us of God.

How to judge of vows; as well those which generally all men, or particularly some, make unto God.

6. Now also it is not hard to gather what is generally to be thought of all vows. There is one common vow of all the faithful, which being made in baptism we confirm and as it were establish by catechism and receiving of the supper. For the sacraments are as charters, by which the Lord delivereth to us his mercy, and thereby everlasting life, and we again on our behalfs promise him obedience. But this is the form or rather the sum of the vow, that forsaking satan, we yield our selves into God's service, to obey his holy commandments, and not to follow the perverse desires of our flesh. It ought not to be doubted but that this vow, since it hath a testimony of the scripture, yea and is required of all the children of God, is both holy and profitable to salvation. And it maketh not to the contrary, that no man in this life performeth the perfect obedience to the law which God requireth of us. For since this form of covenanting is comprised within the covenant of grace, under which is contained both forgiveness of sins and the spirit of sanctification: the promise which we there make is joined both with beseeching of pardon, and craving of help. In judging of particular vows, it is necessary to keep in mind the three former rules, whereby we may safely weigh of what sort every vow is. But do not think, that I so commend the very same vow, which I affirm to be holy, that I would have them to be daily. For though I dare teach no certain rule of the number or time: yet if any man obey my counsel, he shall take upon him none but sober and for a time. For if thou oftentimes break forth into making of many vows, all religiousness will by the very continuance grow out of esteem with the, and thou shalt come to a yielding

readineſs to fall into ſuperſtition. If thou bind thy ſelf with a perpetual vow, either for great pain and tedioufneſs thou ſhalt undo it, or being wearied with long continuance, thou ſhalt at one time or other be bold to break it.

Superſtitious vows of faſtings, pilgrimages and ſuch like.

7. Now alſo it is plain with how great ſuperſtition in this behalf the world hath in certain ages paſt been poſſeſſed. One man vowed that he would abſtain from wine: as though abſtaining from wine were of it ſelf a worſhip acceptable to God. Another bound himſelf to faſting, another to abſtaining from fleſh for certain days in which he had with vain opinion feigned to be a ſingular holineſs above the reſt. And ſome things alſo were vowed much more childiſh, though not by children. For it was held for great wiſdom, to take upon them vowed pilgrimages to holier places, and ſometimes either to go all their journey on foot, or with their body half naked, that by their wearineſs the more merit might be gotten. Theſe and ſuch others, with incredible zeal whereof the world hath a while ſwelled, if they be examined by thoſe rules which we have above ſet, will be found not only vain and trifling, but full of manifeſt ungodlineſs. For however the fleſh judge, God abhorreth nothing more than feigned worſhippings. There are beſides this thoſe pernicious and damned opinions, that hypocrites when they have ſuch trifles think that they have gotten no ſmall righteouſneſs: they repoſe the ſum of godlineſs in outward obſervations: they deſpiſe all others that are leſs careful of ſuch things.

Monkiſh vows and the end why monkeries were firſt inſtituted.

8. To reckon up all the particular forms is to no purpoſe. But as the monkiſh vows are had in greater reverence, becauſe they ſeem allowed by the common judgment of the church: of thoſe it is proper to ſpeak briefly. Firſt leſt any ſhould by long preſcription defend monker, ſuch as it is at this day, it is to be noted that in old time there was in monaſteries a far other order of living. Such as were diſpoſed to exerciſe themſelves to the greateſt ſeverity and patience, went thither. For what manner of diſcipline they ſay the Lacedemonians had under the laws of Lycurgus, ſuch was at that time among the monks, yea and much more rigorous. They ſlept upon the ground: their drink was water: their meat was bread, herbs, and roots: their chief dainties were in oil and peaſe. They abſtained from all delicate diet and trimming of body. Theſe things might ſeem above truth, if they were not written by witneſſes that ſaw and proved them, as Gregory Nazianzen, Baſil, and Chryſoſtom. But by ſuch introductions they prepared themſelves to great offices. That the colleges of monks, were then as it were the ſeed-pots of the order of miniſters of the church, both theſe whom we have now named are a proof plain enough (for they were all brought up in monaſteries and from thence called to the office of biſhops,) and alſo many other ſingular and excellent men in their time. And Auguſtine ſheweth that this was alſo uſed in his time, that monaſteries produced clerks to the church. For he ſpeaketh thus to the monks of the iſle of Caprarea: but you brethren we exhort in the Lord, that you keep your purpoſe and continue to the end: and if at any time our mother the church ſhall require your labour, neither with greedy pride take it upon you, nor with flattering ſlothfulneſs refuſe it: but with a meek heart obey God. Neither prefer your own quiet leiſure above the neceſſities of the church: who if no good men would have aſſiſted her in her labour, you would not not have found how you ſhould have been born. He ſpeaketh there of the miniſtry, by which the faithful are ſpiritually born again. Alſo to Aurelius. There is both occaſion of falling given to themſelves, and moſt hainous wrong done to the order of the clergy, if forſakers of monaſteries be choſen to the ſoldierſhip of the clergy: when even of thoſe that remain in the monaſtery, we uſe to take into the clergy none but the moſt approved and beſt. Unleſs perhaps as the common people ſay, he is an ill piper but a good fidler: ſo it ſhall alſo be jeſtingly ſaid of us, he is an ill monk, but a good clerk. It is too much to be lamented, if we lift up monks into ſuch a ruinous pride, and think clerks worthy of ſo great reproach, whereas ſometimes even a good monk maketh not a good clerk, if he have ſufficient continuance and yet want neceſſary learning. By theſe places it appeareth, that godly men were wont with the diſcipline of monks to prepare themſelves for the government of the church, that they might being the fitter and better inſtructed, take ſo great an office upon them. Not that they all attained to this end, or even tended toward it, when for the moſt part they were unlearned men: but ſuch were choſen out as were meet for it.

9. But chiefly in two places he painteth out unto us the form of the *The orders and*

exercises of ancient monks.

the old monkery. In the book of the manners of the catholic church, where he setteth the holiness of that profession against these slanders of the Manichees: and in another book which he entitled of the works of monks, where he inveigheth against certain degenerate monks, who began to corrupt that order. I will here gather a sum of those things which he saith, and so near as I can, I will use his own words. Despising (saith he) the inticements of this world, gathered into one most chaste and holy life, they spend their time together, living in prayers, readings, and disputations, not swelling with pride, not troublesome with stubbornness, nor pale with enviousness. None possesseth any thing of his own, none is burdensome, to any man. They get by working with with their hands those things wherewith both their body may be fed, and their mind not hindred from God. Their work they deliver to them whom they call deans. Those deans disposing all things with great carefulness make account thereof to one whom they call father. These fathers not only most holy in manners, but also most excellent in godly doctrine, high in all things, with no pride provide for them whom they call children, with great authority of them in commanding, and great willingness of the other in obeying: they come together at the very last time of the day, every one from his dwelling, while they are yet fasting, to hear that father, and there meet together to every of these fathers, at the least three thousand men, (he speaketh chiefly of Egypt, and of the East) then they refresh their body, so much as sufficeth for life and health, every man restraining his desire, not taking largely even of those things that they have present tho' very spare and vile. They not only abstain from flesh and wine, so much that they may be able to tame their lusts, but from such things which so much more greedily provoke appetite of the belly and throat, how much they seem to others, to be cleaner, under pretence whereof the filthy desire of exquisite meats, which is not in flesh, is wont to be so foolishly and foully defended. Whatsoever remaineth above necessary food (as there remaineth often much of their manufactures, and pinching of their fare) is with greater care distributed to the poor, than it was gotten by them that distribute it. For they do not work that they may have abundance of these things, but they by all means endeavour that that which they have abounding may not remain with them. Afterwards when he hath related the hardness, whereof he himself had seen examples both at Milan, and else where: among these things (saith he) no man is inforced to hard things which he cannot bear: no man is charged with that which he refuseth: neither is he therefore condemned by the rest, because he owneth he hath not strength to follow them: for they remember how much charity is commended: they remember that all things are clean to the clean. Therefore all their diligence watcheth, not to the refusing of kinds of meat as unclean, but to tame lust, and to retain the love of the brethren. They remember, 2 Cor. vi. 13. meat for the belly, and the belly for meats, &c. Yet many strong men abstain for the sake of the weak. Many of them have no need to do this: but because it pleaseth them to sustain themselves with baser diet and nothing sumptuous. Therefore they who being in health do forbear, if consideration of their health compel, when they are sick thy take without any fear. Many drink no wine, and yet they think not themselves defiled with it: for they most gently cause it be given to the fainter, and to them that cannot get the health of their body without it: and some who foolishly refuse it, they in a brotherly way admonish them that they be not with vain superstition sooner made weaker than holier. They diligently exercise godliness: but they know that the exercising of the body pertaineth but to a short time. Charity is chiefly kept: to charity the diet, to charity the speech, to charity the apparel, to charity the countenance is fitted. They meet and conspire into one charity. To offend it is counted as hainous as to offend God. If any resist charity, he is cast out and shunned. If any offend charity, he is not suffered to abide one day. Forasmuch as in these words, as in a painted picture, that holy man seemeth to have set out what kind of life monkery was in old time, though they were somewhat long, yet I was content to place them here: because I saw that I should have been somewhat longer if I had gathered the same things out of divers authors, how much soever I studied brevity.

The difference between popish monks and the monks of the old church.

10. But my purpose here is not to go through this whole matter, but only by the way to point out only what kind of monks the old church had, but what the profession of monks was at that time: so as the sound witted readers may judge by the comparison, what face they have who quote antiquity to maintain the present monkery. Augustine when he painteth a holy and true monkery, would put away all rigo-

rous exacting of those things which by the word of the Lord are left us at liberty. But there is nothing that is at this day more severely required. For they count it a mischief that can never be purged, if any do never so little swerve from the prescribed rule in the colour or fashion of a garment, in a kind of meat, or in other trifling and cold ceremonies. Augustine stoutly maintaineth, that it is not lawful for monks to live idle upon other men. He denieth that there was ever in his time any such example of a well ordered monastery. Our men place the chief part of their holiness in idleness. For if you take idleness from them, where is that contemplative life whereby they boast they excel all other men, and approach near unto angels? Finally Augustine requireth such a monkery, as should be nothing but an exercise and help to the duties of godliness which are commended to all Christians. What? when he maketh charity the chief, yea, and almost only rule thereof, do we think that he praiseth an association, whereby a few men being bound together, are separated from the whole body of the church? But rather he desireth them by their example to give light to others to keep the unity of the church. In both these points there is so much difference between the old and present monkery that a man can scarcely find any thing more unlike, I will not say contrary. For our monks not contented with that godliness, to the study of which alone, Christ commandeth them that are his, continually to apply, imagine I wot not what new godliness, by meditation whereof they may be perfecter than others.

The monkish life only termed perfection by the Papists.

11. If they deny this, I would know of them why they vouchsafe to give their order alone the title of perfection, and take away the same from all the callings of God. Neither am I ignorant of that sophistical solution, that it is not so called because it doth contain perfection in it, but because it is the best of all others to attain perfection. When they are disposed to boast themselves before the people, to insnare unskilful and unwary young men, when to maintain their privileges, when to advance their own dignity to the reproach of others, then they boast that they are in the state of perfection. When they are so hard pressed that they cannot defend this vain arrogancy, then they fly to this starting hole, that they have not yet attained perfection, but that they are in a state wherein they aspire unto it above others. In the mean time that admiration among the people remaineth, as though the monkish life alone were angelic, perfect, and cleansed from all fault. By this pretence they make very gainful markets, but that moderation lieth buried in a few books. Who doth not see that this is an intolerable mockery? But let us reason with them, as though they attributed no more to their profession than to call it a state of attaining perfection. Verily in giving it this name, they do as by a special mark make it different from other kinds of life. And who can abide this, that so great honour should be given away to an ordinance that is no where allowed: and that by the same all other callings of God, which are by his own holy mouth not only commanded, but also commended with notable titles of praise, are by the same accounted unworthy? And how great wrong (I beseech you) is done to God, when I wot not what new found thing is preferred above all the kinds of life ordained by himself, and praised by his own testimony?

Popish monks proud and vainglorious as if their obedience did extend to farther perfection than the law of Christ doth require to be in all men.

12. But go to, let them say that it is a slander which I have before said, that they are not contented with the rule prescribed by God. Yet though I hold my peace, they themselves do more than is necessary accuse themselves. For they openly teach, that they take upon them a greater burden than Christ laid upon his: because forsooth they promise to keep the counsels of the gospel concerning loving their enemies, not coveting of revenge, nor swearing, &c. To which things Christians are not generally bound. Herein what antiquity will they shew forth against us? This never came into any of the old fathers minds. They all cry out with one voice that there was not one little word at all uttered of Christ, which ought not necessarily to be obeyed. And without any doubting they every where teach, that these very same things by name were commandments, which these good expositors triflingly say, Christ did only counsel. But forasmuch as we have before taught that this is a most pestilent error, let it suffice here to have briefly observed that the monkery which is at this day, is grounded upon the same opinion, which all the godly ought worthily to abhor: which is that there should be imagined some perfecter rule of life, than this com-

common rule which is given by God to the whole church. Whatsoever is builded upon this foundation, cannot be but abominable.

Nothing less than monkish perfection meant by Christ in saying, if thou wilt be perfect sell all and give.

13. But they bring another proof of their perfection, which they think to be very strong for them. Our Lord said to the young man that asked him of the perfection of righteousness, If thou wilt be perfect, sell all thou hast, and give it to the poor. Whether they do so or no, I do not yet dispute: but grant them that for this present. Therefore they boast that they are made perfect by forsaking all theirs. If the sum of perfection consists in this, what means Paul when he teacheth that he who hath distributed all his goods to the poor, unless he have charity, is nothing? What manner of perfection is this, which if charity be absent, is brought to nothing? Here they must answer, that this is the chiefest, but not the only work of perfection. But here also Paul crieth out against them who stick not to make charity the bond of perfection, without any such forsaking. Col. iii. 14. If it be certain that there is no disagreement betwixt the master and the disciple, and the one of them clearly denieth the perfection of man to consist in this, that he should forsake all his goods, and again affirmeth, that perfection is without it: we must see how that saying of Christ is to be taken, If thou wilt be perfect, sell all that thou hast. Now, it will be no dark sense, if we weigh (which we ought always to mark in all the preachings of Christ) to whom these words are directed. A young man asketh, by what works he shall enter into everlasting life. Luke xx. 25. Christ, because he was asked of works, sendeth him to the law, and rightfully: for it is the way of eternal life, if it be considered in itself, and is no otherwise unable to bring salvation unto us, but by our own perverseness. By this answer Christ declareth, that he taught no other rule to frame our life by, than the same that he had in old time been taught in the law of the Lord. So did he both give witness to the law of God, that it was the doctrine of perfect righteousness: and therewithal did answer slanders, that he would not seem by a new rule of life to stir up the people to forsake the law. The young man being indeed not of a bad mind, but swelling with vain confidence, answered that he had from his childhood kept all the commandments of the law. It is most certain that he was an infinite space distant from what he boasted he had attained. And if his boasting had been true, he had wanted nothing of the highest perfection. For we have before shewed, that the law containeth in itself perfect righteousness: and the same appeareth hereby, that the keeping of it is called the way of eternal salvation. That he might be taught to know how little he had profited in that righteousness, which he had too boldly answered he had fulfilled, it was necessary and useful to shake out a familiar fault of his. When he abounded in riches, he had his heart fastened upon them; therefore because he felt not this secret wound, Christ lanced him. Go (saith he) sell all that thou hast. If he had been so good a keeper of the law as he thought he was, he would not have gone away sorrowful when he heard this word. For he who loveth God with all his heart, whatsoever disagreeth with the love of him, he not only taketh it for dung, but abhorreth as bringing destruction. Therefore whereas Christ commandeth the covetous rich man to leave all that he hath, it is all one, as if he should command the ambitious man to forsake all honours, the voluptuous man all delights, and the unchaste man all the instruments of lust. Thus consciences that are touched with no feeling by general admonition, must be called back to the particular feeling of their own evil. Therefore they in vain draw this special case to a general exposition, as though Christ set the perfection of a man in forsaking of goods; whereas he meant nothing else by this saying, than to drive the young man that stood too much in his own conceit, to feel his own sore, that he might understand he was yet a great way distant from the perfect obedience of the law, which otherwise he did falsely take upon him. I grant that this place hath been ill understood by some of the fathers, and that hence grew this coveting of wilful poverty, whereby they only were thought to be blessed, who forsaking all earthly things, did dedicate themselves naked to Christ. But I trust that all the good and not contentious men will be satisfied with this my exposition, so that they shall no more doubt of the meaning of Christ.

Popish monks how unlike to the monks of old, even in respect of their very order and profession.

14. Howbeit the fathers thought nothing less, than to establish such perfection, as hath since been framed by the cowled sophisters, thereby to raise up a double Christianity. For that doctrine full of sacrilege was not yet hatched which compareth the

the profeſſion of monkery to baptiſm, yea and openly affirmeth, that it is a form of ſecond baptiſm. Who can doubt that the fathers with all their heart abhorred this blaſphemy? Now as touching that laſt thing, which Auguſtine ſaith to have been among the old monks, that is, that they applied themſelves wholly to charity: what need I to ſhew in words that it is very far from this new profeſſion? The thing itſelf ſpeaketh, that all they that go into monaſteries, depart from the church. Why? Do not they ſeparate themſelves from the lawful fellowſhip of the faithful in taking to themſelves a peculiar miniſtry and private miniſtration of ſacraments? What is it to diſſolve the communion of the church, if this be not it? And that I may follow the compariſon which I began to make, and may once conclude it, what have they in this behalf like to the old monks? They although they dwelt ſeverally from other men, yet had not a ſeveral church: they did partake of the ſacraments together with others: they appeared at ſolemn aſſemblies: there they were a part of the people. Theſe men in erecting to themſelves a private altar, what have they elſe done but broken the bond of unity? For they have both excommunicate themſelves from the whole body of the church, and have deſpiſed the ordinary miniſtry, whereby the Lord willed to have peace and charity kept among his. Therefore how many miniſters there be at this day, I ſay that there be ſo many aſſemblies of ſchiſmatics, which troubling the order of the church, are cut off from the lawful fellowſhip of the faithful. And that this departing ſhould not be ſecret, they have given to themſelves divers names of ſects. Neither were they aſhamed to boaſt of that, which Paul doth ſo deteſt that he cannot ſufficiently amplify the hainouſneſs of it. Unleſs perhaps we think that Chriſt was divided of the Corinthians, when one gloried of one teacher, and another of another: and that now it is done without any injury to Chriſt, that inſtead of Chriſtians we hear ſome called Benedictines, ſome Franciſcans, ſome Dominicans: and that they are ſo called, that they themſelves when they covet to be ſeverally known from the common ſort of Chriſtians, do with great pride take theſe titles to them for the profeſſion of their religion.

A greater difference in the manners of theſe new and thoſe ancient monks.

15. Theſe differences which I have hitherto rehearſed between the old monks and the monks of our age, are not differences in manners, but in the profeſſion itſelf. Therefore let the readers remember that I have rather ſpoken of monkery than of monks, and have touched thoſe faults, not which ſtick in the life of a few of them, but which cannot be ſevered from their very order of living itſelf. But what difference is in their manners, what need I particularly to declare? This is certain, that there is no degree of men more defiled with all filthineſs of vices: no where are more factions, hatreds, affections of parties, ambitions hotter than among them. Indeed in a few monaſteries they live chaſtely, if it be to be called chaſtity where luſt is ſo far kept down that it is not openly ſpoken of: yet a man ſhall ſcarcely find every tenth monaſtery which is not rather a ſtews than a holy houſe of chaſtity. But what honeſt ſparing is in their diet? Swine are no otherwiſe fatted in ſtyes. But leſt they ſhould complain that I handle them too ungently, I go no further. Howbeit in thoſe few things which I have touched, whoſoever knoweth the thing itſelf will confeſs that there is nothing ſpoken accuſer-like. Auguſtine, when according to his teſtimony monks excelled in ſo great chaſtity, yet complaineth that there were many vagabonds, which with evil crafts and deceits wiped ſimple men from their money, which with carrying about the reliques of martyrs did uſe filthy merchandizings, yea and inſtead of the reliques of martyrs did ſhew forth the bones of any other dead men, and which with many ſuch wicked doings ſlandered the order. As he reporteth that he ſaw no better men than them which have profited in monaſteries, ſo he lamenteth that he had ſeen no worſe men than thoſe that diſprofited in monaſteries. What would he ſay if at this day he ſaw all monaſteries to ſwell, and in a manner to burſt with ſo many and ſo diſpaired vices? I ſpeak nothing but that which is well known to all men. Yet doth not this diſpraiſe pertain to all without any exception at all. For as there was never rule and diſcipline of living ſo holily eſtabliſhed in monaſteries, but that there remained ſome drones much unlike the reſt: ſo I do not ſay that monks are at this day ſo run out of kind from that holy antiquity, but that they have yet ſome good men in their flock. But they lie hidden, a few and ſcattered in that huge multitude of naughty and wicked men: and they are not only deſpiſed, but alſo lewdly railed at, and ſometimes cruelly handled of others, which (as the

Meſſians

Mileſians proverb is) think that there ought to be no place for any honeſt man among them.

Some what amiſs even in the very profeſſion of monkery which was of old.

16. By this compariſon of the old and preſent monkery, I truſt I have brought to paſs that which I purpoſed, that it may appear that our cowled men do falſly pretend the example of the firſt church for defence of their profeſſion: for as much as they no leſs differ from them than apes from men. In the mean time I ſtick not to declare, that even in that old form which Auguſtine commendeth, there is ſomewhat which little pleaſeth me. I grant that they were not ſuperſtitious in exacting the outward exerciſes of rougher diſcipline, but I ſay there wanted not too much affectation and wrongful zeal. It was a goodly thing, forſaking their goods, to be without all earthly carefulneſs: but God more eſteemeth care to rule a houſhold godly, when a holy houſholder being looſe and free from all covetouſneſs, ambition, and other deſires of the fleſh, laboureth to this purpoſe to ſerve God in a certain vocation. It is a godly thing to play the philoſopher in a wilderneſs far from the company of men: but it agreeth not with Chriſtian gentleneſs, as it were for hatred of mankind to fly into deſarts and ſolitarineſs, and therewithal to forſake thoſe duties which the Lord hath chiefly commanded. Although we grant that there was no other evil in that profeſſion, yet this verily was no ſmall evil, that it brought an unprofitable and perilous example into the church.

The vows wherewith monks at this day enter into that order: as firſt perpetual virginity.

17. Now therefore let us ſee what manner of vows they be, wherewith monks at this day are profeſſed into this goodly order. Firſt, becauſe their mind is to inſtitute a new and feigned worſhipping to deſerve God's favour: I conclude by the things before ſpoken, that whatſoever they vow is abominable before God. Secondly, without any regard of God's calling, without any of his allowance, they invent for them ſuch a kind of living as pleaſeth themſelves. I ſay that it is raſh, and therefore an unlawful enterpriſe: becauſe their conſcience hath nothing whereupon it may uphold itſelf before God, and whatſoever is not of faith, is ſin, Rom. xiv. 23. Moreover when they bind themſelves to many perverſe and wicked worſhippings, which the monkery at this day containeth in it, I affirm that they be not conſecrate to God, but to the devil. For why was it not lawful for the prophet to ſay, that the Iſraelites offered their children to devils and not to God, (Pſal. cvi. 37.) only for this that they had corrupted the true worſhipping of God with prophane ceremonies: and ſhall it not be lawful for us to ſay the ſame of monks, which with their cowly do put upon themſelves a ſnare of a wicked thouſand ſuperſtitions? Now what ſort of vows are there? They promiſe to God perpetual virginity, as though they had bargained with God before, that he ſhould deliver them from need of marriage. There is no cauſe why they ſhould allege, that they do not make this vow but by truſting upon the grace of God. For ſince he pronounceth that he giveth it not to all men, it is not in us to conceive a confidence of a ſpecial gift. Let them that have it, uſe it, Mat. xix. 21. If at any time they feel themſelves to be troubled of their fleſh, let them flee to this help, by whoſe only power they may reſiſt. If they prevail not, let them not deſpiſe the remedy that is offered them. For they by the certain word of God are called to marriage, to whom power of continence is denied. Continence I call, not whereby the body is only kept clean from whoredom, but whereby the mind keepeth the chaſtity undefiled. For Paul commandeth not only outward wantonneſs, but alſo the burning of the mind, to be avoided, 1 Cor. vii. 9. This (ſay they) hath from furtheſt time of memory been obſerved, that they which would dedicate themſelves wholly to the Lord, ſhould bind themſelves to the vow of continence. I grant indeed that this manner hath alſo been of antient time received: but I do not grant that that age was ſo free from all fault, that whatſoever was then done muſt be taken for a rule. And by little and little this unappeaſable ſeverity crept in, that after a vow made there was no room for repentance. Which is evident by Cyprian. If virgins have of faith dedicated themſelves to God, let them continue ſhamefaſtly, and chaſtely without any feigning. So being ſtrong and ſtedfaſt, let them look for the reward of virginity. But if they will not or cannot continue, it is better that they ſhould marry than with their delights fall into the fire. What reproaches would they now ſpare to tear him withal, that would with ſuch equity temper the vow of continency? Therefore they are departed far from that antient manner, which will not only admit no moderation or pardon if any be found unable to perform his vow: but they do without all ſhame pronounce that he ſinneth more grievouſly if he remedy the intemperance

perance of the flesh with taking a wife, than if he defile both his body and soul with whoredom.

The bond of continual single life otherwise than now undertaken of old.

18. But they still enforce the matter, and go about to shew that such a vow was used in the apostle's time time: because Paul saith, that the widows which having been once received into the public ministry did marry, denied their first faith, 1 Tim. v. 12. But I do not deny to them, that the widows which bound themselves and their services to the church, did therewithal take upon them the bond of continual unmarried life: not because they reposed any religion therein, as it afterward began to be used: but because they could not bear that office, but being at their own liberty and loose from the yoke of marriage. But if, when they had once given their faith, they looked back to new marriages, what was this else but to shake off the calling of God? Therefore it is no wonder that with such desires, he saith that they wax wanton against Christ. Afterward to amplify the matter, he saith, that they do not so perform that which they have promised to the church, that they do also break and make void their first faith given in baptism: in which this is comprehended, that every man should answer his calling. Unless perhaps you had rather understand it thus, that having as it were lost all shame, they did from thenceforth cast away all care of honesty, did give forth themselves to all wantonness and unchastity, and did in licentious and dissolute life resemble nothing less than Christian women: which sense I like very well. Therefore we answer, that those widows which were then received to public ministry, did lay upon themselves a bond to continue unmarried: if they afterward married, we easily perceive that that happened to them which Paul speaketh of, that casting away shame they became more wanton than beseemed Christian women. That so they not only sinned, in breaking their faith given to the church, but swerved from the common law of godly women. But first I deny that they did profess unmarried life for any other reason, but because marriage agreed not with that ministry which they took in hand: and I deny that they did bind themselves at all to single life, but so far as the necessity of their vocation did bear. Again, I do not grant that they were so bound, but that it was then also better for them to marry, than either be troubled with the prickings of the flesh, or to fall into any uncleanness. Thirdly, I say that that age is appointed of Paul, which is commonly out of danger: especially since he commandeth them only to be chosen which contented with one marriage have already shewed a token of their continency. And we do for no other reason disallow the vow of unmarried life, but because it is wrongfully taken for a service of God, and it is rashly yowed of them to whom power of continence is not given.

St. Paul's words concerning widows wrested unto the maintenance of nuns.

19. For how was it lawful to draw this place of Paul to nuns? For there were created deaconnesses, not to delight God with singing and with mumbling not understood, and live the rest of their time idle: but that they should execute public ministration toward the poor, that they should with all study, earnestness and diligence, endeavour themselves with the duties of charity. They did not vow unmarried life, to yield thereby any worship to God because they abstained from marriage: but only because they were thereby the more uncumbred to execute their office. Finally they did vow it, neither in the beginning of their youth, nor yet in the midst of their flowing age, that they might afterward learn too late by experience into how great a headlong downfal they had thrown themselves: but when they seemed to have passed all danger, then they vowed a no less safe than holy vow. But (not to enforce their first two points) I say it was not lawful to have women received to vow continency before the age of threescore years: forasmuch as the Apostle admitteth only women of sixty years old, and commandeth both the younger to marry and bring forth children. Therefore, neither that release made of twelve years, and then twenty, and afterwards of thirty years can be any way excused: and much less is it tolerable, that silly maids, before that they can by age know themselves, or have any experience of themselves, are not only trained by fraud, but constrained by force and threatnings to put on those cursed snares. I will not tarry upon confuting the other two vows. Only this I say: besides this that they are intangled with not a few superstitions, (as the matter is now a days) they seem to be made to this purpose, that they which vow them should mock both God and men. But lest we should seem too maliciously to snake up every small parcel, we will be content with that general confutation which is above set.

20. What

The way for consciences intangled with rash vows to disengage themselves.

20. What manner of vows be lawful and acceptable to God, I think is sufficiently declared. Yet because sometime unskilful and fearful consciences, even when they mislike or disallow any vow, do nevertheless doubt of the binding, and are grievously tormented when they both dread to break their faith given to God, and on the other side they fear lest they should more sin in keeping it: here they are to be succoured, that they may wind themselves out of this distress. But, to take away all doubt at once: I say that all vows being not lawful, nor rightly made, as they are nothing worth before God, so ought to be void to us. For if in contracts of men those promises only do bind, in which he with whom we contract, would have us bound: it is an absurdity, that we should be driven to the keeping of those things which God doth not require of us: specially since our works are no otherwise right, but when they please God, and when consciences have this testimony that they please him. For this remaineth certain, whatsoever is not of faith, is sin. Whereby Paul meaneth, that the work which is taken in hand with doubting, is therefore faulty, because faith is the root of all good works, by which we are assured that they are acceptable to God. Therefore if it be lawful for a christian man to go about nothing without this assuredness: if by fault of ignorance they have taken any thing in hand, why should they not afterward give it over when they are delivered from errors? Since vows unadvisedly made are such, they do not only nothing bind, but are necessarily to be undone. Yea, if they are not only nothing esteemed, but also are abominable in the sight of God, as is above shewed? It is needless to discourse any longer of a matter not needful. This one argument seemeth to me to be enough to pacify godly consciences and deliver them from all doubt: that whatsoever works do not flow out of the pure fountain and are not directed to the lawful end, are refused of God and so refused that he no less forbiddeth us to go forward in them, than to begin them. For hereupon followeth, that those vows which proceed of error and superstition, are both of no value before God and to be forsaken of us.

Departure from monkery to some other honest kind of life justifiable.

21. Moreover he that shall know this solution, shall have wherewith he may defend against the slanders of the wicked, them that depart from monkery to some honest kind of life. They are grievously accused of breach of faith and perjury, because they have broken (as it is commonly thought) the insoluble bond wherewith they were bound to God and to the church. But I say that there was no bond where God doth abrogate that which man confirmeth. Moreover, admitting that they were bound, when they were holden entangled with not knowing of God and with error: now since they are lightened with the knowlege of the truth, I say that they are therewithal free by the grace of Christ. Gal. iii. 3. For if the cross of Christ have so great effectualness, that it looseth us from the curse of the law of God, wherewith we were holden bound, how much more shall it deliver us from foreign bonds, which are nothing but the snaring nets of Satan? To whomsoever therefore Christ shineth with the light of his gospel, it is no doubt that he looseth them from all snares which they had put upon themselves by superstition. Howbeit they want not yet another defence, if they were not fit to live unmarried. For if an impossible vow be a sure destruction of the soul, whom the Lord would have saved and not destroyed: it followeth that we ought not to continue therein. But how impossible is the vow of continence to them that are not indued with a singular gift, we have already taught, and experience speaketh it though I hold my peace. For neither is it unknown with how great filthiness almost all monasteries do swarm. And if any of them seem honester, and more shamefast than the rest, yet they are not therefore chaste because they suppress and keep in the fault of unchastity. So verily God doth with horrible examples take vengeance on the boldness of men, who forgetting their own weakness, do against nature covet that which is denied them, and despising the remedies which the Lord had given them at hand, do trust that they can with stubbornness and obstinacy overcome the disease of incontinency. For what else shall we call it but stubbornness, when one being warned that he needeth marriage, and that the same is given him of the Lord for a remedy, doth not only despise it, but also bindeth himself with an oath to the despising of it?

CHAP XIV.

Of ſacraments.

The definition of a ſacrament. BESIDE the preaching of the goſpel, another help of like ſort is in the ſacraments: of which to have ſome certain doctrine taught, is much behoveful for us, wereby we may learn both to what end they were ordained, and what is how the uſe of them. Firſt it is meet to conſider what is a ſacrament. It ſeemeth to me that this ſhall be a plain and proper definition, if we ſay that it is an outward ſign, wherewith the Lord ſealeth to our conſciences the promiſes of his good will toward us, to ſuſtain the weakneſs of our faith: and we again on our behalfs do teſtify our godlineſs toward him as well before him and the angels as before men. We may alſo with more briefneſs define it otherwiſe: as to call it a teſtimony of God's favour toward us confirmed by an outward ſign, with a mutual teſtifying of our godlineſs toward him. Whetherſoever you chooſe of theſe definitions, it differeth nothing in ſenſe from that definition of Auguſtine, which teacheth that a ſacrament is a viſible ſign of a holy thing, or a viſible form of inviſible grace: but it doth better and more certainly expreſs the thing it ſelf. For whereas in that briefneſs there is ſome darkneſs wherein many of the unſkilfuller ſort are deceived: I thought good in more words to give a fuller ſentence, that there ſhould remain no doubt.

The ancient uſe of the word ſacrament. 2. For what reaſon the old writers uſed this word in that ſenſe, it is not hard to ſee. For ſo oft as the old tranſlator would render in Latin this Greek word *Myſterion* myſtery, ſpecially when divine matters were treated of, he tranſlated it ſacrament. So to the Epheſians, that he might make known unto us the ſacrament of his will. Eph. i. 9. and iii. 2. Again, if yet ye have heard the diſtribution of the grace of God, which is given to me in you, becauſe according to revelation the ſacrament was made known to me. To the Coloſſians, the myſtery which hath been hidden from ages and generations, but now is manifeſted to his ſaints, to whom the Lord would make known the riches of this ſacrament, &c. Col. i. 26. Again, to Timothy, A great ſacrament of godlineſs: God is openly ſhewed in the fleſh. 1 Tim. iii. 16. He would not ſay a ſecret, leſt he ſhould ſeem to ſay ſomewhat under hegreatneſs of the things. Therefore he hath put ſacrament inſtead of ſecret, but of a holy thing. In that ſignification it is ſometimes found among the eccleſiaſtical writers. And it is well enough known, that thoſe which in Latin are called ſacraments, in Greek are myſteries: which expreſſing of one thing in two ſeveral words endeth all the contention. And hereby it came to paſs that it was drawn to thoſe ſigns which had a reverend repreſentation of high and ſpiritual things. Which Auguſtine alſo noteth in one place. It were long (ſaith he) to diſpute of the diverſity of ſigns, which when they pertain to divine things, are called ſacraments. (*Epi.* 5. *ad Marcel.*)

Sacraments ordained of God as ſeals of his promiſes, not that they: but we ſtood in need of ocnfirmation by ſuch means.

3. Now of this definition which we have ſet, we underſtand that a ſacrament is never without a promiſe going before it but rather is adjoined as a certain addition hanging to it, to this end that it ſhould confirm and ſeal the promiſe it ſelf, and make it more approved unto us, yea after a certain manner ratified. Which mean the Lord foreſeeth to be needful firſt for our ignorance and dulneſs, and then for our weakneſs: and yet (to ſpeak properly not ſo much to confirm his holy word, as to ſtabliſh us in the faith thereof. For the truth of God is by it ſelf ſound and certain enough, and canuot from any other where receive better confirmation than from it ſelf: but our faith, as it is ſmall and weak, unleſs it be ſtaid on every ſide, and be by all means upholden, is by and by ſhaken, wavereth, ſtaggereth, yea, and fainteth. And herein verily the merciful Lord according to his great tender kindneſs tempereth himſelf to our capacity: that, whereas we are natural men, who always creeping upon the ground, and ſticking faſt in the fleſh, do not think nor ſo much as conceive any ſpiritual thing, he vouchſafeth even by theſe earthly elements to guide us unto himſelf, and in the fleſh it ſelf to ſet forth a mirror of ſpiritual good things. For if we were unbodily (as Chryſoſtome ſaith) he would have given us the very ſame things naked and unbodily. (*Hom.* 60. *ad popul.*) Now becauſe we have ſouls put within bodies, he giveth ſpiritual things under viſible things. Not becauſe there are ſuch gifts planted in the natures of the things

things which are set forth to us in the sacraments: but because they were signed by God to this signification.

With the sacraments the word of promise to be joined, not as they join it in the church of Rome, but as Christ did and taught this disciples after him to do.

4. And this is it which they commonly say, that a sacrament consisteth of the word and the outward sign. For we must understand the word to be, not that which being whispered without meaning and faith, only with noise as it were with a magical enchantment hath power to consecrate the element: but which being preached maketh us to understand what the visible sign meaneth. Therefore that which was usually done under the tyranny of the Pope, was not without a great prophaning of the mysteries. For they thought it enough, if the priest, while the people stood amazedly gazing at it without understanding, did mumble up the form of consecration. Yea, they of set purpose provided this, that no whit of doctrine should thereof come to the people: for they spake all things in Latin before unlearned men. Afterward superstition brake out so far that they believed that the consecration was not formally made, unless it were with a hoarse whispering sound which few might hear. But Augustine teacheth far otherwise of the saramental word. Let the word (saith he) be added to the element, and there shall be made a sacrament. (*Hom. in John.* 13.) For whence cometh this so great strength to the water, to touch the body and wash the soul, but by the word making it? not because it is spoken, but because it is believed. For in the very word it self the sound which passeth is one thing, and the power which abideth is another. This is the word of faith which we preach, saith the Apostle. Rom. x. 8. Whereupon in the Acts of the Apostles it is said, by faith cleansing their hearts. Act xv. 9. And Peter the Apostle said, by faith, so baptism also saveth us: not the putting away of the filthiness of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience, 1 Pet. iii. 21. this is the word of faith which we preach: by which without doubt, that it may be able to cleanse, baptism is also hallowed. You see how it requireth preaching, whereupon faith may grow. And we need not to labour much in proof hereof, forasmuch as it is clear what Christ did, what he commanded us to do, what the Apostles followed, what the purer church observed. Yea even from the beginning of the world it is known, that so oft as God offered any sign to the holy fathers, there was added an unseparable knot of doctrine, without which our senses should be made amazed with bare beholding. Therefore when we hear mention made of the sacramental word, let us understand the promise, which being with a loud voice preached of the minister, may lead the people thither as it were by the hand, whether the sign tendeth and directeth us,

A sophistical dilemma to exclude the use of sacraments.

5. Neither are some to be heard who labour to fight against this, with a double horned argument rather subtle than sound. Either (say they) we know, or we know not, that the word of God which goeth before the sacrament, is the true will of God. If we know it, than we learn no new thing of the sacrament which followeth after. If we know it, then neither will the sacrament teach it: whose whole force standeth in the word. Whereunto let this briefly be for an answer: that the seals which are annexed to patents and other public instruments, taken by themselves are nothing, forasmuch as they should be annexed in vain if the parchment had nothing written in it: yet they do not therefore not confirm and seal that which is written, when they are added to writings. Neither can they say that this similitude is lately feigned by us, which Paul himself used, calling circumcision a seal, where he purposely laboureth to prove, that circumcision was not righteousness to Abraham, but a sealing of that covenant, by faith whereof he had already been justified before, Rom. iv. 11. And what, I beseech you is there that may much offend any man, if we teach that the promise is sealed with sacraments, when of the promises themselves it is evident that one is confirmed with another? For as every one is manifester, so is it more fit to uphold faith. But the sacraments do both bring most clear promises, and have this peculiar more than the word, that they livelily represent them to us as it were painted out in a table. Neither ought that distinction any thing to move us, which is wont to be objected, between sacraments and seals of patents: that whereas both consist of carnal elements of this world, those cannot suffice or be meet to seal the promises of God, which are spiritual and everlasting, as these are wont to be annexed to, for sealing of the grants of princes concerning fading and frail things. For a faithful man, when the sacraments are present before his eyes, remaineth not in that fleshly sight, but by those degrees of proportion, which I have spoken

of, he riſeth up with godly conſideration to the high myſteries which lie hidden in the ſacraments.

Sacraments as ſeals, pictures, pillars, glaſſes.

6. And ſince the Lord calleth his promiſes, covenants: Gen. vi. 18. and ix. 9. and xvii. 22. and his ſacraments ſeals of his covenants: a ſimilitude may well be brought from the covenants of men. What effect can the killing of a ſow have, if words were not uſed, yea unleſs they went before: for ſwine are many times killed without any more inward or higher myſtery. What can the giving of a mans right hand do, ſince oftentimes hands are matched with enmity? But when words have gone before, by ſuch ſigns the laws of covenants are eſtabliſhed though they were firſt conceived, made, and decreed in words. Therefore ſacraments are exerciſes which make the credit of the word of God more certain unto us: and becauſe we are carnal, they are delivered under carnal things, that ſo they ſhould inſtruct us according to the dulneſs of our capacity, and guide us by the hand as ſchoolmaſters guide children. For this reaſon Auguſtine calleth a ſacrament, a viſible word: becauſe it repreſenteth the promiſes of God, as it were painted in a picture, and ſetteth them before our ſight curiouſly expreſſed and as in an image. Other ſimilitudes alſo may be brought, whereby ſacraments may be more plainly ſet out, as if we call them pillars of our faith. For a building ſtandeth and reſteth upon the foundation: yet by ſetting pillars under, it is more ſurely eſtabliſhed: ſo, faith reſteth upon the word of God, as upon a foundation: but when the ſacraments are added, it ſtayeth yet more ſoundly upon them as upon pillars. Or if we call them looking glaſſes, in which we may behold the riches of the grace of God, which he giveth us. For (as we have already ſaid) he doth in them manifeſtly ſhew himſelf to us, ſo much as is given to our dulneſs to know, and he doth more expreſly teſtify his good will and love toward us than by his word.

Sacraments though adminiſtred to the wicked are teſtimonies nevertheleſs of the good will of God, and effectual to augment faith.

7. Neither do they reaſon juſtly, when they labour to prove hereby that they are not teſtimonies of the grace of God, becauſe they are alſo given to the wicked, who yet do not thereby feel God more favourable to them, but rather procure to themſelves more grievous condemnation. For by the ſame argument neither ſhould the Goſpel which is heard and deſpiſed by many, be the teſtimony of the grace of God: nor yet Chriſt himſelf, who was ſeen and known of many, of whom very few received him. The like we may alſo ſee in patents. For a great part of the multitude laugh at and ſcorn that authentic ſeal, tho' they know that it proceeded from the prince to ſeal his will withal: ſome regard it not, as a thing not pertaining to them: ſome alſo abhor it: ſo that conſidering this equal relation to both, the ſame ſimilitude which I have above uſed, ought more and more to be liked. Therefore it is certain that the Lord doth offer unto us mercy and a pledge of his grace both in his holy word and in the ſacraments: but the ſame is not received but by them who receive the word and ſacraments with ſure faith: like as Chriſt is offered by the Father unto the ſalvation of all, yet he is not acknowleged and received by all. Auguſtine in one place intending to declare the ſame, ſaid that the effectualneſs of the word is ſhewed forth in the ſacrament: not becauſe it is ſpoken, but becauſe it is believed. Therefore Paul, when he ſpeaketh to the faithful, ſo treateth of ſacraments that he includeth the communion of Chriſt in them, as when he ſaith: Gal. iii. 27. all ye that are baptiſed, have put on Chriſt. Again, 1 Cor. xii. 1. we are all one body and one ſpirit, who are baptiſed in Chriſt. But when he ſpeaketh of the wrong uſe of the ſacraments, he giveth no more to it than to cold and uſeleſs figures. Whereby he ſignifieth, that tho' the wicked and hypocrites with their perverſeneſs do either oppreſs, darken, or hinder the effect of the grace of God in the ſacraments, yet that hindereth not but that where and ſo oft as it pleaſeth God, they may both bring a true teſtimony of the communicating of Chriſt, and the ſpirit of God himſelf may deliver and perform that which they promiſe. We determine therefore that ſacraments are truly called teſtimonies of the grace of God, and as it were certain ſeals of the good will which he beareth towards us: which by ſealing it unto us, do by this means ſuſtain, nouriſh, confirm, and increaſe our faith. As for the reaſons which ſome are wont to object againſt this ſentence, they are too triflling and weak. They ſay that if our faith be good, it cannot be made better: for they ſay that it is no faith, but which without ſhaking ſtedfaſtly, and without withdrawing, reſteth upon the mercy of God. It had been better for ſuch to pray with the apoſtles Luke xvii. 5. that the Lord would increaſe their faith, than careleſly to pretend ſuch a perfection

tion of faith, which never any of the ſons of men have obtained, nor ſhall obtain in this life. Let them anſwer, what manner of faith they think that he had who ſaid: Mark. ix. 24. I believe, Lord, help my unbelief. For even that faith, though it was but a begun faith, was a good faith, and might be made better when unbelief was taken away. But they are confuted by no ſtronger argument than their own conſcience. For if they confeſs themſelves ſinners, (which whether they will or no they cannot deny,) they muſt needs impute the ſame to the imperfection of their faith.

Though we believe with all our hearts, and though it be the work of the holy Ghoſt, to begin, maintain and perfect faith, yet the ſacraments are not hereby proved ineffectual to increaſe faith.

8. But (ſay they Act. viii. 37.) Philip anſwered the eunuch, that he might be baptized, if he believed with all his heart. What place hath the confirmation of baptiſm here, where faith filleth the whole heart? Again, I aſk them whether they do not feel a good part of their heart void of faith: whether they do not daily acknowlege new increaſes. The heathen man gloried that he waxed old with learning. Therefore we chriſtians are very miſerable, if we wax old and profit nothing, whoſe faith ought to go forward by all degrees of ages, till it grow into a perfect man. Eph. iv. 15. Therefore in this place to believe with all the heart, is not perfectly to believe Chriſt, but only from the heart and with a ſincere mind to imbrace him: not to be with him, but with full fervent affection to hunger, and thirſt, and ſigh toward him. This is the manner of the ſcripture to ſay, that it is done with the whole heart, which it means to be done ſincerely and heartily. Of this ſort are theſe ſayings: Pſal. cxix. 10. cxi, 1. and cxxxviii. 1. I have with all my heart ſought the: I will confeſs to thee with all my heart, and ſuch other. As on the other ſide, where it rebuketh guilful and deceitful men, it uſeth to reproach them with a double. Pſal. xii. 3. Then they ſay further, that if faith be increaſed by ſacraments, the holy Ghoſt is given in vain, whoſe ſtrength and work it is to begin, maintain, and perfect faith. I grant, indeed, that faith is the proper and whole work of the holy Ghoſt, by whom being inlightened we know God and the treaſure of his goodneſs, and without whoſe light our mind is ſo blind, that it can ſee nothing, ſo ſenſeleſs, that it can ſmell nothing of ſpiritual things. But for one benefit of God which they ſet forth, we conſider three. For firſt the Lord teacheth and inſtructeth us with his word: then he ſtrengthneth us with the ſacraments: laſt of all he ſhineth into our minds with the light of his holy ſpirit, and openeth an entry for the word and ſacraments into our hearts, which otherwiſe ſhould but ſtrike our ears, and be preſent before our eyes, and not move the inward parts.

How the ſacraments are ſaid to confirm faith.

9. Wherefore as touching the confirmation and increaſe of faith, I would have the reader warned (which I think I have already in plain words expreſſed) that I do aſſign that miniſtry to the ſacraments, not as though I thought that there is always in them I know not what ſecret force, by which of themſelves they are able to further or confirm faith: but becauſe they are ordained by the Lord to this end, that they ſhould ſerve to the ſtabliſhing and increaſing of faith. But then only they truly perform their office, when that inward ſchoolmaſter the ſpirit comes along with them, by whoſe power only both the heart is pierced, and the affections moved, and the entry is ſet open for the ſacraments into our ſouls. If he be abſent, ſacraments can do no more to our minds, than if the brightneſs of the ſun ſhould ſhine upon blind eyes, or a voice ſound to deaf ears. Therefore I make ſuch a diviſion between the ſpirit and ſacraments, that the power of working may remain with the ſpirit, and to the ſacraments, be left only the miniſtration, yea and the ſame empty and trifling without the working of the ſpirit: but of much effectualneſs, when he inwardly worketh and putteth forth his force. Now it is plain in what manner according to this ſentence, a godly mind is confirmed in the faith by the ſacraments: that is to ſay, as the eyes ſee by the brightneſs of the ſun, and the ears hear by the ſound of a voice: of which the eyes ſhould not perceive any light, unleſs they had a ſight in themſelves that might naturally be inlightened, and the ears ſhould in vain be knocked at with any crying whatſoever it were, unleſs they were naturally made fit to hear. But if it be true, which ought at once to be determined among us, that what the ſight worketh in our eyes to ſeeing of the light, what the hearing worketh in our ears to the perceiving of a voice, the ſame is the work of the holy Ghoſt in our hearts, both to the conceiving, ſuſtaining, cheriſhing and ſtabliſhing of faith: then both theſe things likewiſe follow, that the ſacraments do not at all profit without

out the power of the holy Ghoſt: and that nothing hinders but that in hearts already taught by that ſchoolmaſter, they may make faith both ſtronger, and increaſe it more. Only there is this difference, that the power of hearing and ſeeing is naturally ſet in our ears and eyes: but Chriſt beſide the meaſure of nature doth by ſpecial grace work the ſame in our minds.

By this doctrine concerning the force of the ſacraments nothing is taken from the power of the holy Ghoſt.

10. Whereby thoſe objections alſo, which trouble ſome men, are diſſolved: that if we aſcribe to creatures either the increaſe or confirmation of faith, there is wrong done to the Spirit of God, whom we ought to acknowlege the only author thereof. For we neither take from him either the praiſe of confirming or increaſing it: but we rather affirm when we ſay that he increaſeth and confirmeth faith, we mean nothing elſe but with his inward enlightening to prepare our minds to receive that confirming which is ſet forth by the ſacraments. But if it be yet too darkly ſpoken, it ſhall be made very clear by a ſimilitude which I will bring. If thou purpoſe with words to perſuade a man to do any thing, thou wilt ſearch out all the reaſons, whereby he may be drawn to thy opinion, and may be in a manner ſubdued to obey thy council. But thou haſt not hitherto prevailed, unleſs he likewiſe have a piercing and ſharp judgment, whereby he may weigh what pith is in thy reaſons, and alſo have a tractable wit and ready to hearken to teaching: finally unleſs he have conceived ſuch an opinion of thy faithfulneſs and wiſdom, as may be to him like a certain fore-judgement to cauſe him to ſubſcribe. For the are many ſtubborn heads, which a man can never bow with any reaſons: and alſo where credit is ſuſpected, where authority is deſpiſed, little good is done even with thoſe who are willing to learn. On the other ſide if all thoſe things concur, they will certainly bring the hearer, to whom thou giveſt counſel, to obey the ſame which otherwiſe he would have laughed to ſcorn. The ſame work alſo the Spirit worketh in us. For leſt there word ſhould beat our ears in vain, leſt the ſacraments ſhould ſtrike our eyes in vain, he ſheweth us that it is God who ſpeaketh therein, ſoftneth the ſtubbornneſs of our heart, and frameth it to the obedience which is due to the word of the Lord. Finally he conveyeth thoſe outward words and ſacraments from the ears into the ſoul. Therefore both the word and the ſacraments confirm our faith, when they ſet before our eyes the good will of the heavenly father towards us, by which knowlege the ſtedfaſtneſs of our faith ſtandeth faſt, and the ſtrength of it encreaſeth: the Spirit confirmeth it, when engraving the ſame confirmation in our minds he maketh it effectual. In the mean time the father of lights cannot be forbidden, but as he enlighteneth the bodily eyes with the beams of the ſun, ſo he may enlighten our minds with ſacraments, as with a brightneſs ſet mean between.

As by the ſacraments, ſo alſo by the word, faith is ſown, increaſed, and brought to ripeneſs thro' the forcible operation of the Spirit.

11. Which property the Lord taught was in his outward word, when in the parable he calleth it ſeed. Matth. xiii. 4. For as ſeed if it fall upon a deſart and untilled piece of ground, will die: but if it be thrown upon arable land well manured and tilled, it will bring forth fruit with very good increaſe: ſo the word of God, if it light upon a ſtiff neck, it will grow baren as that which is ſown upon ſand: but if it light upon a ſoul manured with the hand of the heavenly Spirit, it will be very fruitful. But if the reaſon of ſeed and of the word be like: as we ſay that from ſeed, corn both ſpringeth, increaſeth, and groweth up to ripeneſs; why may we not ſay that faith taketh from the word of God both beginning, increaſe, and perfection? Paul very well expreſſeth both theſe things in ſundry places. For when he puts the Corinthians in remembrance how effectually God uſed his labour, he glorieth that he hath the miniſtry of the Spirit, as though the power of the holy Ghoſt were with an unſeparable knot joined with his preaching, to enlighten and thoroughly move the mind. 2 Cor. ii. 4. But in another place when he intends to admoniſh them, of what force the word of God is of it ſelf being preached by man, he compareth the miniſters to huſbandmen, who when they have beſtowed their labour and travail in tilling the earth have no more to do. 1 Cor. iii. 6. But what profit ſhould tilling, ſowing, and watering yield unleſs that which is ſown receive life by heavenly benefit? Therefore he concludeth, that both he that planteth and he that watereth are nothing: but that all things are to be aſcribed to God, who alone giveth the increaſe. Therefore the Apoſtles in their preaching utter the power of the Spirit, ſo far as God uſeth the inſtruments ordained by himſelf to ſet forth his ſpiritual grace. Yet we muſt keep ſtill that diſtinction, and remember, what

what man is able to do by himſelf, and what is proper to God.

When ſacraments are removed to take away mens confidence in thoſe things which were thereby confirmed, this ſhews them to be means whereby faith groweth, yet ſo that no power proper unto God be tranſcribed from him to them.

12. Sacraments are ſuch confirmations of our faith, that many times when the Lord intends to take away the confidence of the things that are by him promiſed in the ſacraments, he taketh away the ſacraments themſelves. When he ſpoileth and thruſteth away Adam from the gift of immortality, he ſaith: Gen. iii. 3. Let him not eat of the fruit of life, leſt he live for ever. What ſaith he? Could that fruit reſtore to Adam his uncorruption, from which he was now fallen? No. But this is all one as if he had ſaid: Leſt he ſhould enjoy a vain confidence if he keep ſtill the ſign of my promiſe, let that be ſhaken away from him which might bring him ſome hope of immortality. After this manner when the Apoſtle exhorteth the Epheſians Eph. ii. 12. to remember that they were ſtranger from the covenants, aliens from the fellowſhip of Iſrael, without God, and without Chriſt, he ſaith, that they were not partakers of circumciſion. Whereby he doth (by figure of tranſnomination) ſignify that they were excluded from the promiſe itſelf, who had not received the ſign of the promiſe. To their other objection, that the glory of God is conveyed to creatures, to whom ſo much power is aſcribed, and that thereby it is ſo far diminiſhed, we have in readineſs to anſwer that we ſet no power in creatures. Only this we ſay, that God uſeth ſuch means and inſtruments, as he ſeeth expedient: that all things may ſerve his glory, foraſmuch as he is Lord and judge of all. Therefore as by bread and other nouriſhment he feedeth our body; as by the ſun he enlighteneth the world; as by fire he warmeth; yet neither bread, the ſun, nor fire, are any thing but ſo far as by thoſe inſtruments he diſtributes his bleſſings unto us: ſo ſpiritually he nouriſheth faith by the ſacraments, whoſe only office is to ſet his promiſes before our eyes to be looked upon, and to be pledges unto us of them. And as it is our duty to place no confidence in the creatures, which by the liberality and bounty of God are ordained to our uſe, and by the miniſtery whereof he giveth us his gifts, nor to have them in admiration, and praiſe them as cauſes of our good: ſo neither ought our confidence to reſt finally in the ſacraments, nor the glory of God to be transferred unto them: but forſaking all things our faith and confeſſion ought to riſe up to him the author both of the ſacraments and of all things.

The word ſacrament tranſlated from the military to the Chriſtian profeſſion: the power which ſacraments have in augmenting faith not thereby diſapproved.

13. Whereas ſome bring an argument out of the very word Sacrament, it is not good. A ſacrament (ſay they) though it hath among allowed authors many ſignifications, yet it hath but one which agreeth with the ſigns: that is, whereby it ſignifieth that ſolemn oath which the ſoldier maketh to his captain when he entreth into the profeſſion of a ſoldier. For as by that oath of warefare new ſoldiers pledge their faith to the captain, and profeſs to be his ſoldiers: ſo by our ſigns we profeſs Chriſt our captain, and teſtify that we ſerve under his banner. They add ſimilitudes to make the matter more plain. As a gown made the Romans known from the Greeks who wore cloaks: as the very ranks of men at Rome were diſcerned by their ſeveral ſigns: the degree of ſenators from the degree of knights, by a purple coat and picked ſhoes: again a knight from a commoner, by a ring: ſo we bear our ſigns that may make us known from prophane men. But by the things above ſaid it is evident that the old writers, who gave to the ſigns the name of ſacraments, had no regard how this word was uſed among Latin writers, but for their own purpoſe feigned this new ſignification, whereby they ſignified only holy ſigns. But if we will ſearch the matter more deeply, it may ſeem that they have with the ſame relation applied this word to ſuch a ſignification, wherewith they have removed the name of faith to that ſenſe wherein it is now uſed. For whereas faith is a truth in performing promiſes: yet they have called faith an aſſurance, or ſure perſwaſion which is had of the truth itſelf. Likewiſe whereas a ſacrament is the ſoldier's part whereby he voweth himſelf to his captain: they have made it the captain's part, whereby he receiveth ſoldiers into rooms of ſervice. For by the ſacrament the Lord doth promiſe that he will be our God, and that we ſhall be his people. But we paſs over ſuch ſubtilties, as I think I have proved with plain enough arguments, that they had reſpect to nothing elſe but to ſignify that theſe are ſigns of holy and ſpiritual things. We receive indeed the ſimilitudes which they bring

of

of outward tokens: but we allow not that that which is the laſt point in the ſacraments, is by them ſet for the chief, and only thing. But this is the firſt point, that they ſhould ſerve our faith before God: the later point that they ſhould teſtify our confeſſion before men. According to this latter conſideration thoſe ſimilitudes have place. But in the mean time let that firſt point remain: becauſe otherwiſe (as we have already proved) the myſteries ſhould be but cold, unleſs they were helps to our faith, and additions to doctrine ordained to the ſame uſe and end.

As by ſome too little, ſo by others to much force is aſcribed unto ſacraments.

14. Again we muſt be warned, that as theſe men weaken the force, and utterly overthrow the uſe of ſacraments: ſo on the contrary, there are ſome who feign to ſacraments I wot not what ſecret virtues which are no where read to be put in them by God. By which error the ſimple and unlearned are dangerouſly deceived, while they are taught to ſeek the gifts of God where they cannot be found, and are by little and little drawn away from God, to embrace mere vanity inſtead of his verity. For the Sophiſtical ſchools have taught with one conſent, that the ſacraments of the new law, that is to ſay, thoſe which are now in uſe in the Chriſtian church juſtify and give grace, if we do not ſtop it by ſome deadly ſin. It cannot be expreſſed how pernicious and peſtilent this opinion is, and ſo much the more, becauſe many ages heretofore, to the great loſs of the church, it hath prevailed in a great part of the world. Truly it is utterly deviliſh. For when it promiſeth righteouſneſs without faith, it driveth ſouls headlong into deſtruction: then becauſe it fetcheth the cauſe of righteouſneſs from the ſacraments, it bindeth the miſerable minds of men, already bending naturally too much to the earth, with this ſuperſtition that they rather reſt in the ſight of a bodily thing than of God himſelf. Which two things I would to God we had not ſo proved in experience, ſo they need not any long proof. But what is a ſacrament taken without faith, but the moſt certain deſtruction of the church? For as nothing is to be looked for therefrom without the promiſe, and the promiſe doth no leſs threaten wrath to the unfaithful, than it offereth grace to the faithful: he is deceived who thinketh that there is any more given him by the ſacraments, than that which being offered by the word of God, he receiveth by faith. Whence another thing alſo is gathered, that the affiance of ſalvation dependeth not upon the partaking of the ſacrament, as tho' juſtification conſiſted therein: which we know to be repoſed in Chriſt only, and to be communicated unto us no leſs by the preaching of the goſpel, than by the ſealing of the ſacrament: and without that it cannot ſtand. So true is that which Auguſtine alſo writeth, (*Libr. 4. de quæſt. vet. teſtament.*) that inviſible ſanctification may be without a viſible ſign, and again that a viſible ſign may be without true ſanctification. For (as he alſo writeth in another place, *Lib. 5. de bap. cont. Donat cap.* 14.) men do put on Chriſt ſometimes until the receiving of a ſacrament, ſometimes even until the ſanctification of life. And that firſt point may be commonly both to good and to evil: but the other is proper to the good and godly.

Hidden grace not always joined with the viſible ſign of the ſacraments.

15. Hence cometh that diſtinction if it be well underſtood, which the ſame Auguſtine hath often obſerved, between a ſacrament, and the thing of the ſacrament. For it not only ſignifieth, that the figure and truth are there contained, but that they are not ſo joined together but that they may be ſeparated: and that even in the very conjoining the thing muſt always be diſcerned from the ſign, that we give not to the one that which belongeth to the other. He ſpeaketh of the ſeparation, when he writeth that the ſacraments work in the elect only that which they figure. Again, when he writeth thus of the Jews: when the ſacraments were common to all, the grace was not common, which is the power of the ſacraments. So now alſo the waſhing of regeneration is common to all: but the grace itſelf, whereby the members of Chriſt are regenerate with their head, is not common to all. Again, in another place of the ſupper of the Lord, We alſo at this day receive viſible meat. But the ſacrament is one thing, and the power of the ſacrament another thing. What is this, that many receive of the altar and die, and in receiving to die? For the Lord's morſel was poiſon to Judas: not becauſe he received a bad thing, but becauſe he being evil received a good thing evily. A little after: The ſacrament of this thing, that is of the unity of the body and blood of Chriſt, is ſomewhat prepared on the Lord's tabledaily, ſomewhere by certain diſtances of days: and thereof is received into life by ſome and into deſtruction by ſome. But the thing itſelf whereof it is a ſacrament, is received into life by all men, but unto deſtruction by no man, whoever is partaker of it.

And

And a little before he had ſaid, He ſhall not die who eateth: but he who pertaineth to the power of the ſacrament, not to the viſible ſacrament: who eateth within, not without: who eateth with the heart, not he who preſſeth with his tooth. Thus you hear every where, that a ſacrament is ſo ſeparated from his own truth by the unworthineſs of the receiver, that their remaineth nothing but a vain and unprofitable figure. But that thou mayeſt not have a ſign void of truth, but the thing with the ſign, thou muſt conceive by faith the word which is there incloſed. So how much thou ſhalt by the ſacraments profit in communicating of Chriſt, ſo much profit ſhalt thou take of them.

Chriſt the ſubſtance of all ſacraments and the only cauſe of righteouſneſs: the ſacraments effectual meanes to nouriſh the knowlege of Chriſt tho' the wicked lacking faith not nouriſhed by them.

16. If this be ſomewhat dark becauſe of the ſhortneſs, I will ſet it out in more words. I ſay that Chriſt is the matter, or (if thou wilt) the ſubſtance of all ſacraments: for as much as in him they have all their perfection, and do promiſe nothing without him. So much leſs tolerable is the error of Peter Lombard, who doth expreſly make them cauſes of righteouſneſs and ſalvation, whereof they are only parts. Therefore bidding all cauſes farewel, which man's wit doth imagine to itſelf, we ought to ſtay in this one cauſe. Therefore how much we are by their miniſtry helped to the nouriſhing, confirming, and increaſing of the true knowlege of Chriſt in us, and to the poſſeſſing of him more fully, and to the enjoying of his riches, ſo much effectualneſs they have with us. But that is done when with true faith we receive that which is there offered. Do the wicked then (wilt thou ſay) bring to paſs by their unthankfulneſs, that the ordinances of God are void and turn to nothing? I anſwer that what I have ſaid, is not ſo to be taken, as though the efficacy and truth of the ſacrament did depend upon the ſtate or will of him that receiveth it. For that which God hath ordained remaineth ſtedfaſt and keepeth ſtill its nature, however men vary. But ſince it is one thing to offer, and another to receive; nothing hinders but that the ſign hallowed by the word of God may be indeed that which it is called, and keep its own force: and yet that there come thereby no profit to an evil doer and wicked man. But Auguſtine doth in few words well ſolve this queſtion. If (ſaith he) thou receiveſt carnally, it ceaſeth not to be ſpiritual; but it is not ſo to thee. But as Auguſtine hath in the aforeſaid places ſhewed that a ſacrament is a thing of no worth, if it be ſeparated from the truth thereof: ſo in another place he giveth warning that even in the very conjoining there needeth a diſtinction, leſt we reſt too much in the outward ſign. As (ſaith he) to follow the letter, and to take the ſigns inſtead of the things, is a point of ſervile weakneſs: ſo to expound the ſigns unprofitably is a point of evil wandring error. He nameth two faults which are here to be avoided: the one when we ſo take the ſigns as though they were given in vain, and when with abaſing or diminiſhing their ſecret ſignifications by our enviouſneſs we bring to paſs that they bring us no profit at all. The other, when in not raiſing our minds beyond the viſible ſign, we give to the ſacraments the praiſe of all thoſe good things which are not given us but by Chriſt only, and that by the holy Ghoſt, who maketh us partakers of Chriſt himſelf: and indeed by the help of the outward ſigns: which if they allure us to Chriſt, when they are wreſted in another way, the whole profit of them is unworthily overthrown.

Chriſt ſet forth as by the word, ſo by the ſacraments neither available without faith, to whom they are available in them they work not by ſecret included force, grace cometh with the ſacraments, not from the ſacraments, but from God.

17. Wherefore let this remain certain, that there is no other uſe of the ſacraments than of the word of God: which is to offer and ſet forth Chriſt unto us, and in him the treaſures of heavenly grace, but they avail or profit nothing except when received by faith: even as wine, oil, or any other liquor, tho' you pour it on largely, yet it will run by and periſh, unleſs the veſſel's mouth be open to receive it, and the veſſel though it be wet round about the ſide will nevertheleſs remain void and empty within. Beſide this we muſt beware, leſt thoſe things which have been written by the old writers ſomewhat too vain glorioufly to amplify the dignity of ſacraments, which lead us away into an error near this: namely that we ſhould think that there is ſome ſecret power knit and faſtened to the ſacraments, that they can of themſelves give us the graces of the holy Ghoſt, as wine is given in a cup: whereas only this office is appointed to them by God, to teſtify and eſtabliſh to us the good will of God toward us, and profit no further unleſs the holy Ghoſt join himſelf to them, who can open our minds and hearts,

and make us partakers of this teſtimony, wherein alſo clearly appear divers and ſeveral graces of God. For the ſacraments, as we have above touched, are that thing to us of God, which to men are meſſengers of joyful things, or earneſts in confirming of bargains: which do not of themſelves give any grace, but tell and ſhew us, and (as they are earneſts and tokens,) do ratify unto us thoſe things that are given us by the liberality of God. The holy Ghoſt (whom the ſacraments do not in common without difference bring to all men, but whom the Lord peculiarly giveth to them that are his) is he that bringeth the graces of God with him, who giveth to the ſacraments place in us, who maketh them to bring forth fruit. But tho' we do not deny that God himſelf with the power of his Spirit is preſent with his own inſtitution, leſt the miniſtration which he hath ordained of the ſacraments ſhould be fruitleſs and vain: yet we affirm that the inward grace of the Spirit, as it is ſeparated from the outward miniſtry, ſo ought to be ſeparatly weighed and conſidered. God therefore truly performeth indeed whatſoever he promiſeth and figureth in ſigns: neither doth the ſigns want their effect, that the author of them may be proved true and faithful. The queſtion here is only whether God worketh by his own and by inward power (as they call it) or reſigneth his office to outward ſigns. But we affirm, that whatever inſtruments he uſe, his original working is nothing hindred thereby. When this is taught concerning the ſacraments, both their dignity is honourably ſet out, and their uſe is plainly ſhewed, and their profitableneſs is abundantly reported, and the beſt mean in all theſe things is retained, that neither any thing is attributed to them which ought not, nor again any thing taken from them which is not proper to be taken from them. In the mean time that feigned device is taken away, whereby the cauſe of juſtification and power of the holy Ghoſt is incloſed in elements as in veſſels or waggons, and that principal force which hath been ommitted of others is expreſly ſet out. Here alſo it is to be noted, that God inwardly worketh that which the miniſter figureth and teſtifieth by outward action: leſt that be given to a mortal man, which God claimeth to himſelf alone. The ſame thing alſo doth Auguſtine wiſely touch. How (ſaith he) doth both Moſes ſanctify, and God: not Moſes for God: but Moſes with viſible ſacraments by his miniſtry, and God with inviſible grace by his holy Spirit: where alſo is the whole fruit of viſible ſacraments. For without this ſanctification of inviſible grace, what do thoſe viſible ſacraments profit?

Things ſometimes natural, and ſometimes miraculous uſed for ſacraments.

18. The name of Sacrament, as we have hitherto treated of the nature of it doth generally contain all the ſigns that ever God gave to men, to certify and aſſure them of the truth of his promiſes. Thoſe he ſometimes willed to remain in natural things, ſometimes he delivered them in miracles. Of the firſt kind theſe are examples as when he gave Adam and Eve the tree of life as an earneſt of immortality, that they might aſſure themſelves of it, ſo long as they did eat of the fruit thereof, Gen. ii. 17. and iii. 3. And when he ſet the rain bow for a monument to Noah and his poſterity, that he would no more from thence forth deſtroy the earth by the overflowing of water, Gen. ix. 13. Theſe Adam and Noah had for ſacraments. Not that the tree did give them immortality, which it could not give to it ſelf: nor that the bow (which is but a ſtriking back of a ſun-beam upon the clouds againſt it) was of force to hold in the waters: but becauſe they had a mark graven in them by the word of God, that they ſhould be examples and ſeals of his covenant. And the tree was a tree before, and the bow a bow. When they were written upon with the word of God, then a new form was put into them, that they ſhould begin to be that which they were not before. That no man may think theſe things ſpoken without cauſe, the bow itſelf is at this day alſo a witneſs of that covenant which God made with Noah: which bow ſo oft as we behold, we read this promiſe of God written in it, that the earth ſhall never be deſtroyed with overflowing of waters. Therefore if any fooliſh philoſopher, to mock the ſimplicity of our faith, do affirm that ſuch variety of colours do naturally ariſe from reflected beams and a cloud ſet againſt them: let us grant it indeed, but let us laugh to ſcorn his ſenſeleſs folly, who doth not acknowlege God the Lord and governour of nature: who at his pleaſure uſeth all the elements to the ſervice of his own glory. If he had imprinted ſuch tokens in the ſun, the ſtars the earth, ſtones, and ſuch like, they ſhould all have been ſacraments to us. Why are not uncoined and coined ſilver both of one value, ſince they are both one metal: becauſe the one hath nothing but what it is natural, when it ſtruck with a common mark, it is made money, and receiveth a new value. And ſhall not God be able to mark his creatures with his word, that they may be made ſacraments, which before were naked e-

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lements? Of the second kind these were examples, when he shewed to Abraham a light in a smoking oven, Gen. xv. 17.: when he watereth the fleece with dew, the earth remaining dry: again he watered the earth, the fleece being untouched, to promise victory to Gideon, Judges vi. 37.: when he drew the shadow of the dial nine lines backward, to promise safety to Hezekiah, 2 Kings xx. 9. and Isa. xxxviii. 7. These things, when they were done to relieve and confirm the weakness of their faith, were then also sacraments.

Sacraments on God's behalf testimonies of grace on ours notes and andmarks of profession.

19. But our present purpose is, to discourse peculiarly of those sacraments, which the Lord appointed to be ordinary in his church to nourish his worshippers and servants into one faith and the confession of one faith. For (to use the words of Augustine) men can be settled together into no name of religion either true or false, unless they be bound together with some fellowship of visible signs and sacraments. Since therefore the most good Father forsaw this necessity, he did from the beginning ordain certain exercises of godliness for his servants, which afterwards Satan by turning them to wicked and superstitious worshippings, hath many ways depraved and corrupted. Hence came those solemn professions of the Gentiles into their holy orders, and other bastard usages: which though they were full of error and superstition, yet they also were therewith a proof that men could in profession of religion be without such outward signs. But because they were neither grounded upon the word of God, nor were referred to that truth whereunto all signs ought to be directed, they are unworthy to be spoken of where mention is made of the holy signs which are ordained by God, and have not swerved from their foundation, that is, that they should be helps to true godliness. They consist not of bare signs, as were the bow and the tree, but upon ceremonies: or rather the signs that are here given are ceremonies. But as it is above said, that they are on the Lord's behalf testimonies of grace and salvation; so they are again on our behalf marks of profession, by which we openly swear to the name of God, for our parts binding our faith unto him. Therefore Chrysostom in one place fitly calleth them covenantings whereby God bindeth himself in league with us, and we are bound to purity and holiness of life, because here is made a mutual form of covenanting between God and us. For as the Lord therein promiseth that he will cancel and blot out whatever guilt and penalty we have contracted by offending, and doth reconcile us to himself in his only begotten Son: so we again on our behalf by this profession bind ourselves unto him to follow godliness and innocency: so that a man may rightly say that such sacraments are ceremonies, by which God will exercise his people first to the nourishing, stirring up, and strengthening of faith inwardly then to the testifying of religion before men.

Sacraments before Christ, and after, and the scope of both.

20. And these sacraments also were different, after the divers order of time, according to the distribution whereby it pleaseth the Lord to shew himself after this or that manner to men. For to Abraham and his posterity circumcision was commanded, Gen. xvii. 10. whereunto afterward purifyings and sacrifices, and other ceremonies were added by the law of Moses, Levit. x. These were the sacraments of the Jews until the coming of Christ: at whose coming those being abrogate, two sacraments were ordained, which the christian church now useth, baptism, and the supper of the Lord, Matth. xxviii. 19. and xxvi. 26. I speak of those that were ordained, for the use of the whole church. As for the laying on of hands, whereby the ministers of the church are entered into their office, as I do not unwillingly suffer it to be called a sacrament, so I do not reckon it among the ordinary sacraments. As for the rest which are commonly called sacraments, what they are to be accounted, we shall see by and by. Howbeit the old sacraments also had respect to the same mark, whereunto ours tend, that is, direct and in a manner lead us by the hand to Christ: or rather as images to represent him, and shew him forth to be known. For as we have already taught, that they are certain seals wherewith the promises of God are sealed: and where it is most certain that there was never any promise offered of God, to men but in Christ: that they may teach us of some promise of God, they must needs shew Christ. Whereunto pertaineth that heavenly pattern of the tabernacle and of the worshipping in the law, which was given to Moses in the mount. One only difference there is, that those did shadow out Christ being promised, when he was yet looked for: these do testify him already given and delivered.

The intent of circumcision, purify-

21. When these things shall all be particularly and each one severally declared, they will be

ings and ſacrifices of the law.

made much plainer. Circumciſion was to the Jews a ſign, whereby they were put in mind, that whatſoever cometh of the ſeed of man, that is to ſay the whole nature of man is corrupt, and hath need of pruning. Moreover it was a teaching, and token of remembrance whereby they ſhould confirm themſelves in the promiſe given to Abraham, concerning that bleſſed ſeed in whom all the nations of the earth were to be bleſſed, Gen. xxii. 18. from whom they had their own bleſſing to be looked for. Now that healthful ſeed (as we are taught of Paul Gal. iii. 16.) was Chriſt, in whom alone they hoped that they ſhould recover that which they had loſt in Adam. Wherefore circumciſion was to them the ſame thing which Paul ſaith that it was to Abraham, namely a ſeal of the righteouſneſs of faith: that is to ſay, the ſeal where by they ſhould be more certainly aſſured, that their faith wherewith they looked for that ſeed, ſhould be accounted to them of God for righteouſneſs. Rom. iv. 11. But we ſhall on a more proper occaſion in another place go through with the compariſon of circumciſion and baptiſm. Baptiſings and purifyings did ſet before their eyes their own uncleanneſs, filthineſs and pollution, wherewith they were defiled in their own nature: but they promiſed another waſhing, whereby all their filthineſſes ſhould be wiped and waſhed away. Heb ix. 1. And this waſhing was Chriſt, with whoſe blood being waſhed, we bring his cleanneſs into the ſight of God, that it may hide all our defilings. 1 John. i. 7. Rev. i. 5. Their ſacrifices did accuſe them of wickedneſs, and alſo taught, that it was neceſſary that there ſhould be ſome ſatisfaction which ſhould be paid to the judgement of God. That for this there ſhould be ſome one chief biſhop, a mediator between God and men, who ſhould ſatisfy God by ſhedding of blood, and by offering of a ſacrifice which ſhould ſuffice for the forgiveneſs of ſins. This chief prieſt was Chriſt: he himſelf ſhed his own blood: he himſelf was the ſacrifice: for he offered himſelf obedient to his Father unto death: by which obedience he took away the diſobedience of man, who had provoked the diſpleaſure of God. Heb. iv. 14. and v. 5. and ix. 11. Phil. ii. 8. Rom. v. 19.

The ſacraments of the new teſtament baptiſm and the ſupper of the Lord, wherein Chriſt ſhineth more clearly than in the ſacraments of the old.

22. As for our ſacraments, they do ſo much more clearly preſent Chriſt unto us, as he was more nearly ſhewed to men, ſince he hath been truly delivered of his father ſuch as he had been promiſed. For baptiſm teſtifieth unto us that we are cleanſed and waſhed, the ſupper of thankſgiving teſtifieth that we are redeemed. In water, is figured waſhing: in blood, ſatisfaction. Theſe two things are found in Chriſt, which (as John ſaith) came in water and blood, that is to ſay, that he might cleanſe and redeem. Of which thing the ſpirit of God alſo is a witneſs, Yea there are three witneſſes in one, water, blood, and ſpirit. 1 John. v. 6. In water and blood we have a teſtimony of cleanſing and redeeming: but the ſpirit the principal witneſs bringeth unto us aſſured credit of ſuch witneſſing. This high myſtery hath notably well been ſhewed us in the croſs of Chriſt, when water and blood flowed out of his holy ſide: John. xix. 34. which ſide for that cauſe Auguſtine juſtly called the fountain of our ſacraments: of which yet we muſt treat ſomewhat more at large. There is no doubt but that more plentiful grace alſo of the ſpirit doth here ſhew forth it ſelf if you compare time with time. For that pertaineth to the glory of the kingdom of Chriſt, as we gather out of many places, but ſpecially out of the ſeventh chapter of John. In which ſenſe we muſt take that ſaying of Paul, Col. ii. 17. that under the law were ſhadows, but in Chriſt is the body. Neither is it his meaning to ſpoil the teſtimonies of grace of their power, in which God's will was in old time to prove himſelf to the fathers a true ſpeaker, even as at this day he doth to us in baptiſm and in the holy ſupper. But his purpoſe was only by way of compariſon to magnify that which was given us leſt any ſhould think it marvellous, that the ceremonies of the law were aboliſhed by the coming of Chriſt.

Too great a difference made by ſchoolmen between the ſacraments of the law and ours.

23. But that doctrine of the ſchoolmen (as I may alſo briefly touch this by the way) is utterly to be hiſſed out, whereby there is made ſo great a difference between the ſacraments of the old and new law, as though thoſe did only ſhadow out the grace of God, and theſe do preſently give it. For the apoſtle ſpeaketh no leſs honorably of thoſe than theſe when he teacheth that the fathers did eat the ſame ſpiritual meat which we eat, and expoundeth that ſame meat to be Chriſt. 1 Cor. x. 3. Who dare make that an empty ſign, which delivered to the

Jews.

Jews a true communion of Chriſt? And the ground of the cauſe which the apoſtle there handleth, doth plainly fight on our ſide. And, that no man truſting upon a cold knowlege of Chriſt, an empty title of chriſtianity, and outward tokens, ſhould preſume to deſpiſe the judgement of God, he ſheweth forth examples of God's ſeverity to be ſeen in the Jews: that we might know that the ſame pains which they ſuffered, hang over us, if we follow the ſame faults. Now that the compariſon may be fit, it behoved that he ſhould ſhew that there is no inequality between us and them in thoſe good things whereof he forbade us to boaſt falſely. Therefore firſt he maketh us equal in the ſacraments, and leaveth us not ſo much as any ſmall piece of prerogative, that might encourage us to hope of eſcaping unpuniſhed. Neither verily is it lawful to give any more to our baptiſm, than he in another place giveth to circumciſion, when he calleth it, the ſeal of the righteouſneſs of faith. Rom. iv. 11. Whatever therefore is at this day given us in our ſacraments, the ſame thing the Jews formerly received in theirs, that is to ſay, Chriſt with his ſpiritual riches. What power our ſacraments have, the ſame they alſo felt in theirs: that is to ſay, that they were to them ſeals of God's good will toward them, into the hope of eternal ſalvation. If they had been ſkilful expoſitors of the epiſtle to the Hebrews, they would not have been ſo blinded. But when they read there, that ſins were not cleanſed by the ceremonies of the law, yea that the old ſhadows had no availing force to righteouſneſs; Heb. x. 1. neglecting the compariſon which is there handled, while they took hold of this one thing, that the law of it ſelf did nothing profit the followers of it, thought ſimply that the figures were void of truth. But the apoſtle's meaning is to bring the ceremonial law to nothing, until it come to Chriſt, on whom alone dependeth all the effectualneſs of it.

What is ſpoken in ſcripture to diminiſh the eſteem of circumciſion, the ſame in like occaſion and ſenſe might as well be ſaid of baptiſm.

24. But they will object thoſe things which are read in Paul concerning the circumciſion of the letter, that it is in no eſtimation with God, that it giveth nothing, that it is vain. For ſuch ſayings ſeem to place it far beneath baptiſm. Not ſo. For the very ſame might be ſaid of baptiſm. And alſo the ſame is ſaid, firſt by Paul himſelf, where he ſheweth that God regardeth not the outward waſhing whereby we enter into profeſſion of religion, unleſs the mind within be both cleanſed and continue pure to the end: 1 Cor x. 5. Again, by Peter, when he teſtifieth that the truth of baptiſm conſiſteth not in the outward waſhing, but in the witneſſing of a good conſcience. 1 Pet. iii. 21. But ſeemeth alſo in another place, Col. ii. 11. utterly to diſpiſe the circumciſion made with hands, when he compareth it with the circumciſion of Chriſt. I anſwer that even in this place nothing is abated of the dignity of it. Paul there diſputeth againſt them, who required it as neceſſary when it was now abrogate. Therefore he warneth believers, that leaving the old ſhadows they ſhould ſtand faſt in the truth. Theſe maſters (ſaith he) inſtantly call upon you, that your bodies may be circumciſed. But ye are ſpiritually circumciſed according to the ſoul and body. Ye have therefore the deliverance of the thing indeed, which is much better than the ſhadow. A man might take exception to the contrary and ſay that the figure is not therefore to be deſpiſed becauſe they had the thing indeed? foraſmuch as the putting off the old man, of which he there ſpeaks, was alſo among the fathers, to whom yet outward circumciſion had not been ſuperfluous: he preventeth this objection, when he by and by addeth, that the Coloſſians were buried with Chriſt by baptiſm. Whereby he ſignifieth that at this day baptiſm is the ſame to chriſtians, which circumciſion was to the old people: and therefore that circumciſion cannot be enjoined to chriſtians without wrong done to Chriſt.

The ſacraments of the law ſhadows not in reſpect of their working: but in regard of their manner of ſignifying that which is wrought, ſpoken of as things of ſmall account, not ſimply but when Chriſt is ſeparated from them.

25. But that which followeth, and which I now alleged, is harder to aſſoil, that all the Jewiſh ceremonies were ſhadows of things to come, and that in Chriſt is the body: but the moſt hard of all is that which is treated in many chapters of the epiſtle to the Hebrews, that the blood of beaſts, attained not to conſciences: that the law had a ſhadow of good things to come, not an image of things, that the followers of is obtained no perfection by the ceremonies of Moſes and ſuch others. I go back to that which I have already touched, that Paul doth not therefore make the ceremonies ſhadowiſh, becauſe they had no thing found in them:

them: but becauſe the fulfilling of them was after a certain manner in ſuſpence until the delivering of Chriſt. Again I ſay that this is to be underſtood not of the effectualneſs, but rather of the manner of ſignifying. For till Chriſt was manifeſted in the fleſh, all the ſigns ſhadowed him out as abſent, howſoever he did inwardly utter to the faithful the preſence of his power and of himſelf. But this we ought chiefly to mark, that in all thoſe places Paul doth not ſpeak ſimply, but by way of contention. Becauſe he ſtrove with the falſe apoſtles, who would have godlineſs to conſiſt in the ceremonies only without any reſpect to Chriſt: to confute them it ſufficient only to treat what value ceremonies are of by themſelves. This mark alſo the author of the epiſtle to the Hebrews followed. Let us therefore remember that Paul here diſputed of ceremonies, not as they are taken in their own and natural ſignification, but as they are wreſted to a falſe and wrong expoſition: not of the lawful uſe of them, but of the abuſe of ſuperſtition. What marvel is it therefore if ceremonies being ſeparated from Chriſt, are unclothed of all force? For all ſigns whatſoever they be, are brought to nought, when the thing ſignified is taken away. So when Chriſt had to do with them who thought that manna was nothing elſe but meat for the belly, John. vi. 27. he applieth his ſpeech to their groſs opinion, and ſaith that he miniſtreth better meat, which may feed ſouls to hope of immortality. But if you require a plainer ſolution, the ſum of all tendeth to this: firſt, that all thoſe ceremonies which were in the law of Moſes, are vaniſhing things and of no value, unleſs they be directed to Chriſt. Secondly, that they had ſuch a reſpect to Chriſt, that when he at length was manifeſtly ſhewed in the fleſh, they had their fulfilling. Finally, that it behoved that they ſhould be taken away by his coming, even as a ſhadow vaniſheth away in the clear light of the ſun. But becauſe I yet defer any longer diſcourſe of that matter to that place where I have purpoſed to compare baptiſm with circumciſion, therefore I do now more ſparingly touch it.

In what ſenſe the fathers have ſo much extolled the ſacraments of the new Teſtament above the old

26. Perhaps alſo thoſe extravagant praiſes of ſacraments, which are read in old writers concerning our ſigns, deceived thoſe miſerable ſophiſters. As this of Auguſtine. That the ſacraments of the old law did only promiſe the Saviour, but ours give ſalvation. When they obſerved not that theſe and ſuch other forms of ſpeaking were ſpoken: they alſo publiſhed their exceſſive doctrines, but in a clean contrary ſenſe from the writings of the old fathers. For Auguſtine meant no other thing in that place, than as the ſame Auguſtine writeth in another place, that the ſacraments of the law of Moſes did foretel of Chriſt, but ours ſpeak of him preſent. And againſt Fauſtus. That thoſe were promiſes of things to be fulfilled, theſe were tokens of things fulfilled: as if he ſhould ſay, that thoſe figured him when he was looked for, but ours ſhew him as it were preſent which hath been already delivered. Moreover he ſpeaketh of the manner of ſignifying, as alſo he ſheweth in another place. The law (ſaith he) and the prophets had ſacraments, foretelling a thing to come: but the ſacraments of our time teſtify that that is already come, which thoſe did declare was to come. But what he thought of the thing and effectualneſs, he expoundeth in many places: as when he ſaith, that the ſacraments of the Jews were in ſigns different; but in the thing ſignified, equal with ours: different in the viſible form, but equal in ſpiritual power. Again: in divers ſigns is all one faith: ſo in divers ſigns, as in divers words: becauſe words change their ſounds by times: and truly words are nothing but ſigns. The fathers did drink the ſame ſpiritual drink, for they drunk not the ſame bodily drink. Obſerve therefore, the faith remaining one, the ſigns varied. To them the rock was Chriſt: to us that is Chriſt, which is ſet upon the altar. And they drink for a great ſacrament, the water flowing out of the rock: what we drink, the faithful know. If thou conſider the viſible form they drunk another thing: if a ſenſible ſignification they drunk the ſame ſpiritual drink. In another place, in the myſtery the ſame is their meat and drink which is ours, the ſame in ſignification, not in form: becauſe Chriſt was figured to them in the rock, and ſhewed to us in the fleſh. Howbeit in this behalf alſo we grant that there is ſome difference. For both ſacraments teſtify that the fatherly good will of God and the graces of the holy Ghoſt are offered us in Chriſt: but our ſacraments teſtify it more clearly and brightly. In both is a delivering of Chriſt: but in theſe more plenteous and fuller, namely as that difference of the Old and New Teſtament beareth, of which we have treated before. And this is it that the ſame Auguſtine meant (whom we more often cite as the beſt and faithfulleſt witneſs of all the old writers) where he teacheth that when

when Chriſt was revealed, ſacraments were ordained, in number fewer, in ſignification higher, in force more excellent. Of this alſo it is expedient that the readers be briefly warned, that whatever the ſophiſters have triflingly taught concerning the work wrought, is not only falſe, but diſagreeth with the nature of the ſacraments, which God hath ordained, that believers being void and needy of all good things ſhould bring nothing thither but beggary. Whence it followeth that in receiving them, theſe men do nothing whereby they may deſerve praiſe: or that in doing (which in this their reſpect is merely paſſive) no work can be aſcribed unto them.

CHAP. XV.

Of Baptiſm.

The firſt uſe of baptiſm to be a token of our cleanſing, and therefore not a mark of recognizance and a ſign of profeſſion only as ſome would have it.

BAPTISM is a ſign of entering whereby we are received into the fellowſhip of the church: that being graffed into Chriſt, we may be reckoned among the children of God. Now it was given us by God for this end, (which I have taught to be common to all the myſteries) firſt, that it ſhould ſerve to our faith with him, and to our confeſſion before men. We will orderly declare the manner of both purpoſes. Baptiſm bringeth three things to our faith, which alſo muſt be ſeparately treated of. This is the firſt which the Lord ſetteth out unto us, that it ſhould be a token and proof of our cleanſing: or (to expreſs my mind better) it is like a certain ſealed charter, whereby he confirmeth that all our ſins are ſo eraſed, cancelled, and blotted out, that they may never come in his ſight, nor be rehearſed, nor be imputed. For he hath appointed that all they who believe, ſhould be baptized into forgiveneſs of ſins. Therefore they who thought that baptiſm is nothing elſe but a mark and token whereby we profeſs our religion before men, as ſoldiers bear the conuſance of their captain for a mark of their profeſſion, weigh not that which was the chief thing in baptiſm. That is this, that we ſhould receive it with this promiſe, that whoſoever believe and are baptized, ſhall be ſaved. Mark. xvi. 16.

Our cleanſing not made by baptiſm as by a cauſe but manifeſted by it as by a ſign.

2. In this ſenſe is to be underſtood which Paul writeth, that the church is ſanctified by Chriſt her ſpouſe, and cleanſed with the waſhing of water in the word of life. Epheſ. v. 26. And in another place, that we are ſaved according to his mercy by the waſhing of regeneration and the renewing of the holy Ghoſt. Tit. iii. 5. And that which Peter writeth that baptiſm ſaveth us, 1 Pet. iii. 22. Paul's will was not to ſignify, that our waſhing and ſalvation is perfectly made by water, or that water containeth in itſelf the power to cleanſe, regenerate and renew. Neither did Peter mean the cauſe of ſalvation, but only the knowlege and certainty of ſuch gifts to be received in this ſacrament: which is evidently enough expreſſed in the words themſelves. For Paul joineth together the word of life, and baptiſm of water: as if he had ſaid, that by the goſpel the meſſage of waſhing and ſanctifying is brought us, that by baptiſm ſuch meſſage is ſealed. And Peter immediately addeth, that baptiſm is not the putting away of the filthineſs of the fleſh, but the anſwer of a good conſcience before God, which is of faith. Yea baptiſm promiſeth us no other cleanſing, but by the ſprinkling of the blood of Chriſt: which is figured by water, for its likeneſs of cleanſing and waſhing. Who therefore can ſay that we are cleanſed by this water, which certainly teſtifieth that the blood of Chriſt is our true and only waſhing? So that there cannot be brought a ſurer reaſon to confute their blind error who refer all things to the power of the water, than from the ſignification of baptiſm itſelf: which doth withdraw us as well from that viſible element which is ſet before our eyes, as from all other means, that it may bind our minds to Chriſt alone.

Baptiſm a confirmation of the waſhing out of all ſin and not only of ſins paſt before we be baptized.

3. Neither is it to be thought that baptiſm is applied only to the time paſt, that for new offences, into which we fall after baptiſm, we muſt ſeek new remedies of cleanſing, in I know not what other ſacraments, as though the force of baptiſm were worn out of uſe. By this error it came to paſs in old time, that ſome would not be baptiſed but when in the utter-

uttermoſt peril of life, and at the laſt gaſp, that ſo they may obtain pardon of their whole life. Againſt which wayward ſubtle proviſion the old biſhops ſo oft inveigh in their writing. But thus we ought to think, that at what time ſoever we are baptized, we are at once waſhed and cleanſed for all our life. Therefore ſo oft as we fall, we muſt go back to the remembrance of baptiſm, and therewith we muſt arm our mind, that it may be always certain and aſſured of the forgiveneſs of ſin. For though when it is once adminiſtred, it ſeemeth to be paſt, yet by later ſins it is not aboliſhed. For the purity of Chriſt is therein offered us: that always flouriſheth, is oppreſſed with no ſpots, but overwhelmeth and wipeth away all our filthineſs: yet ought we not to take from this a liberty to ſin in time to come (as verily we are not hereby armed to ſuch boldneſs) but this doctrine is given only to them, who when they have ſinned, do groan wearied and oppreſſed under their ſins, that they may riſe up and comfort themſelves, leſt they ſhould fall into confuſion and deſpair. So Paul ſaith, Rom. iii. 25. that Chriſt was made to us a propitiator, unto the forgiveneſs of faults going before. Wherein he denieth not that therein is obtained perpetual and continual forgiveneſs of ſins even unto death: but he meaneth that it was given by the Father, only to poor ſinners, who wounded with the ſcaring iron of conſcience, do ſigh for the phyſician. To theſe the mercy of God is offered. They who by eſcaping of puniſhment do hunt for matter and liberty to ſin, do but provoke to themſelves the wrath and judgment of God.

The force of baptiſm as well as repentance extended through out our whole life.

4. I know indeed that it is commonly thought otherwiſe: that by the benefit of repentance and of the keys we do after baptiſm obtain forgiveneſs, which at our firſt regeneration is given us only by baptiſm. But they who deviſe this err herein, becauſe they do not remember that the power of the keys, whereof they ſpeak, is ſo joined with baptiſm that it ought not to be ſeparated. The ſinner receiveth forgiveneſs by the miniſtry of the church, namely not without the preaching of the goſpel. But what manner of preachings? that? That we are cleanſed from ſins by the blood of Chriſt. But what ſign and teſtimony is there of that waſhing, but baptiſm? We ſee therefore how that abſolution is referred to baptiſm. And this error hath bred us the feigned ſacrament of penance: of which I have touched ſomewhat before, and the reſidue I will make an end of in place fit for it. But it is no wonder if men, who according to the groſſneſs of their wit were beyond meaſure tied to outward things, have in this behalf alſo bowared that fault, that not content with the pure inſtitution of God, they thruſt in new helps feigned by themſelves. As though baptiſm itſelf were not a ſacrament of repentance. But if repentance be commended to us for our whole life, the force of baptiſm ought to be extended as far. Wherefore there is no doubt but all the godly through their whole life, ſo oft as they are vexed with knowlege in conſcience of their own ſins, dare call themſelves back to the remembrance of baptiſm, that they may confirm themſelves in the confidence of that only and continual waſhing which we have in the blood of Chriſt.

A ſecond uſe of baptiſm to ſhew us our mortification and newneſs of life.

5. It bringeth alſo another fruit, becauſe it ſheweth us our mortification in Chriſt, and new life in him. For (as the Apoſtle ſaith) we are baptized into his death, being buried together with him into death, that we may walk in newneſs of life. Rom. vi. 3. By which words he doth not only exhort us to follow him (as though he ſaid that we are by baptiſm put in mind, that after a certain example of the death of Chriſt, we ſhould die to our luſts: and after the example of his reſurrection, we ſhould be raiſed up to righteouſneſs,) but he fetcheth the matter much deeper: that is to ſay, that by baptiſm Chriſt hath made us partakers of his death, that we may be graffed into it. And as the graff receiveth ſubſtance and nouriſhment from the root into which it is graffed: ſo they that receive baptiſm with ſuch faith as they ought, do truly feel the power of the death of Chriſt in the mortifying of their fleſh: and alſo they feel the effect of his reſurrection in the quickening of the Spirit. Hence he gathereth matter of exhortation: that if we be Chriſtians, we ought to be dead to ſin, and to live to righteouſneſs. Col. ii. 12. This ſelf ſame argument he uſeth in another place that we are circumciſed, and have put off the old man, ſince we have been buried in Chriſt by baptiſm. Tit. iii. 5. And in this ſenſe, in the ſame place which we have before alleged, he called it the waſhing of regeneration and of renewing. Therefore the free forgiveneſs of ſins and imputation of righteouſneſs is firſt promiſed us, and then the grace of the holy Ghoſt, which may reform us into newneſs of life.

6. Laſt

A third use of baptism to testify our ingrafting into Christ, and partaking of his graces.

6. Last of all our faith receiveth this benefit by baptism, that it certainly testifieth unto us, that we are not only grafted into the death and life of Christ, but that we are so united to Christ himself that we are partakers of all his good things. Therefore he hath dedicated and hallowed baptism in his own body, Matth. iii. 13. that he might have it in common with us, as a most strong bond of the unity and fellowship which he vouchsafed to enter into with us: thus Paul proveth thereby that we are the children of God, because we have put on Christ in baptism. Gal. iii. 27. So we see that the fulfilling of baptism is in Christ, whom also for this reason we call the proper object of baptism. Therefore it is no marvel if it be reported that the Apostles baptized into his name, Acts viii. 16. and xix. 5. who yet were commanded to baptize into the name of the Father also and of the holy Ghost. Matth. xxviii. 19. For whatever gifts of God are set forth in baptism, are found in Christ alone. And yet it cannot be, but that he who baptiseth into Christ, doth therewithal call upon the name of the Father and of the holy Ghost. For we are therefore cleansed with his blood, because the merciful Father according to his incomparable kindness, willing to receive us into favour, hath set him as a mediator in the midst to procure us favour with him. But regeneration we only obtain, by his death and resurrection, if being sanctified by the Spirit we are endued with a new and spiritual nature. Wherefore both of our cleansing and regeneration we obtain and after a certain manner distinctly perceive the cause in the Father, the matter in the Son, and the effect in the holy Ghost. So John first baptised, so afterward the Apostles, with the baptism of repentance into the forgiveness of sin: meaning by this word repentance, such regeneration: and by forgiveness of sins, washing.

The baptism of John the same with that which the apostles ministred howsoever the old writers Chrysostom, and Augustine separate the one from the other.

7. Whereby also it is made most certain, that the ministry of John was altogether the same which was afterward comitted to the Apostles. For the different hands wherewith it is ministred, make not the baptism different: but the same doctrine sheweth it to be the same baptism. John and the apostles agreed in one doctrine: both baptised into repentance, both into the forgiveness of sins, both into the name of Christ, from whom flowed repentance and forgiveness of sins. Act. ii. 28. John said that he was the lamb of God, by whom the sins of the world should be taken away: John. i. 29. where he made him the sacrifice acceptable to the Father, the propitiator of righteousness, the author of salvation. What could the apostles add to this confession? Wherefore let it trouble no man, that the old writers labour to separate the one from the other, whose voice we ought not so much to esteem that it should shake the certainty of the scripture. For who will rather harken to Chrysostom denying that forgiveness of sins was comprehended in the baptism of John, than to Luke on the contrary affirming that John preached the baptism of repentance into the forgiveness of sin? Luke. iii. 3. Neither is that subtlety of Augustine to be received, that in the baptism of John sins were forgiven in hope, but in the baptism of Christ they are forgiven indeed. Whereas the evangelist plainly testifieth, that John in his baptism promised the forgiveness of sins: Luke iii. 16. what need we abate this title of commendation, when no necessity compelleth us unto it? But if any man seek for a difference out of the word of God, he will find no other but this, that John baptised into him that was to come, the apostles into him that had already presented himself.

The baptising not different because the graces of the spirit were various which followed the ministry of John, and of Christ's apostles, yea even of the apostles before and after Christ's ascension.

8. As for this that more abundant graces of the spirit were poured out since the resurrection of Christ, it maketh nothing to establish a diversity of baptism. For the baptism which the apostles administred while he was yet conversant in earth, was called his: yet it had no larger plentifulness of the spirit, than the baptism of John. Yea, even after his ascension, the spirit was not given to the Samaritans above the common measure of the faithful before the ascension, although they were baptised into the name of Jesus, till Peter and John were sent unto them to lay their hands upon them. This only thing, as I think, deceived the old writers, that they said that the baptism of John was but a preparation to the baptism of Christ, because they read, Act. viii. 14. that they were baptised again by Paul, who had once received the

baptism of John. But how much they were herein deceived, shall elsewhere be plainly declared in place fit for it. What, is it therefore, that John said, that he baptized indeed with water, but that Christ should come who should baptise with the holy Ghost, and with fire? Mat. iii. 11. This may in few words be cleared. For he meant not to put a difference the one baptism and the other, but he compared his own person with the person of Christ, saying, that himself was a minister of water but that Christ was the giver of the holy Ghost, and should declare his power by a visible miracle the same day that he should send the holy Ghost to the apostles in the likeness of firy tongues. Act. ii 8. What could the apostles boast of more than this? What more could they also that baptise at this day? For they are only ministers of the outward sign, and Christ is the author of the inward grace: as the old writers themselves every where teach, and especially Augustine, whose principal argument against the Donatists is this, that what man soever he be that baptiseth, yet only Christ is ruler of it.

The grace of mortification and purification assured unto us by baptism shadowed to the people of Israel darkly under other figures.

9. These things which we have spoken both of mortification and of washing, are shadowed out in the people of Israel, whom for the same cause the apostle saith to have been baptized in the cloud and in the sea. Mortifying was figured, when the Lord delivering them out of the hand of Pharaoh and from cruel bondage, made for them a way through the Red sea, and drowned Pharaoh himself and the Egyptians their enemies, that followed them hard at their backs, and were even in their necks to overtake them. 1 Cor. x. 2. For after the same manner also he promiseth to us in baptism, and by a sign given sheweth us, that we are by his power brought forth and delivered out of the thraldom of Egypt, that is to say, out of the bondage of sin: that our Pharaoh is drowned, that is to say, the devil, although even so also he ceaseth not to exercise and weary us. But as that Egyptian was not thrown down into the bottom of the sea, but being overthrown on the shore, did yet with terrible sight make the Israelites afraid, but could not hurt them: so this our enemy yet indeed threatneth, sheweth his weapons, is felt, but cannot overcome. In the cloud was a sign of cleansing. For as then the Lord covered them with a cloud cast over them, and gave them refreshing cold, lest they should faint and pine away with too cruel burning of the sun: Num. ix. 21. so in baptism we acknowlege our selves covered and defended with the blood of Christ, lest the severity of God, which is indeed an intolerable flame, should lie upon us. But although this mystery was then dark and known to few: yet because there is no other way to obtain salvation, but in those two benefits, God would not take away the sign of them both from the old fathers, whom he had adopted to be heirs.

Faithful men by baptism not rid of original sin, but certified first that condemnation whereunto the corruption of their nature hath made them subject, is done away.

10. Now it is clear, how false that is which some have lately taught, and wherein some yet continue, that by baptism we are looked and delivered from original sin, and from the corruption which was from Adam spread abroad into his whole posterity, and that we are restored into the same righteousness and pureness of nature, which Adam should have obtained, if he had stood fast in the same uprightness wherein he was first created. For such kind of teachers never understood what was original sin, nor what was original righteousness, nor what was the grace of baptism. But we have already proved, that original sin is the perverseness and corruption of our nature, which first maketh us guilty of the wrath of God, and then also bringeth forth works in us, which the scripture calleth the works of the flesh. Gal. v. 19. Therefore these two points are distinctly to be marked, namely that we being in all parts of our nature defiled and corrupted are already for such corruption only, holden worthily condemned and convicted before God, to whom nothing is acceptable but righteousness, innocency and cleanness. Yea, and very infants themselves bring their own damnation with them from their mothers womb. Who, although they have not yet brought forth the fruits of their iniquity, yet have the seed thereof inclosed within them. Yea, their whole nature is a certain seed of sin, therefore it cannot but be hateful and abominable to God. The faithful are certified by baptism that this damnation is taken away, and driven from them: forasmuch (as we have already said) the Lord doth by this sign promise us that full and perfect forgiveness is granted both of the fault which

which should have been imputed to us, and of the pain which we should have suffered for the fault: they take hold also of righteousness, but such as the people of God may obtain in this life, that is to say by imputation only: because the Lord of his own mercy taketh them for righteous and innocent.

Secondly, that the works of the flesh shall not bear rule and have dominion over them.

11. The other point is, that this perverseness never ceaseth in us, but continually bringeth forth new fruits, namely those works of the flesh which we have before described: no otherwise than a burning furnace continually bloweth out flame and sparkles, or as a spring incessantly casteth out water. For lust never utterly dieth nor is quenched in men, until being by death delivered out of the body of death, they have utterly put off themselves. Baptism indeed promiseth us that our Pharaoh is drowned, and the mortification of sin: yet not so that it is no more, or may no more trouble us, but only that it may not overcome us. For so long as we live enclosed within this prison of our body, the remnants of sin shall dwell in us: but if we hold fast by faith the promise given us of God in baptism, they shall not bear rule nor reign. But let no man deceive himself: let no man flatter himself in his own evil, when he heareth that sin always dwelleth in us. These things are not spoken to this end, that they should carelessly sleep upon their sins, who are otherwise too much inclined to sin: but only, that they should not faint and be discouraged, who are tickled and pricked of their flesh. Let them rather think that they are yet in the way, and let them believe that they have much profited, when they feel that there is daily somewhat diminished of their lust, till they have attained thither whither they travail, namely to the last death of their flesh, which shall be ended in the dying of this mortal life. In the mean time let them not cease both to strive valiantly, and to encourage them to go forward and to stir them up to full victory. For this also ought more to whet on their endeavours, that they see that after that they have long laboured, they have yet no small business remaining. This we ought to hold: we are baptised into the mortifying of our flesh, which is begun by baptism in us, which we daily follow: but it shall be made perfect when we shall remove out of this life to the Lord.

Baptism according to St. Paul the earnest of our regeneration, the weakness of our nature hereunto, and the greatness of our comfort notwithstanding this weakness.

12. Here we say no other thing, than the apostle Paul in the seventh chapter to the Romans most clearly setteth out. For after that he had disputed of free righteousness, because some wicked men did thereof gather, that we might leave after our own lust, because we should not be acceptable to God by the deservings of works: he addeth, that all they that are clothed with the righteousness of Christ, are therewith regenerate in Spirit, and that of his regeneration we have an earnest in baptism. Hereupon he exorteth the faithful, that they suffer not sin to have dominion in their members. Now because he knew that there is always some weakness in the faithful: that they should not therefore be discouraged, he adjoineth a comfort, that they are not under the law, Rom. vi. 14. Because again it might seem, that christians might grow insolent, because they are not under the yoke of the law, he treateth what manner of abrogating that is, and therewithal what is the use of the law: which question he had now the second time discussed. The sum is, that we are delivered from the rigour of the law, that we should cleave to Christ: but that the office of the law is, that we being convinced of our perverseness, should confess our own weakness and misery. Now forasmuch as that perverseness of nature doth no so easily appear in a prophane man, who followeth his own lust without fear of God; he setteth an example in a man regenerate, namely in himself. He saith therefore that he hath a continual wrestling with the remnants of his flesh, and that he is holden bound with miserable bondage, that he cannot consecrate himself wholly to the obedience of the law of God. Therefore he is compelled with groaning to cry out, O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me out of this body subject to death? Rom. vii. 24. If the children of God be holden captive in prison so long as they live, they must needs be much carefully grieved with thinking upon their own peril, unless this fear be met withal. Therefore he adjoineth to this use a comfort, that there is no more damnation to them that are in Christ Jesus. Where he teacheth, that they whom the Lord hath once received into favour, engrafted into the communion of his Christ, hath by baptism admitted into the fellowship of his church, while they continue in the faith of Christ, although they be besieged of sin, yea and carry sin about within them, yet are acquitted from guiltiness and condemnation. If this

be the ſimple and natural expoſition of Paul, there is no cauſe why we ſhould ſeem to teach any new unwonted thing.

Baptiſm the badge of our profeſſion.

13. But baptiſm ſo ſerveth our confeſſion before men. For it is a mark, whereby we openly profeſs that we ſhould be accounted among the people of God: whereby we teſtify that we agree with all chriſtians into the worſhipping of one God and into one religion: finally, whereby we openly affirm our faith: that not only our hearts ſhould breath out the praiſe of God, but alſo our tongues, and all the members of our body ſhould ſound it out with ſuch utterances as they are able. For ſo as we ought, all our things are employed to the ſervice of the glory of God, whereof nothing ought to be void, and others may by our example be ſtirred up to the ſame endeavours. Hereunto Paul had reſpect, when he aſked the Corinthians whether they had not been baptiſed into the name of Chriſt, 1 Cor. i. 2.: meaning verily, that even in this that they were baptiſed into his name, they avowed themſelves unto him, ſwore to his name, and bound their faith to him, before men, that they could no more confeſs any other but Chriſt alone, unleſs they would forſake the confeſſion which they had made in baptiſm.

The author of baptiſm is alſo the worker of grace ſpiritual therein figured not incloſed.

14. Now ſince it is declared what our Lord had regard unto in the inſtitution of baptiſm: it is plain to judge what is the way for us to uſe and receive it. For ſo far as it is given to the raiſing, nouriſhing and confirming of our faith, it is to be taken as from the hand of the author himſelf: we ought to hold it certain and fully perſuaded, that it is he who ſpeaketh to us by the ſign, that it is he who cleanſeth us, waſheth us, and putteth away the remembrance of our ſins, that it is he who maketh us partakers of his death, who taketh away from Satan his kingdom, who feebleth the forces of our luſts, yea, who groweth into one with us, that being cloathed with him we may be reckoned the children of God: that theſe things, I ſay, he doth inwardly ſo truly and certainly perform to our ſoul, as we certainly ſee our body outwardly to be waſhed, dipped, and clothed. For this either relation, or ſimilitude, is the moſt ſure rule of ſacraments: that in bodily things we ſhould behold ſpiritual things, as if they were preſently ſet before our eyes, foraſmuch as it hath pleaſed the Lord to repreſent them by ſuch figures: not for that ſuch benefits are bound and incloſed in the ſacrament, that they ſhould be given us by the force thereof: but only becauſe the Lord doth by this token teſtify his will unto us that is, that he will give us all theſe things. Neither doth he only feed our eyes with a naked ſight, but he bringeth us to the thing preſent and together fulfilleth that which it figureth.

Cornelius and Paul by baptiſm not indued with grace but aſſured that they were endued through faith, without which, baptiſm doth but teſtify our unthankfulneſs.

15. Hereof let Cornelius the captain be an example, who was baptiſed, having before received forgiveneſs of ſins and viſible graces of the holy Ghoſt, Acts x. 48.: ſeeking not by baptiſm a larger forgiveneſs but a more certain exerciſing of faith yea, an increaſe of confidence, by a pledge. Peradventure ſome man will object: Why therefore did Ananias ſay to Paul, that he ſhould waſh away his ſins by baptiſm, Acts ix. 17. if ſins are not waſhed away by the power of baptiſm itſelf? I anſwer: We are ſaid to receive, to obtain to get that which ſo far as concerneth the feeling of our faith, is given us of the Lord, whether he do then firſt teſtify it, or being teſtified doth more and certainlier confirm it. This therefore only was the meaning of Ananias: that thou mayeſt be aſſured. Paul, that thy ſins are forgiven thee, be baptiſed. For the Lord doth in baptiſm promiſe forgiveneſs of ſins: receive this, and be out of care. Howbeit I mean not to diminiſh the force of baptiſm, but that the thing and the truth is preſent with the ſign, ſo far as God worketh by outward means. But of this ſacrament, as of all others, we obtain nothing but ſo much as we receive by faith. If we want faith, it ſhall be for a witneſs of our unthankfulneſs, whereby we may be declared guilty before God, becauſe we have not believed the promiſe there given. But ſo far as it is a ſign of our confeſſion, we ought by it to teſtify that our affiance is in the mercy of God, and our cleanneſs is in the forgiveneſs of ſins, which is gotten us by Jeſus Chriſt: and that by it we enter into the church of Chriſt, that we may with one conſent of faith and charity live in one mind with all the faithful. This laſt point did Paul mean, when he ſaith that we are all baptiſed into one Spirit, that we may be one body, 1 Cor. xii. 13.

Nothing added unto or taken from baptiſm by

16. Now if this be true which we determine, that a ſacrament is not to be weighed according to his hand of whom it is miniſtred

their worthiness or unworthiness which are ministers of it: and therefore rebaptization not to be received.

stred, but as of the very hand of God, from whom without doubt it proceeded: hereupon we may gather that nothing is added to it, nor taken from it by the worthiness of him by whose hand it is delivered. And even as among men, if a letter be sent, so that the hand and the seal be well known, it maketh no matter who or what manner of man be the carrier: so it ought to suffice to know the hand and seal of the Lord in his sacraments, by what carrier soever they be brought. Hereby the Donatists is very well confuted, who measured the force and value of the sacrament by the worthiness of the minister. Such at this day our Catabaptists, who deny that we are rightly baptised, because we were baptised by wicked men and idolaters in the popish kingdom: therefore they furiously call upon us to be baptised again. Against whose follies we shall be armed with a reason strong enough, if we think that we were professed by baptism, not into the name of any man, but into the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Mat. xxviii. 19. and that therefore it is not the baptism of man, but of God, of whomsoever it be ministred. Although they were never so much ignorant or despisers of God and all godliness, who baptised us, yet they did not baptise us into the fellowship of their own ignorance or sacrilege, but into the faith of Jesus Christ: because they called not upon their own name, but the name of God, nor baptised us into any other name. Now if it were the baptism of God, it hath verily inclosed in it a promise of the forgiveness of sins, the mortifying of the flesh, the spiritual quickning, and the partaking of Christ. So it nothing hindred the Jews, to have been circumcised of unclean priests and apostates: neither was the sign therefore void, that it needeth to be done of new: but it was sufficient to return to the natural beginning. Where they object that baptism ought to be celebrate in the assemblies of the godly, that proveth not, that that which is faulty in part, should destroy the whole force thereof. For when we teach what ought to be done that baptism may be pure, and void of all defiling, we do not abolish the ordinance of God, although idolaters corrupt it. For when in old time circumcision was corrupted with many superstitions, yet it ceased not to be taken for a sign of grace: neither did Josiah and Hezekiah, when they had gathered out of all Israel them that had departed from God, call them to a second circumcision.

17. Now whereas they ask us, what faith of ours hath yet followed baptism in certain years past, that they thereby might prove that baptism is void, when it is not sanctified unto us, but by the word of promise received by faith: to this question we answer, that we indeed being blind and unbelieving, did for a long time not hold fast the promise given us in baptism: yet the promise itself, forasmuch as it was of God, continued always stayed, stedfast, and true. Although all men be liars and faith-breakers, yet God ceaseth not to be true: although all men be lost, yet Christ remaineth salvation. We confess therefore that baptism, for that time profited us nothing at all; forasmuch as in it the promise offered us, without which baptism is nothing, lay nothing regarded. Now since by the grace of God, we have begun to wax wiser, we accuse our own blindness and hardness of heart, who have so long been unthankful to his so great goodness. Rom. iii. 3. But we believe that the promise itself is not vanished away; but rather thus we consider. God by baptism promiseth the forgiveness of sins, and since he hath promised it, he will undoubtedly perform it to all that believe it. That promise was offered us in baptism: by faith therefore let us embrace it. It hath indeed long been buried from us because of infidelity: now therefore let us receive it by faith. Wherefore where the Lord calleth the Jewish people to repentance, he giveth them no commandment of a second circumcision, who being, as we have said, circumcised with a wicked and ungodly hand, lived a certain time intangled with the same wickedness. But he earnestly calleth upon the turning of the heart only. Because howsoever the covenant was broken of them, yet the sign of the covenant, by the ordinance of the Lord, remained always stedfast and inviolable. Therefore with the condition of repentance only they were restored into the covenant which the Lord had once made with them in circumcision: which yet being received by the hand of a league-breaker priest, so much as in them lay, they had defiled again, and the effect whereof they had quenched.

Baptism not made void by their remaining a long time in blindness that are baptised.

18. But they think that they shake a fiery dart at us, when they allege that Paul rebaptised them which were once baptised with the baptism of John. Acts xix. 3. For if by our own confession, the baptism of John was altogether the same that ours

They whom John had baptised not rebaptised by Paul.

is now: even as they having been before perverſely inſtructed, when they were taught the true faith, they were again baptiſed into it: ſo that baptiſm, which was without true doctrine, is to be taken for nothing, and we ought to be newly baptiſed again into the true religion, wherein we are now firſt inſtructed. Some think that there was ſome ill affected man to John, who had entered them with their firſt baptiſm rather to a vain ſuperſtition. Of which thing to gather a conjecture hereupon, becauſe they confeſſed themſelves to be utterly ignorant of the Holy Ghoſt? Whereas John verily would never have ſent away from himſelf ſchollars ſo untaught. But neither is it likely that the Jews although they had not been baptiſed at all, were deſtitute of all knowlege of the Holy Ghoſt, which is famouſly ſpoken of by ſo many teſtimonies of ſcripture. Whereas therefore they anſwer that they know not whether there be any Holy Ghoſt, it is to be underſtood as if they had ſaid that they have not yet heard whether the graces of the ſpirit, of which Paul aſked them, were given to the diſciples of Chriſt. But I grant that that was the true baptiſm of John, and all one and the ſelf ſame with the baptiſm of Chriſt: but I deny that they were baptiſed again. What then mean theſe words, they were baptiſed in the name of Jeſus? Some do expound it, that they were but inſtructed of Paul with true doctrine. But I had rather underſtand it more ſimply, to be the baptiſm of the Holy Ghoſt, that is to ſay, that the viſible graces of the Spirit were given them by the laying on of hands: which to be expreſſed by the name of baptiſm, is no new thing. As on the day of pentecoſt it is ſaid, that the apoſtles remembered the words of the Lord, concerning the baptiſm of fire and of the Spirit. Acts i. 5. And Peter ſaith, that the ſame came to his remembrance, when he ſaw thoſe graces poured out upon Cornelius and his houſhold and kindred. Neither is that contrary which is afterwards adjoined: when he had laid his hands on them, the Holy Ghoſt came down upon them. For Luke doth not tell of two divers things: but followeth the manner of telling commonly uſed among the Hebrews, who do firſt propound the ſum of the matter, and then do ſet it out more at large. Which every man may perceive by the very framing together of the words. For he ſaith, When they heard theſe things, they were baptiſed in the name of Jeſus. And when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghoſt came down upon them. In this latter ſentence we ſee what manner of baptiſm that was. If ignorance do ſo corrupt a former baptiſm, that it muſt be amended with a ſecond baptiſm; the apoſtles ſhould have been rebaptiſed firſt of all, who in whole three years after their baptiſm, had ſcarcely taſted any ſmall parcel of purer doctrine. And now among us what rivers might ſuffice to renew ſo many waſhings, as there are ignorances by the mercy of the Lord daily amended in us?

Acceſſary inventions of men added unto Chriſt's inſtitution of baptiſm.

19. The force, dignity, profit, and end of the myſtery if I be not deceived, ought by this time to be plain enough. So much as concerneth the outward ſign, I would to God the natural inſtitution of Chriſt had prevailed ſo much as was meet, to reſtrain the boldneſs of men. For as though it were a contemptible thing to be baptiſed with water according to the precept of Chriſt, there is invented bleſſing, or rather inchanting, to defile the true hallowing of the water. Afterwards was added a taper with chreſme: but the blowing ſeemeth to open the gate to baptiſm. But although I am not ignorant, how ancient is the beginning of this added pack: yet it is lawful both for me and all the godly to refuſe whatſoever things men have preſumed to add to the ordinance of Chriſt. When ſatan ſaw that by the fooliſh light credit of the world at the very beginnings of the goſpel his deceits were eaſily received, he brake forth into groſſer mockeries. Hereupon ſpittle, and like trifles, were openly brought in with unbridled liberty to the reproach of baptiſm. By which experiences let us learn, that nothing is either holier, or better, or ſafer, than to be content with the authority of Chriſt alone. How much better therefore was it, leaving ſtage-like pomps, which dazle the eyes of the ſimple, and dull their minds, ſo oft as any was to be baptiſed, that he ſhould be preſented to the aſſembly of the faithful, and be offered to God, the whole church looking on as a witneſs; and praying over him: that the confeſſion of faith ſhould be rehearſed, wherewith he that is to be catechiſed ſhould be inſtructed: that the promiſes ſhould be declared which are contained in baptiſm: that the inſtructed ſhould be baptiſed in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt: at length that he be ſent away with prayers and thankſgiving. So is nothing omitted that might make to the matter, and that the only ceremony which proceeded from God the author thereof ſhould moſt clearly ſhine, being not overwhelmed with any foreign filthineſs. But whether he be wholly dipped who is baptiſed, and that thrice or once, or whether he be but ſprinkled with water

water only poured upon him, it maketh very little matter: but that ought to be at liberty to churches according to the diversity of countries. Howbeit the very word of baptizing signifieth to dip, and it is certain that the manner of dipping was used of the old church.

Baptism not to be administred by private men.

20. This also pertaineth to the purpose, to know that it is done amiss if private men take upon themselves the administration of baptism. For as well the distribution of this as of the supper is a part of the ecclesiastical ministry. For Christ did not command women, nor yet every sort of men, that they should baptize: but whom he had ordained his Apostles, to them he gave this commandment. And when he commanded his disciples to do that in the ministration of the supper which they had seen him do, when he executed the office of a right distributer: he would without doubt, that they should therein follow his example. As for this that in many ages past, yea and in a manner at the very beginning of the church, it hath been received in use, that laymen might baptize in peril of death, if the minister were not present in time. I see not with how strong a reason it may be defended. The very old fathers themselves, which either held or suffered this manner were not sure whether it were well done. For Augustine seemeth to have this doubt, when he saith: (*Lib. contra. epi. parm.* 2. *Cap.* 13.) although a layman compelled by necessity do give baptism, I cannot tell whether a man may godlily say that it ought to be reiterate. For if it be done when no necessity compelleth, it is the usurping of another man's office: but if necessity enforceth, it is either none or a venial sin. Moreover of women it was decreed without any exception in the council at Carthage, that they should not presume to baptize at all. But there is danger, least if he who is sick should die without baptism, he should be deprived of the grace of regeneration. Not so, God pronounceth that he adopteth our infants to be his own, before they are born, when he promiseth that he will be a God to us and to our seed after us. In this word is contained their salvation. Neither shall any man dare to be so reproachful against God, to deny that his promise is of itself sufficient to work the effect thereof How much harm that doctrine being evil expounded, that baptism is of necessity to salvation, hath brought in, few do mark: and therefore they take less heed to themselves. For where this opinion is grown in force, that all are lost to whom it hath not happened to be washed with water, our state is worse than the state of the old people, as though the grace of God were now more narrowly strengthened than it was under the law. For Christ shall be thought to become, not to fulfil the promises, but to abolish them: forasmuch as the promise which then was of itself effectual enough to give health before the eight day, now should not be of force without help of the sign.

Women not authorised to baptize

21. But how the custom was before that Augustin was born, first is gathered of Tertullian, that it is not permitted to a woman to speak in the church, nor to teach, nor to baptize, nor to offer, that she should not claim to herself the execution of any man's office, much less of the priests. *Lib. cont. Here.* 1. Of the same thing Epiphanius is a substantial witness, where he reproacheth Marcion, that he gave women liberty to baptize. Neither am I ignorant of their answer who think otherwise, that is, that common use much differeth from extraordinary remedy, when extreme necessity inforceth: but when he pronouncing that it is a mockery to give women liberty to baptize, excepteth nothing, it sufficiently appeareth that he condemneth this corruption, so that it is by no colour excusable. Also in the third book, where teaching that it was not permitted even to the holy mother of Christ, he addeth no restraint.

Zipporah no president for womens taking upon them to baptize.

22. The example of Zipporah is unseasonably alleged. For whereas the angel of God was appeased, after that she taking a stone circumcised her son, thereupon it was wrongfully gathered that her doing was allowed of God. Otherwise it ought to be said, that the worshipping which the nations that were brought out of Assyria raised up, pleased God. But by other strong reasons it is proved, that that which a foolish woman did, is wrongfully drawn to an example of imitation. If I should say that it is a certain singular case, which ought not to be made an example, and especially that since it is no where read that in old time there was given to the priests a special commandment to circumcise, the order of circumcision and baptism is unlike: this should be strong enough to confute them. For the words of Christ are plain: Matth. xxviii. 19. Go ye teach all nations, and baptize. When he ordained the self same men publishers of the gospel, and minister

miniſters of baptiſm: and none (as the Apoſtle witneſſeth) doth take honour upon himſelf in the church, but he that is called as Aaron: Heb. v. 4. whoſoever without lawful calling baptizeth, he ruſheth into another man's office. Even in the ſmalleſt things, as in meat and drink, whatſoever we enterprize with a doubtful conſcience, Paul openly crieth out to be ſin. Rom. xiv. 23. Therefore in womens baptizing is much more grievouſly ſin, where it is evident that they brake the rule appointed by Chriſt, foraſmuch as we know that it is unlawful to pluck aſunder thoſe things that God conjoineth. But all this I paſs over. Only I would have the readers to note, that Zipporah's purpoſe was not to do any ſervice to God. Seeing her ſon to be in danger, ſhe grudged, and murmured, and not without ſtomaching threw the foreſkin upon the ground, ſhe ſo taunted her huſband, that ſhe was alſo angry with God. Finally it is plain that all this came of a furiouſneſs of mind, becauſe ſhe murmured againſt God and her huſband, for that ſhe was compelled to ſhed the blood of her ſon. Moreover if ſhe had in all other things behaved herſelf well, yet herein is an unexcuſeable raſh preſumption that ſhe circumciſed her ſon, her huſband being preſent, not any private man, but Moſes the principal prophet of God, than whom there never roſe any greater in Iſrael: which was no more lawful for her to do, than it is at this day for women in the ſight of the biſhop.

But this controverſy ſhall by and by be eaſily taken away by this principle, that infants are not debarred from the kingdom of heaven whom it happeneth to depart out of this preſent life before that it be granted them to be dipped in water. But it is already proved that no ſmall wrong is done to the covenant of God, if we do not reſt in it, as tho' it were weak of itſelf: whereas the effect thereof dependeth neither upon baptiſm, nor upon any additions. There is afterward added to it a ſacrament like a ſeal, not that it bringeth effectualneſs to the promiſe of God as to a thing weak of itſelf, but only confirmeth it to us. Whereupon followeth, that the children of the faithful are not therefore baptized, that they may then firſt be made the children of God, which before were ſtrangers from the church, but rather that they are therefore received by a ſolemn ſign into the church, becauſe by the benefit of the promiſe they did already belong to the body of Chriſt. Therefore if in omitting the ſign there be neither ſlothfulneſs nor contempt, nor negligence, we are free from all danger. It is therefore much more holy, to give this reverence to the ordinance of God, that we ſeek ſacraments from no where elſe, than where the Lord hath left them. When we may not have them of the church, the grace of God is not ſo bound to them but that we may obtain them by faith out of the word of the Lord.

CHAP. XVI.

That the baptiſm of infants doth very well agree with the inſtitution of Chriſt and the nature of the ſign.

The baptiſing of infants not deviſed and received only by raſhneſs of men without warrant from God himſelf.

BUT foraſmuch as in this age, certain phrantic ſpirits have raiſed up ſore troubles in the church for the baptiſm of infants, and do not yet ceaſe to turmoil: I cannot chooſe but join here an addition to reſtrain their furiouſneſs. If peradventure it ſhall ſeem to ſome man to be very much too long, let him (I beſeech him) weigh with himſelf, that we ought ſo much to eſteem the pureneſs of doctrine in a moſt great matter, together with the peace of the church, that nothing ought to be lothſomely received, which may avail to procure them both. Beſide that, I ſo ſtudy to frame this diſcourſe, that it ſhall be of no ſmall importance to the clearer declaration of the myſtery of baptiſm. They aſſail the baptiſm of infants with an argument indeed favourable in ſhew, ſaying that it is grounded upon no inſtitution of Chriſt, but that it was brought in only by the boldneſs of men, and perverſe curiouſneſs, and then afterward with fond eaſineſs raſhly received in uſe. For a ſacrament, unleſs it reſt upon a certain foundation of the word of God, hangeth but by a threed. But what if, when the matter is well conſidered, it ſhall appear that the Lord's holy ordinance is falſely and unjuſtly charged with ſuch a ſlander? Let us therefore ſearch out the firſt beginning of it. And if

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it shall appear, that it was devised by the rashness of men only, then bidding it farewel, let us measure the true observation of baptism by the will of God only. But if it shall be proved that it is not destitute of his certain authority, we must beware lest in pinching the holy ordinances of God, we be also slanderous against the author himself.

The right consideration of baptism grounded upon the promise and spiritual mistery thereof, not upon the outward ceremony alone.

2. First it is a doctrine well enough known, and confessed among all the godly, that the right consideration of the signs, consisteth not only in the outward ceremonies: but principally dependeth upon the promise, and upon the spiritual mysteries, for figuring whereof the Lord ordaineth the ceremonies themselves. Therefore he that will perfectly learn of what value baptism is, to what end it tendeth, finally what it is: let him not stay his thought upon the element and bodily sight: but rather let him raise it up to the promises of God, which are therein offered us, and to the inward secrets which are therein represented unto us. He that knoweth these things hath attained the sound truth of baptism, and the whole substance thereof as I may so call it: and thereby also he shall be taught, what is the reason, and what is the use of the outward sprinkling. Again, he that contemptuously passing over these, shall have his mind wholly fastened and bound to the visible ceremony, shall understand neither the force nor property of baptism: nor yet so much as this, what the water meaneth, or what use it hath. Which sentence is proved with so many and so clear testimonies of scripture, that we need not at this present to tarry long about it. Therefore it remaineth now, that we seek out of the promises given in baptism, what is the force and nature of it. The scripture sheweth, that the cleansing of sins, which we obtain of the blood of Christ, is here first shewed: then the mortifying of the flesh, which standeth upon the partaking of his death, by which the faithful are regenerate into newness of life, yea, and into the fellowship of Christ. To this sum may be referred whatsoever is aught in the scriptures concerning baptism: saving that beside this it is a sign to testify religion before men.

The use of circumcision under the law.

3. But forasmuch as before the institution of baptism, the people of God had circumcision instead thereof: let us see in what these two signs differ the one from the other, and in what likeness they agree together. Whereupon may appear what is the relation of the one to the other. Where the Lord gave circumcision to Abraham to be kept, he telleth him before, that he would be God to him and to his seed: adding, that with him is the flowing store and sufficience of all things, that Abraham should account that his hand should be to him a spring of all good things. In which words the promise of eternal life is contained, as Christ expoundeth it, bringing an argument from hence to prove the immortality of the faithful, and the resurrection. For God (saith he) is not the God of the dead, but of the living. Mat. xxii. 32. Luk. xx. 38. Wherefore Paul also shewing to the Ephesians from what destruction the Lord had delivered them, gathereth by this that they had not been admitted into the covenant of circumcision, that they were without Christ, without God, without hope, strangers from the covenants of the promise Eph. ii. 12.: all which things the covenant itself contained. But the first access to God, the first entry to immortal life, is the forgiveness of sins. Whereupon is gathered, that this forgiveness answereth to the promise of baptism concerning our cleansing. Afterward the Lord taketh covenant of Abraham that he should walk before him in pureness and innocency of heart which belongeth to mortifying or regeneration. And that no man should doubt, that circumcision is a sign of mortifying, Moses in another place doth more plainly declare it, when he exhorteth the people of Israel, to circumcise the uncircumcised skin of the heart, because they were seperate chosen to be the people of God out of all the nations of the earth. Deut. x. 16. As God where he adopteth the posterity of Abraham to be his people, commandeth them to be circumcised: so Moses pronounceth that the hearts ought to be circumcised, declaring verily what is the truth of this circumcision. Then that no man should endeavour toward it by his own strength, he teacheth that they need the grace of God. Deut. xxx. 6. All these things are so often repeated of the prophets, that I need not to heap into this place many testimonies which do each where offer themselves. We have proved therefore, that in circumcision a spiritual promise was uttered to the fathers, such as in baptism is given: forasmuch as it figured to them the forgiveness of sins, and the mortifying of

the flesh. Moreover as we have taught that Christ is the foundation of baptism, in whom both these things remain: so it is evident that he is also of circumcision. For he is promised to Abraham, and in him the blessing of all nations, to the sealing of which grace, the sign of circumcision is added.

The argument and difference between circumcision and baptism.

4. Now we may easily see, what there is like in these two signs, or what there is differing. The promises, whereupon we have declared that the power of the signs consisteth, is all one in both, namely of the fatherly favour of God, of the forgiveness of sins, of life everlasting. Then, the thing figured also is all one and the same, namely regeneration. The foundation whereupon the fulfilling of these things standeth, is all one in both. Wherefore there is no difference in the inward mystery, whereby the whole force and property of the sacraments is to be weighed. The unlikeliness that remaineth, lieth in the outward ceremony, which is the smallest portion: whereas the chiefest part dependeth upon the promise and the thing signified. Therefore we may determine, that whatsoever agreeth with circumcision, doth also belong to baptism, except the difference of the visible ceremony. To this relation and comparison, the Apostle's rule leadeth as by the hand, whereby we are commanded to examine all exposition of scripture by the proportion of faith. Rom. xii. 3. And truly the truth doth in this behalf almost offer it self to be felt. For as circumcision, because it was a certain token to the Jews, whereby they were certified that they were chosen to be the people and household of God, and they again on their behalfs professed that they yielded themselves to God, was their first entry into the church: so now also we by baptism enter into profession of God, that we may be reckoned among his people and mutually swear to his name. Whereby it appeareth out of controversy, that baptism is come into the place of circumcision, that it may have the same office with us.

Infants being partakers of the spiritual grace may not be denied the outward sign of baptism more than Jewish children circumcision.

5. Now if we list to search out, whether baptism be lawfully communicate to infants: shall we not say that he doth too much play the fool, yea dote, who will rest only upon the element of water, and the outward observation, but cannot abide to bend his mind to the spiritual mystery? Whereof if there be any consideration had it shall without doubt certainly appear that baptism is rightfully given to infants, as the thing that is due unto them. For the Lord in old time did not vouchsafe to admit them to circumcision, but that he made them partakers of all those things which were then signified by circumcision. Otherwise he should with mere deceits have mocked his people, if he had fed them with deceitful signs, which is horrible even to be heard of. For he pronounceth expressly, that the circumcision of a little infant should be instead of a seal to seal the promise of the covenant. But if the covenant remain unbroken and stedfast, it doth at this day no less belong to the children of christians, than under the old testament it pertained to the infants of the Jews. But if they be partakers of the thing signified, why shall they be debarred from the sign? If they have the truth, why shall they be put back from the figure? Although the outward sign cleave fast together with the word in the sacrament, so that they cannot be plucked in sunder: yet if they be separately considered, whether of them, I pray you shall we esteem of more value? Truly since we see that the sign serveth the word, we must say that it is under it, and must set it in the inferior place. Since therefore the word of baptism is extended to infants: why shall the sign, that is to say, the addition annexed to the word, be debarred from them? This one reason, if there were no more, were abundantly enough to confute all them that will speak to the contrary. That which is objected, that there was a day certainly set for circumcision, is altogether but a shift. We grant that we are not now bound to certain days, like the Jews: but when the Lord howsoever he certainly appointeth no day, yet declareth that he is pleased that infants should with a solemn formal usage be received into his covenant: what seek we more?

The children of christian parents being holy seed as Abraham's were, as necessarily the one bound to be baptized as the other to be circumcised.

6. Howbeit the scripture openeth unto us yet a certainer knowlege of the truth. For it is most evident, that the covenant which the Lord once made with Abraham, is at this day no less in force to christians, than it was in old time to the Jewish people: yea and that this word hath no less respect to Christians, than it then had respect to the Jews. Unless perhaps we think, that Christ hath by his coming diminished, or cut short the grace of his Father. Which saying is not without abominable blasphemy. Wherefore as even the children

dren of the Jews were called a holy ſeed, becauſe being made heirs of the ſame covenant they were made differing from the children of the ungodly: for the ſame reaſon even yet alſo the children of chriſtians are accounted holy, yea although they be the iſſue but of one faithful parent: and (as the Apoſtle witneſſeth 1 Cor. vii. 14.) they differ from the unclean ſeed of idolaters. Now when the Lord immediately after the covenant made with Abraham, commanded the ſame to be ſealed in infants with an outward ſacrament: Gen. xvii. 12. what cauſe will chriſtians allege, why they ſhould not at this day teſtify and ſeal the ſame in their children? Neither let any man object againſt me, that the Lord commanded his covenant to be confirmed with no other ſign than of circumciſion, which is long ago taken away. For we have in readineſs to anſwer, that for the time of the old teſtament he ordained circumciſion to confirm his covenant: but circumciſion being taken away, yet always remaineth the ſame manner of confirming which we have common with the Jews. Wherefore we muſt always diligently conſider what is common to both, and what they have diſtinct from us. The covenant is common, the cauſe of confirming it is common. Only the manner of confirming is diverſe, becauſe circumciſion was that to them, in place whereof baptiſm hath ſucceeded among us. Otherwiſe if the teſtimony whereby the Jews were aſſured of the ſalvation of their ſeed, be taken away from us, it ſhould be brought to paſs by the coming of Chriſt, that the grace of God ſhould be darker and leſs approved by teſtimonies to us, than it was before to the Jews. If that cannot be ſaid without extreme ſlander of Chriſt, by whom the infinite goodneſs of the Father hath more clearly and liberally than ever heretofore been poured forth upon the earth, and declared to men: we muſt needs grant, that it it at the leaſt not more pinchingly to be ſuppreſſed, nor to be ſet forth with leſs teſtimony, than it was under the dark ſhadows of the law.

Infants embraced, prayed for, termed the heirs of the kingdom of heaven by our ſaviour Chriſt, and therefore not to be excluded

7. Wherefore the Lord Jeſus, minding to ſhew a token whereby the world might underſtand that he was come rather to enlarge than to limit the mercy of God gently embraced children offered unto him, rebuking the diſciples who went about to forbid them to come to him: foraſmuch as they did lead thoſe, *from baptiſm*, to whom the kingdom of heaven belongeth, away from him by whom alone the entry is open into heaven. But (will ſome man ſay) what like thing hath baptiſm with this embracing of Chriſt? For neither is it reported that he baptiſed them, but that he received them, embraced them, and wiſhed them well. Therefore if we liſt to follow his example, let us help infants with prayer, but not baptiſe them. But let us weigh the doings of Chriſt ſomewhat more heedfully, than ſuch kind of men do. For neither is this to be lightly paſſed over, that Chriſt commandeth infants to be brought unto him, adding a reaſon why becauſe of ſuch is the kingdom of heaven, Matth. ix. 13. And afterward he witneſſeth his will with deed, when embracing them he commendeth them to his Father with his prayer and bleſſing. If it be meet that infants be brought to Chriſt, why is it not alſo meet that they be received to baptiſm, the ſign of our communion and fellowſhip with Chriſt? If the kingdom of heaven be theirs, why ſhall the ſign be denied them, whereby there is as it were an entry opened into the church, that being admitted into it they may be numbred among the heirs of the heavenly kingdom? How unjuſt ſhall we be, if we drive away them whom Chriſt calleth unto him! if we ſpoil them whom he garniſheth with his gifts? if we ſhut out them whom he willingly receiveth? But if we will examine how much that which Chriſt there did differeth from baptiſm, yet of how much greater price ſhall we have baptiſm, (whereby we teſtify that infants are contained in the covenant of God) than receiving, embracing, laying on of hands, and prayer, whereby Chriſt himſelf being preſent: declareth that they both are his, and are ſanctified of him? By the other cavil. whereby they labour to mock out this place, they do nothing but bewray their own ignorance. For they gather an argument of this which Chriſt ſaith, Let little ones come to me, that they were in age good big ones which were already able to go. But they are called of the evangeliſts, *brephe*, and *paidia*, by which words the Greeks do ſignify babes yet hanging on the breaſts. Therefore this word (to come) is ſimply ſet for (to have acceſs.) Lo what ſnares they are compelled to make, who are grown hard againſt the truth. Now where they ſay, that the kingdom of heaven is not given to them, but to ſuch as are like them, becauſe it is ſaid to be of ſuch, not of them: that is no founder than the reſt. For if that be granted,

ed, what manner of reaſon ſhall the reaſon of Chriſt be, whereby he meaneth to ſhew, that infants in age are not ſtrangers from him? when he commandeth that infants be ſuffered to have acceſs unto him, nothing is plainer than that very infancy indeed is there ſpoken of. And that this ſhould not ſeem an abſurdity, he by and by addeth: of ſuch is the kingdom of heaven. But it muſt needs be that infants are comprehended herein, it muſt be plain that by this word (ſuch) are meant very infants themſelves, and ſuch as are like them.

Though it be not expreſly mentioned in ſcripture what infants were baptiſed by the apoſtles: yet when they are reported to have baptiſed families, we have no reaſon to think that the children in ſuch families were not baptiſed: no writer ſo old that maketh not the baptiſm of infants as ancient as the apoſtles times.

8. Now there is no man that ſeeth not, that baptiſm of infants was not framed by man, which is upholden by ſo great approving of ſcripture. Neither do they colourably enough play the fool, which object that it is no where found, that any one infant was baptiſed by the hands of the apoſtles. For although it be not expreſly by name rehearſed of the evangeliſts: yet becauſe again they are not excluded, ſo oft as mention happeneth to be made of the baptiſing of any houſhold: who, unleſs he be mad, can reaſon thereupon that they were not baptiſed? If ſuch arguments were of any force, women ſhould be forbidden to partake of the Lord's ſupper, whom we read not to have been received unto it in the time of the apoſtles. But here we are content with the rule of faith. For when we conſider, what the inſtitution of the ſupper requireth, thereby alſo we may eaſily judge to whom the uſe thereof ought to be communicated. Which we obſerve alſo in baptiſm. For when we mark, to what end it was ordained, we evidently ſee, that it belongeth no leſs to infants, than to elder folks. Therefore they cannot be deprived of it, but that the will of the author muſt be manifeſtly defrauded. But whereas, they ſpread abroad among the ſimple people, that there paſſed a long row of years after the reſurrection of Chriſt, in which the baptiſm of infants was unknown: therein they moſt foully do lie. For there is no writer ſo old, that doth not certainly refer the beginning thereof to the time of the apoſtles.

The fruit that cometh by baptiſm both to children preſented, and to ſuch alſo as preſent them thereunto.

9. Now remaineth that we briefly ſhew, what fruit cometh of this obſervation, both to the faithful which preſent their children to the church to be baptiſed, and alſo to the infants themſelves that are baptiſed with the holy water: that no man ſhould deſpiſe it as unprofitable or idle. But if it come in any man's mind, upon this pretence to mock at the baptiſm of infants, he ſcorneth the commandment of circumciſion given by the Lord. For what will they bring forth to impugn the baptiſm of infants, which may not alſo be thrown back againſt circumciſion? So the Lord taketh vengeance of their arrogance, who do by and by condemn that which they comprehend not with the ſenſe of their own fleſh. But God furniſheth us with other armours, whereby their fooliſhneſs may be beaten flat. For neither this his holy inſtitution, by which we feel our faith to be holpen with ſingular comfort, deſerveth to be called ſuperfluous. For God's ſign communicated to a child doth as it were by an imprinted ſeal confirm the promiſe given to the godly parent, and declareth that it is ratified that the Lord will be God not only to him but alſo to his ſeed, and will continually ſhew his good will and grace, not to him only, but alſo to his poſterity even to the thouſand generation. Where when the great kindneſs of God uttereth it ſelf, firſt it yieldeth moſt largely to advance his glory and overſpreadeth godly hearts with ſingular gladneſs, becauſe they are therewithal more earneſtly moved to love again ſo godly a father, whom they ſee to have care of their poſterity for their ſakes. Neither do I regard, if any man take exception, and ſay that the promiſe ought to ſuffice to confirm the ſalvation of our children: foraſmuch as it hath pleaſed God otherwiſe, who as he knoweth our weakneſs, willed in this behalf ſo much to bear tenderly with it. Therefore let them that embrace the promiſe of God's mercy to be extended to their children, think that it is their duty to offer them to the church to be ſigned with the ſign of mercy, and thereby to encourage themſelves to a more aſſured confidence, becauſe they do with preſent eye behold the covenant of the Lord graven in the bodies of their children. Again, the children receive ſome benefit of their baptiſm, that being engraffed into the body of the church, they are ſomewhat the more commended to the other members. Then when they are grown to riper age, they are not ſlenderly ſtirred up to earneſt endeavour to worſhip God, of whom they have been received into his children by a ſolemn ſign of adoption, before that they could by age acknowlege

lege him for their Father. Finally that ſame condemnation ought greatly to make us afraid, that God will take vengeance of it, if any man deſpiſe to mark his ſon with the ſign of the covenant, Gen. xvii. 14. becauſe by ſuch contempt the grace offered is refuſed and as it were foreſworn.

The difference which the enemies of baptiſm miniſtred unto children do put between the thing ſignified by baptiſm and circumciſion overthroweth them, their difference between the one and the other covenant moſt falſe.

10. Now let us examine the arguments, whereby certain furious beaſts do not ceaſe to aſſail this holy inſtitution of God. Firſt becauſe they ſee that they be exceedingly near driven and hard ſtrained with the likeneſs of baptiſm and circumciſion, they labour to pluck in ſunder theſe two ſigns with great difference, that the one ſhould not ſeem to have any thing common with the other. For they ſay that both divers things are ſignified, and that the covenant is altogether divers, and that the naming of the children is not all one. But while they go about to prove that firſt point, they allege that circumciſion was a figure of mortification and not of baptiſm. Which verily we do moſt willingly grant them. For it maketh very well for our ſide. Neither do we uſe any other proof of our ſentence, than that baptiſm and circumciſion are ſigns of mortification. Hereupon we determine that baptiſm is ſet in the place of circumciſion, that it ſhould repreſent unto us the ſame thing which in old time it ſignified to the Jews. In affirming the difference of the covenant, with how barbarous boldneſs do they turmoil and corrupt the ſcripture: and that not in one place alone, but ſo as they leave nothing ſafe or whole? For they paint unto us the Jews ſo to be carnal that they are liker beaſts than men: with whom forſooth the covenant made proceedeth not beyond the temporal life to whom the promiſes given do reſt in preſent and bodily good things. If this doctrine take place, what remaineth but that the nation of the Jews were for a time filled with the benefits of God, no otherwiſe than as they fat a herd of ſwine in a ſtie, that at length they ſhould periſh with eternal damnation. For ſo ſoon as we allege circumciſion and the promiſes annexed unto it, they anſwer that circumciſion was a literal ſign, and the promiſes thereof were carnal.

Promiſes ſpiritual and heavenly, not earthly and carnal only made to the fathers in the old Teſtament.

11. Truly if circumciſion was a literal ſign, there is no otherwiſe to be thought of baptiſm. For the apoſtle in the ſecond chapter to the Coloſſians maketh the one no more ſpiritual than the other. For he ſaith that we are circumciſed in Chriſt, with a circumciſion not made with hand, putting away the body of ſin that dwelleth in our fleſh: which he calleth the circumciſion of Chriſt, Col. ii. 11. Afterward for declaration of that ſaying, he adjoineth, that we are buried with Chriſt by baptiſm. What meaneth he by theſe words, but that the fulfilling and truth of baptiſm, is alſo the truth and fulfilling of circumciſion, becauſe they figure both one thing? For he laboureth to ſhew that baptiſm is the ſame to Chriſtians, which circumciſion had been before to the Jews. But foraſmuch as we have now evidently declared, that the promiſes of both the ſigns, and the myſteries that are repreſented in them, do agree together, we will for this preſent tarry no longer upon them. Only I will put the faithful in mind, that though I hold my peace, they ſhould weigh with themſelves wether it be taken for an earthly and literal ſign, under which nothing is contained but ſpiritual and heavenly. But that they ſhould not ſell their ſmokes to the ſimple, we will by the way confute one objection wherewith they colour this moſt ſhameleſs lie. It is moſt certain that the principal promiſes, wherein was contained the covenant which in the old Teſtament God eſtabliſhed with the Iſraelites, were ſpiritual and tended to eternal life: and then again, that they were received of the fathers ſpiritually, as it was meet, that they might thereof receive aſſiance of the life to come, whereunto they longed with the whole affection of their heart. But in the mean time we deny not, but tha he witneſſed his good will toward them with earthly and carnal benefits: by which alſo we ſay that the ſame promiſe of ſpiritual things was confirmed. As when he promiſed everlaſting bleſſedneſs to his ſervant Abraham, that he might ſet before his eyes a manifeſt token of his favour, he addeth another promiſe concerning the poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan, Gen. xv. 1. and 18. After this manner we ought to underſtand all the earthly promiſes that are given to the Jewiſh nation, that the ſpiritual promiſe, as the head whereunto they are directed, ſhould always have the chief place. But ſince I have more largely treated of theſe things in the difference of the new and old Teſtaments, therefore now I do the more ſlightly knit it up.

The supposed difference which the adversaries of infant baptism do put between the ancient circumcised, and the new baptised seed of Abraham.

12. In the naming of the children they find this difference, that in the Old Testament they were called the children of Abraham, who issued of his seed: but that now they are called by that name, who follow his faith: and that therefore that carnal infancy, which was by circumcision graffed into the fellowship of the covenant, figured the infants of the New Testament, which are regenerate by the word of God to immortal life. In which words we behold indeed a small sparkle of truth: but herein these light spirits grievously offend, that when they catch hold of that which first cometh to their hand, when they should go further and compare many things together, they stand stifly upon one word. Whereby it cannot otherwise be but that they must sometime be deceived who rest upon the sound knowlege of nothing. We grant indeed that the carnal seed of Abraham did for a time hold the place of the spiritual seed which is by faith graffed into him. For we are called his children howsoever there is no natural kindred between him and us. But if they mean, as they plainly shew that they do, that there was never spiritual blessings promised to the carnal seed of Abraham, herein they are much deceived. Wherefore we must level to a better mark, whereunto we are directed by the most certain guiding of the scripture. The Lord therefore promised to Abraham, that he should have a seed, wherein all nations of the earth shall be blessed: and therewithal assureth him, that he would be a God to him and his seed. Whosoever do by faith receive Christ the author of blessing, are heirs of this promise, and therefore are called the children of Abraham. Gal. iv. 28. Rom. iv. 12.

The dignity of Abraham's children, circumcised and uncircumcised equal.

13. But although since the resurrection of Christ the bounds of the kingdom of God have begun to be far and wide enlarged into all nations without difference, that according to the saying of Christ, faithful ones should be gathered from every part to sit down in the heavenly glory with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: Matth. viii. 11. yet he had many ages before extended that same so great mercy to the Jews. And because passing over all other, he had chosen out that nation only in which he would restrain his grace for a time, called them his peculiar, possession, and his purchased people. Exod. xix. 5. For testifying of such liberality, circumcision was given, by the sign whereof the Jews might be taught that God is to them the author of salvation: by which knowlege their minds were raised into hope of eternal life. For what shall he want, whom God hath once received into his charge? Wherefore the Apostle meaning to prove that the Gentiles were the children of Abraham as well as the Jews, speaketh in this manner. Rom. iv. 10. Abraham (saith he) was justified by faith in uncircumcision. Afterward he received the sign of circumcision, the seal of the righteousness of faith, that he should be the father of all the faithful, both of uncircumcision and of circumcision, not of them that glory of circumcision only, but of them that follow the faith which our father Abraham had in uncircumcision. Do not we see that both sorts are made equal in dignity? For during the time appointed by the decree of God, he was the father of circumcision. When, the wall being plucked down (as the Apostle writeth in another place) by which the Jews were severed from the Gentiles, the entry was made open to them also into the kingdom of God, he was made their father, and that without the sign of circumcision, because they have baptism instead of circumcision. But where he expresly by name denieth, that Abraham is father to them who are of circumcision only, that same was spoken to abate the pride of certain, who omitting the care of godliness, did boast themselves only of ceremonies. After which manner at this day also their vanity may be confuted who seek in baptism nothing but water.

The carnal and spiritual seed of Abraham heretofore with the estimation due to them both.

14. But another place of the apostle out of the ninth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans shall be alleged to the contrary, where he teacheth that they who are of the flesh, are not the children of Abraham: but they only are counted his seed, who are the children of promise. For he seemeth to signify, that the carnal kindred of Abraham is nothing, which yet we do set in some degree. But it is more diligently to be marked, what matter the Apostle there treateth of. For, meaning to shew to the Jews how much the goodness of God was not bound to the seed of Abraham, yea how it nothing availeth of itself, he bringeth forth Ismael and Esau for example to prove it: whom being refused, as if they were stran-

ſtrangers, although they were according to the fleſh the natural offspring of Abraham, the bleſſing reſted in Iſaac and Jacob. Whereupon is gathered that which he afterwards affirmeth, that ſalvation dependeth on the mercy of God, which he extendeth to whom it pleaſeth him: and that there is no cauſe why the Jews ſhould ſtand in their own conceit, or boaſt upon the name of the covenant, unleſs they keep the law of the covenant, that is to ſay, obey the word. Again when he had thrown them down from vain confidence of their kindred, yet becauſe on the other ſide he ſaw, that the covenant which was once made of God with the poſterity of Abraham, could in no wiſe be made void, in the eleventh chapter, he argueth that the carnal kindred is not to be ſpoiled of his due dignity: by the beneficial mean whereof he teacheth that the Jews are the firſt and natural heirs of the goſpel, but in reſpect that by their unthankfulneſs, they were forſaken as unworthy: yet ſo that the heavenly bleſſing is not utterly removed from their nation. For which reaſon, how much ſoever they were ſtubborn and covenant-breakers, nevertheleſs he calleth them holy (ſo much honour he giveth to the holy generation, with whom God had vouchſafed to make his holy covenant) but calleth us, if we be compared with them, as it were after born, yea or the untimely born children of Abraham, and that by adoption, not by nature: as if a twig broken off from his natural tree, ſhould be graffed into a ſtrange ſtock. Therefore that they ſhould not be defrauded of their prerogative, it behoveth that the goſpel ſhould be firſt preached to them: for they are in the houſhold of God as it were the firſt begotten children. Wherefore this honour was to be given them, until they refuſed it being offered them, and by their unthankfulneſs brought to paſs that it was carried away to the Gentiles. Neither yet, with how great obſtinacy ſoever they continue to make war againſt the goſpel, ought they to be deſpiſed of us: if we conſider that for the promiſes ſake, the bleſſing of God doth yet ſtill remain among them: as verily the Apoſtle teſtifieth that it ſhall never utterly depart from thence: becauſe the gifts and calling of God are without repentance. Rom. xi. 29.

The like difference between the one and the other now in the Chriſtian church.

15. Behold of what force is the promiſe given to the poſterity of Abraham, and with what balance it is to be weighed. Wherefore although in diſcerning the heirs of the kingdom from baſtards and ſtrangers, we doubt not that the election of God only ruleth with free right of government: yet we alſo therewithal perceive, that it pleaſed him peculiarly to embrace the ſeed of Abraham with his mercy, and that the ſame mercy might be the more ſurely witneſſed, to ſeal it with circumciſion. Now altogether like ſtate is there of the Chriſtian church. For as Paul there reaſoneth that the Jews are ſanctified of their parents: ſo in another place he teacheth, that the children of Chriſtians receive the ſame ſanctification of their parents. 1 Cor. vii. 14. Whereupon is gathered, that they are worthily ſevered from the reſt, which on the other ſide are condemned of uncleanneſs. Now who can doubt, but that it is moſt falſe which they do thereupon conclude, that ſay, that the infants which in old time were circumciſed, did only figure ſpiritual infancy, which ariſeth of the regeneration of the word of God. For Paul doth not ſo ſubtilly play the philoſopher, where he writeth that Chriſt is the miniſter of circumciſion, to fulfil the promiſes which had been made to the fathers, Rom. xv. 8. as if he had ſaid thus: Foraſmuch as the covenant made with Abraham hath reſpect to his ſeed, Chriſt to perform and diſcharge the promiſe once made by his Father, came to ſalvation to the nation of the Jews. See you not how alſo after the reſurrection of Chriſt, he judgeth that the promiſe of the covenant is to be fulfilled not only by way of allegory, but as the very words do ſound to the carnal ſeed of Abraham. To the ſame intent ſerveth that which Peter in the ſecond chapter of the Acts, declareth to the Jews, Acts ii. 39. that the benefit of the goſpel is due to them and their ſeed by right of the covenant, and in the chapter next following he calleth them the children of the teſtament, that is to ſay heirs, Acts iii. 25. From which alſo not much diſaccordeth the other place of the apoſtle above alleged, where he accounteth and ſetteth circumciſion imprinted in infants, for a teſtimony of that communion which they have with Chriſt. Eph. ii. 21. But if we hearken to their trifles, what ſhall be wrought by that promiſe, whereby the Lord in the ſecond article of his law undertaketh to his ſervants, that he will be favourable to their ſeed even to the thouſand generation? Shall we here flee to allegories? But that were too trifling a ſhift. Or ſhall we ſay this is aboliſhed? But ſo the law ſhould be deſtroyed, which Chriſt came rather to eſtabliſh, ſo far as it turneth us to good unto life. Let it therefore be out of controverſy, that God is ſo good and liberal to his, that

that for their ſakes, he will ſave alſo their children, whom they ſhall beget, to be numbred among his people.

Abſurd differences between baptiſm and circumciſion to exclude children from the one, though from the other they were not excluded.

16. Moreover the differences which they go about to put between baptiſm and circumciſion, are not only worthy to be laughed at, and void of all colour of reaſon, but alſo diſagreeing with themſelves. For when they have affirmed that baptiſm hath relation to the firſt day of the ſpiritual battle, but circumciſion to the eight when mortification is already ended, by and by forgetting the ſame, they turn their ſong, and call circumciſion a figure of the fleſh to be mortified, but baptiſm they call burial, into which none are to be put till they be already dead. What dotages of frantic men, can with ſo great lightneſs leap into ſundry diverſities? For in the firſt ſentence. Baptiſm muſt go before circumciſion: by the other, it is thruſt back into the latter place. Yet is it no new example, that the wits of men be ſo toſſed up and down, when inſtead of the moſt certain word of God they worſhip whatſoever they have dreamed. We therefore ſay that that former difference is a mere dream. If they liſted to expound by way of allegory upon the eight day, yet it agreed not in that manner. It were much fitter, according to the opinion of the old writers, to refer the number of eight to the reſurrection which was done on the eight day, whereupon we know that the newneſs of life dependeth: or to the whole courſe of this preſent life, wherein mortification ought always to go forward, till when life is ended, mortification it ſelf may alſo be ended. Howbeit God may ſeem to have minded to provide for the tenderneſs of age, in deferring circumciſion to the eight day, becauſe the wound ſhould have been more dangerous to the children new born and yet red from their mother. How much ſtronger is that, that we being dead before, are buried by baptiſm: when the ſcripture expreſly crieth to the contrary that we are buried into death to this intent, that we ſhould die, and from thenceforth ſhould endeavour to this mortification? Now, by a like method of arguing, they maintain that women ought not to be baptized, if baptiſm muſt be framed like to circumciſion. For if it be moſt certain that the ſanctifying of the ſeed of Iſrael was teſtified by the ſign of circumciſion: thereby alſo it is undoubted, that it was given to ſanctify both males and females. But the bodies of male children only were marked with it, which might by nature be marked: yet ſo that women were by them after a certain manner companions and partners of circumciſion. Therefore ſending far away ſuch follies of theirs, let us ſtick faſt in the likeneſs of baptiſm and circumciſion, which we moſt largely ſee to agree in the inward myſtery, in the promiſes, in uſe, in effectualneſs.

Childrens want of underſtanding no reaſon to keep them from being baptized which is the ſeal of that ſanctity whereof they are capable.

17. They think alſo that they bring forth a moſt ſtrong reaſon why children are to be debarred from baptiſm, when they allege that they are not yet for age able to underſtand the myſtery there ſignified. That is ſpiritual regeneration, which cannot be in the firſt infancy. Therefore they gather, that they are to be taken for no other than the children of Adam, till they are grown to age meet for a ſecond birth. But the truth of God each where ſpeaketh againſt all theſe things. For if they be to be left among the children of Adam, than they are left in death: foraſmuch as in Adam we can do nothing but die. But contrariwiſe Chriſt commandeth them to be brought unto him. Why ſo? becauſe he is life: therefore that he may give life to them, he maketh them partakers of himſelf: when in the mean time theſe fellows driving them far away do adjudge them to death. For if they ſay for a ſhift that infants do not therefore periſh if they be accounted the children of Adam, their error is abundantly confuted by witneſs of the ſcripture. For whereas it pronounceth that all do die in Adam, 1 Cor. xv. 22. it followeth that there remaineth no hope of life but in Chriſt. Therefore that we may be made heirs of life, we muſt communicate with him Eph. ii. 3. Again when it is written in another place, that by nature we are ſubject to the wrath of God, and conceived in ſin, Pſal. li. 7. whereunto damnation perpetually cleaveth: we muſt depart out of our own nature, before that the entry be open to us into the kingdom of God. And what can be more plainly ſpoken, than that fleſh and blood cannot poſſeſs the kingdom of God? 1 Cor. xv. 50. Therefore let all be done away whatſoever is ours (which ſhall not be done without regeneration) then we ſhall ſee this poſſeſſion of the kingdom. Finally if Chriſt ſay truly, when he reporteth that he is life, John xi. 25. and xiv. 5. it is neceſſary that we be graffed into him, that we may be delivered out of the bondage of death. But (ſay they)

they) how are infants regenerate, who are not endowed with knowlege neither of good nor of evil? But we anſwer, that the work of God is not yet no work at all, although it be not ſubject to our capacity. Moreover it is not doubtful, that the infants who are to be ſaved (as verily of that age ſome are ſaved) are before regenerate of the Lord. For if they bring with them from their mother's womb the corruption naturally planted in them: they muſt be purged thereof, before that they be admitted into the kingdom of God, whereinto nothing entereth that is defiled or ſpotted. Rev. xxi. 27. If they are born ſinners, as both David and Paul affirm: Eph. ii. 3. Pſal. li. 7. either they remain out of favour and hateful to God, or they muſt needs be juſtified. And what ſeek we more, when the judge himſelf openly affirmeth that the entry into heavenly life is open to none but to them that are born again? John iii. 3. And to put ſuch carpers to ſilence, he ſhewed an example in John the Baptiſt, whom he ſanctified in his mother's womb, what he was able to do in the reſt. Neither do they any thing prevail by the ſhift wherewith they here mock, that that was but once done: whereupon it doth not by and by follow that the Lord is wont commonly to do ſo with infants. For neither do we reaſon after that manner: only our purpoſe is to ſhew, that the power of God is by them unjuſtly and enviouſly limited within thoſe narrow bounds within which it ſuffereth not itſelf to be bound. Their other by-ſhift is even of as great weight. They allege that by the uſual manner of the ſcripture, this word (from the womb) is as much in effect, as if it were ſaid, from childhood. But we may clearly ſee that the angel when he declared the ſame to Zachariah, meant another thing; that is, that it which was not yet born, ſhould be filled with the Holy Ghoſt. Luke i. 15. Let us not therefore attempt to point a law to God, but that he may ſanctify whom it pleaſeth him as he ſanctified this child, foraſmuch as his power is nothing diminiſhed.

Chriſt in his infancy ſanctified to ſhew that chriſtian infants are capable of ſanctity.

18. And truly Chriſt was therefore ſanctified from his firſt infancy, that he might ſanctify in himſelf his elect out of every age without difference. For as, to do away the fault of diſobedience which had been committed in our fleſh, he hath put on the ſame fleſh upon himſelf, that he might in it for us, and in our ſtead perform perfect obedience: ſo he was conceived of the Holy Ghoſt, that having the holineſs thereof fully poured into him in the fleſh which he had taken upon him, he might pour forth the ſame into us. If we have in Chriſt a moſt perfect pattern of all the graces which God continually ſheweth to his children, verily in this behalf alſo he ſhall be a proof unto us, that the age of infancy is not ſo far unfit for ſanctification. But howſoever it be, yet this we hold out of controverſy, that none of the elect is called out of this preſent life, who is not firſt made holy and regenerate by the Spirit of God. Whereas they object to the contrary, that in the ſcriptures the Spirit acknowlegeth no other regeneration but of incorruptible ſeed, that is, of the word of God: 1 Pet. i. 23. they do wrongfully expound that ſaying of Peter, wherein he comprehendeth only the faithful who had been taught only by preaching of the goſpel. To ſuch indeed we grant that the word of the Lord is the only ſeed of ſpiritual regeneration: but we deny that it ought thereupon to be gathered, that infants cannot be regenerate by the power of God, which is to him as eaſy and ready as to us it is incomprehenſible and wonderful. Moreover it ſhould not be ſafe enough for us to take this away from the Lord, that he may not be able to ſhew himſelf to be known to them by whatſoever way he will.

No abſurdity that infants have ſome ſpark of that heavenly light here whereof in heaven the full brightneſs doth ſhine unto them though they die in their infancy.

19. But faith, ſay they, is by hearing, whereof they have not yet gotten the uſe, neither can they be able to know God, whom Moſes teacheth to be deſtitute of the knowlege both of good and evil. But they conſider not that the apoſtle, when he maketh hearing the beginning of faith, deſcribeth only the ordinary diſtribution of the Lord and diſpoſition which he uſeth to keep in calling them that are his: but appointeth not to him a perpetual rule, that he may not uſe any other way. Which way verily he hath uſed in the calling of many, to whom he hath given the true knowlege of himſelf by an inward manner, by the enlightening of the ſpirit, without any preaching uſed for mean thereof. But whereas they think it ſhall be a great abſurdity, if any knowlege of God be given to infants, from whom Moſes taketh away the underſtanding of good and evil: Deut. i. 39. I beſeech them to anſwer me what danger is there if they be ſaid to receive ſome part of that grace, whereof a little after they ſhall enjoy the full plentifulneſs. For if the fulneſs of life ſtandeth in the perfect knowledge of God, when many of them, whom in their very firſt infancy death by and by

taketh away, do paſs into eternal life, truly they are received to behold the immediate preſence of God. Whom therefore the Lord will enlighten with the full brightneſs of his light, why may he not preſently alſo, if it ſo pleaſe him, ſend out to ſhine upon them ſome ſmall ſparkle thereof: eſpecially if he do not firſt unclothe them of ignorance, before that he take them out of the priſon of the fleſh? Not that I mean raſhly to affirm that they are endued with the ſame faith we feel in ourſelves, or have altogether like knowlege of faith: (which I had rather leave in ſuſpenſe) but ſomewhat to reſtrain their fooliſh arrogance, who according as their mouth is puffed up with fulneſs do boldly deny or affirm they care not what.

Infants not excluded from baptiſm more than from circumciſion for want of faith and repentance.

20. But that they may yet ſtand more ſtrongly in this point, they add, that baptiſm is a ſacrament of repentance and faith, wherefore ſince neither of theſe can befal in tender infancy, we ought to beware leſt if they be admitted to the communion of baptiſm, the ſignification of it be made void and vain. But theſe darts are thrown rather againſt God than againſt us. For it is moſt evident by many teſtimonies of ſcripture, that circumciſion alſo was a ſign of repentance. Moreover it is called of Paul the ſeal of the righteouſneſs of faith. Rom. xiv. 11. Let therefore a reaſon be required of God himſelf why he commanded it to be marked in the bodies of infants. For ſince baptiſm and circumciſion are both in one caſe, they can give nothing to the one, but that they muſt alſo therewithal grant the ſame to the other. If they look back to their wonted ſtarting hole, that then by the age of infancy were figured ſpiritual infants, the way is already ſtopped up againſt them. We ſay therefore, ſince God hath communicated to infants circumciſion a ſacrament of repentance and faith, it ſeemeth no abſurdity if they be made partakers of baptiſm, unleſs they liſt openly to rage againſt the ordinance of God. But both in all the doings of God, and in this ſelf ſame doing alſo ſhineth wiſdom and righteouſneſs enough, to beat down the backbitings of the wicked. For though infants, at the ſame inſtant that they were circumciſed, did not comprehend in underſtanding what that ſign meant: yet they were truly circumciſed into the mortification of their corrupt and defiled nature, in which mortification they ſhould afterward exerciſe themſelves when they were grown to riper age. Finally, it is very eaſy to aſſoil this objection, with ſaying, that they are baptiſed into repentance and faith to come: which although they be not formed in them, yet by ſecret working of the ſpirit the ſeed of both lie dormant in them. With this anſwer at once is overthrown whatever they wreſt againſt us which they have fetched out of the ſignification of baptiſm. Of which ſort is that title wherewith it is commended of Paul, where he calleth it the waſhing of regeneration and renewing. Titus iii. 5. Whereupon they gather, that it is to be given to none but to ſuch a one as is able to conceive thoſe things. But we one the contrary ſide may anſwer, that neither was circumciſion which betokened regeneration, to be given to any other but to them that were regenerate. And ſo alſo we condemn the ordinance of God. Wherefore (as we have already touched in divers places) whatſoever arguments do tend to the ſhaking of circumciſion, they have no force in the aſſailing of baptiſm. Neither do they eſcape, if they ſay that we ought to take that for determined and certain, which ſtandeth upon the authority of God, although there appear no reaſon of it: which reverence is not due to the baptiſm of infants, nor to ſuch other things which are not commended unto us by the expreſs word of God: ſince they are ſtill faſt holden with this double argument. For the commandment of God concerning infants to be circumciſed, was either lawful and ſubject to no cavils, or worthy to be found fault withal. If there was no inconvenience nor abſurdity in the commandment of circumciſion, neither can there any abſurdity be noted in obſerving the baptiſm of infants.

No neceſſity that the underſtanding ſhould go before the receiving of the holy myſtery of baptiſm.

21. As for the ſpot of abſurdity which in this place they go about to lay upon it, we thus wipe it away. Whom the Lord hath vouchſafed to elect, if having received the ſign of regeneration, they depart out of this preſent life before that they be come to riper age, he reneweth them with the power of his ſpirit incomprehenſible to us, in ſuch manner as he alone foreſeeth to be expedient. If they chance to grow up to age, whereby they may be taught the truth of baptiſm, they ſhall hereby be the more inkindled to the endeavour of renewing, the token whereof they ſhall learn to have been given them from their firſt infancy, that they ſhould exerciſe themſelves in it throughout the whole courſe of their life. To the ſame intent ought that to be applied which Paul teacheth in two places, that by baptiſm we are buried together with Chriſt. Rom. vi. 4. Col. ii. 12. For he doth not

not mean thereby, that he who is to be baptiſed muſt be already firſt buried together with Chriſt: but ſimply declareth what doctrine is contained under baptiſm, yea and that to them that are already baptiſed: ſo that very mad men would not affirm by this place that it goeth before baptiſm. After this manner Moſes and the prophets did put the people in mind what circumciſion meant, wherewith yet they had been marked while they were infants. Of the ſame effect alſo is that which he writeth to the Galatians, that they when they were baptiſed, did put on Chriſt. Gal. iii. 27. To what end? Verily that they ſhould from thenceforth live unto Chriſt, becauſe they had not lived before. And although in the older ſort the receiving of the ſign ought to follow the underſtanding of the myſtery: yet it ſhall be by and by declared that infants ought to be otherwiſe eſteemed and accounted of. And no otherwiſe ought we to judge of that place in Peter, in which they think that they have a ſtrong handle; when he ſaith that it is not a waſhing to wipe away the filthineſs of the body, but the anſwer of a good conſcience before God, by the reſurrection of Chriſt. 1 Pet. iii. 21. They indeed do gather thereby, that nothing is left to the baptiſm of infants, but that it ſhould be a vain ſmoke, namely from which this truth is far diſtant. But they often offend in this error, that they will have the thing in order of time to go always before the ſign. For the truth of circumciſion alſo conſiſted of the ſame witneſs of a good conſcience. If it ought of neceſſity to have gone before, infants ſhould never have been circumciſed by the commandment of God. But he ſhewing that the anſwer of a good conſcience was contained under the truth of circumciſion, and yet therewithal alſo commanding infants to be circumciſed, doth in that point ſufficiently declare that circumciſion is applied to the time to come. Wherefore there is no more preſent efficacy to be required in the baptiſm of infants, than that it ſhould confirm and eſtabliſh the covenant made by the Lord with them. The reſt of the ſignification of that ſacrament ſhall afterward follow at ſuch time as God himſelf foreſeeth.

Baptiſm of infants proved by allegations brought to diſprove it, as that it is miniſtred to the forgiveneſs of ſins, that the church is therewith cleanſed of the Lord in the word of life, that thereby we are engraffed into the body of Chriſt.

22. Now I think there is no man, that doth not clearly ſee that all ſuch reaſons of theirs are mere miſconſtruings of ſcripture. As for the reſt that are of a near kind to theſe, we will lightly run through them by the way. They object that baptiſm is given unto the forgiveneſs of ſins: which when it is granted, will largely make for defence of our ſentence. For ſince we are born ſinners, we do even from our mother's womb need forgiveneſs and pardon. Now ſeeing the Lord doth no cut off, but rather aſſure to that age the hope of mercy: why ſhould we take from them the ſign which is much inferior to the thing itſelf? Wherefore that which they go about to throw againſt us, we thus throw back againſt themſelves: infants have remiſſion of ſins given them, therefore they ought not to have the ſign taken from them. They allege alſo this out of the epiſtle to the Epheſians, Eph. v. 26. that the church is cleanſed of the Lord, with the waſhing of water in the word of life. Than which there could be nothing alleged more fit to overthrow this error: for thereupon groweth an eaſy proof of our ſide. If the Lord will have that waſhing, wherewith he cleanſeth his church, to be teſtified by baptiſm: it ſeemeth not rightfully that it ſhould want the teſtimony of it in infants, which are rightfully accounted part of the church, foraſmuch as they be called heirs of the heavenly kingdom. For Paul ſpeaketh of the whole church, where he ſaith that it was cleanſed with the baptiſm of water, 1 Cor. xii. 17. Likewiſe of this that in another place he ſaith that we are by baptiſm graffed into the body of Chriſt, we gather that infants, whom he reckoneth among his members, ought to be baptiſed, leſt they be plucked away from his body. Behold with what violence as with ſo many engine they aſſault the fortreſſes of our faith.

The apoſtles in not baptſing any come unto yeers of diſcretion without repentance and profeſſion made of their faith, meant not hereby to teach that none ſhou'd be baptiſed but only ſuch as were of years to do this.

23. Then they come down to the practice and cuſtom of the time of the apoſtles, wherein none is found to have been admitted to baptiſm, but he who hath before profeſſed faith and repentance. For where Peter was aſked of them that were minded to repent, what was needful to be done, he counſelled them firſt to repent, and then to be baptiſed into the forgiveneſs of ſins, Acts ii. 37. Likewiſe Philip, when the eunuch required to be baptiſed, anſwered that he might be baptiſed if he believed with all his heart. Act. viii. 37. Hereby they think that they may win, that it is not lawful that

baptiſm be granted to any, but where faith and repentance go before truly if we yield to this reaſon, the firſt of theſe two places where is no mention made of faith, will prove that repentance alone ſufficeth: and the other place, wherein repentance is not required, will prove that faith only is enough. I think they will anſwer that the one place is holpen with the other, and therefore muſt be joined together. I ſay likewiſe, that other places muſt be laid together, which make ſomewhat to the undoing of this knot: foraſmuch as there be many ſentences in ſcripture, the underſtanding whereof dependeth upon the circumſtance of the place. As this preſently is an example. For they to whom Peter and Philip ſpake theſe things were of age ſufficient to have practice of repentance and to conceive faith. We earneſtly deny that ſuch ought to be baptiſed, until after perceiving of their converſion and faith, at leſt ſo far as it may be ſearched out by the judgment of men. But, that infants ought to be accounted in another number, it is more than evident enough. For in old time if any man did join himſelf into communion of religion with Iſrael, it behoved that he ſhould firſt be taught the covenant of the Lord, and inſtructed in the law, before that he were marked with circumciſion, becauſe in birth he was a ſtranger from the people of Iſrael, with whom the covenant had been made with circumciſion eſtabliſhed.

As Abraham's faith went before circumciſion, but in his ſeed circumciſion before faith, ſo it is with baptiſm in chriſtian men and children.

24. As alſo the Lord, when he adopteth Abraham to himſelf, doth not begin at circumciſion, hiding in the mean time what he meaneth by that ſign: but firſt he declareth what covenant he intendeth to make with him, and then after faith given to the promiſe, he maketh him partaker of the ſacrament. Why doth in Abraham the ſacrament follow faith, and in Iſaac his ſon it goeth before all underſtanding? Gen. xv. 1. and xvii. 16. Becauſe it is meet that he, who being in full grown age is received into fellowſhip of the covenant, from which he had been hitherto a ſtranger, ſhould firſt learn the conditions thereof: but an infant begotten of him needed not ſo, which by right of inheritance according to the form of the promiſe is even from his mother's womb contained in the covenant. Or (that the matter may be more clearly and briefly ſhewed) if the children of the faithful, without the help of underſtanding, are partakers of the covenant, there is no cauſe why they ſhould be debarred from the ſign for this that they cannot ſwear to the form of the covenant. This verily is the reaſon, why in ſome places God affirmeth that the infants which are iſſued of the Iſraelites, are begotten and born to him, Gen. xvi. 20. and xxiii. 37. For without doubt he eſteemeth as his children, the children of them to whoſe ſeed he promiſeth that he will be a Father. But he who is unfaithful, iſſued of godly parents, till he be by faith united to God is judged a ſtranger from the communion of the covenant. Therefore it is no wonder if he be not partaker of the ſign, the ſignification whereof ſhould be deceitful and void in him to this effect Paul alſo writeth, that the Gentiles ſo long as they were drowned in their idolatry, were out of the teſtament, Eph. ii. 12. With this ſhort ſum, (as I think) the whole matter may be clearly opened: that they who in grown age, embrace the faith of Chriſt, foraſmuch as they were hitherto ſtrangers from the covenant, are not to be marked with baptiſm, but whereas faith and repentance come between, which only can open them the entry into the fellowſhip of the covenant: but the infants that are iſſued of Chriſtians, as they are received of God into the inheritance of the covenant, ſo ſoon as they are born; ſo ought to be received to baptiſm. Hereunto muſt that be applied which the evangeliſt ſpeaketh of, that they were baptiſed of John who confeſſed their ſins, Matth. iii. 6. Which example at this day alſo we think meet to be kept. For if a Turk offer himſelf to baptiſm, he ſhould not be raſhly baptiſed of us, namely not till after confeſſion whereby he may ſatisfy the church.

The words of Chriſt concerning birth of water and the ſpirit nothing leſs than a proof that actual regeneration muſt preſently always concur with baptiſm.

25. Moreover they bring forth the words of Chriſt, which are rehearſed in the third chapter of John iii. 5. whereby they think that a preſent regeneration is required in baptiſm. Unleſs a man be born again of water and the ſpirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. Lo (ſay they) how baptiſm is by the Lord's own mouth called regeneration. Then therefore whom it is more than enough known to be unable to receive regeneration, by what colour do we admit to bap-

baptiſm which cannot be without regeneration? Firſt they are deceived in this that they think that in this place mention is made of baptiſm, becauſe they hear the name of water. For after that Chriſt had declared to Nicodemus the corruption of nature, and taught him, that men muſt be born of new, becauſe Nicodemus dreamed of a bodily new birth, he there ſhewed the manner how God doth regenerate us, namely by water and the ſpirit: as though he ſhould ſay by the ſpirit which in cleanſing and watering faithful ſouls, doth the office of water. Therefore I take water and the ſpirit ſimply for the ſpirit, which is water. Neither is this a new form of ſpeech, for it altogether agreeth with the ſame which is in the third chapter of Matthew: he that followeth me, it is he that baptiſeth in the Holy Ghoſt and fire. Mat. iii. 11. Therefore as to baptiſe in the Holy Ghoſt and fire, is to give the Holy Ghoſt, which hath the office and nature of fire: ſo to be born again of water and the ſpirit, is nothing elſe but to receive that power of the holy Spirit which doth the ſame thing in the ſoul that water doth in the body. I know that others do otherwiſe expound it: but I am out of doubt that this is the natural meaning: becauſe the purpoſe of Chriſt is no other, but to teach that all they muſt put off their own nature who aſpire to the heavenly kingdom. Howbeit if we liſt to cavil unſavourily as they do, it were eaſy for us) when we have granted as they would have it) to infer upon them that baptiſm is before faith and repentance: foraſmuch as in the words of Chriſt it goeth before the ſpirit. It is certain that this is underſtood of ſpiritual gifts: which if it come after baptiſm, I have obtained what I require. But leaving cavils, we muſt hold faſt the plain expoſition, which I have brought, that no man till he has been renewed with living water, that is, with the ſpirit, can enter into the kingdom of God.

All unbaptiſed not to be adjudged to eternal death.

26. Now hereby alſo it is evident that their feigned invention is to be hiſſed out, who adjudge all the unbaptiſed to eternal death. Therefore let us according to their requeſt imagine baptiſm to be miniſtred to none but to them that are grown in age: what will they ſay, ſhall become of a child, who is rightly and well inſtructed with the introductions of godlineſs, if when the day of baptiſing is at hand, he happen to be taken away with ſudden death beſide all mens hope? The Lord's promiſe is clear, that whoſoever hath believed in the Son, ſhall not ſee death, nor ſhall come into judgment, but is already paſſed from death into life: and it is no where found that he ever damned him that was not yet baptiſed. I would not be ſo underſtood as though I meant that baptiſm might freely be deſpiſed (by which deſpiſing I affirm that the Lord's covenant is defiled: ſo much leſs can I abide to excuſe it) only it is enough for me to prove, that it is not ſo neceſſary, that he ſhould be immediately thought to be loſt, from whom power is taken away to obtain it. But if we agree to their feigned device, we ſhall damn all them without exception, whom any chance withholdeth from baptiſm, with how great faith ſoever (by which Chriſt himſelf is poſſeſſed) otherwiſe they are endued. Moreover they make all infants guilty of eternal death, to whom they deny baptiſm, which by their own confeſſion is neceſſary to ſalvation. Now let them look how trimly they agree with the words of Chriſt, by which the kingdom of heaven is adjudged to that age. Mat. xix. 14. But, to grant them every thing ſo much as pertaineth to the underſtanding of this place, yet they ſhall gather nothing thereof, unleſs they overthrow the former doctrine which we have ſtabliſhed concerning the regeneration of infants.

The baptiſm of infants not diſproved by the commandment which Chriſt gave to teach and baptiſe, nor by the promiſe of ſalvation which he maketh to every one that believeth and is baptiſed.

27. But they glory that they have the ſtrongeſt hold of all in the very inſtitution of baptiſm, which they fetch out of the laſt chapter of Matthew: Mat. xxviii. 19. where Chriſt ſending forth his Apoſtles to all nations giveth them the firſt commandment to teach them, and the ſecond to baptiſe them. Then alſo out of the laſt of Mark they adjoin this, Mark. xvi. 16. he that believeth and is baptiſed, ſhall be ſaved. What ſeek we further (ſay they) when the Lord's own words do openly ſound, that we muſt firſt teach ere we baptiſe, and do aſſign to baptiſm the ſecond ſtate after faith? Of which order the Lord alſo ſhewed an example in himſelf, who would be baptiſed not till the thirtieth year. But here, O good God, how many ways do they both entangle themſelves, and bewray their own ignorance? For herein they now more than childiſhly err, that they fetch the firſt inſtitution of baptiſm from thence, which Chriſt had from the beginning of his preaching given in charge to his Apoſtles to miniſter. There-

fore there is no cauſe why they ſhould affirm that the law and rule of baptiſm is to be fetched out of theſe places, as though they contained the firſt inſtitution thereof. But to bear with them for this fault, yet how ſtrong is this manner of reaſoning? Truly if I liſted to dally with them, there is not a little lurking hole, but a moſt wide field offereth it ſelf open for us to eſcape them. For when they ſtick ſo faſt to the order of words, that they gather that becauſe it is ſaid, go, preach and baptiſe: Luk. iii. 23. Again, he that believeth and is baptiſed Mark xvi. 15. therefore they muſt preach before that they baptiſe, and believe before that they require baptiſm: why may not we again anwer them with ſaying that we muſt baptiſe beforeſ that we muſt teach the keeping of thoſe things that Chriſt hath commanded, namely ſince it is ſaid, baptiſe ye, teaching them to keep whatſoever things I have commanded you? which ſame things we have noted in that ſaying of Chriſt which hath been even now alleged concerning the regeneration of water and the Spirit. For if it be ſo underſtood as they would have it, verily in that place baptiſm muſt be before ſpiritual regeneration, becauſe it is named in the firſt place. For Chriſt doth teach that we muſt be regenerate, not of the Spirit and water, but of water and the Spirit.

The goſpel by Chriſt's appointment to be preached to men of capacity and they to believe before they be baptized: but not infants therefore to be unbaptized till they come unto years of ability to hear and believe.

28. Now this invincible reaſon whereupon they bear themſelves ſo bold, ſeemeth to be ſomewhat ſhaken: but becauſe truth hath defence enough in ſimplicity, I will not eſcape away with ſuch light arguments. Therefore let them take with them a full anſwer. Chriſt in this place giveth the chief commandment concerning the preaching of the goſpel, whereunto he adjoineth the miniſtry of baptiſm as an addition annexed it. Again, he ſpeaketh more otherwiſe of baptiſm, but ſo far as the miniſtration of it is under the office of teaching. For Chriſt ſendeth the Apoſtles to publiſh the goſpel to all the nations of the world, that they ſhould from each where with the doctrine of ſalvation gather together into his kingdom men that before were loſt. But whom, or what manner of men? It is certain that there is no mention but of them that are able to receive teaching. Afterward he addeth that ſuch, when they are inſtructed, ought to be baptized, adjoining a promiſe, that they who believe and are baptized ſhall be ſaved. Is there in all that ſaying ſo much as one ſyllable of infants? What form therefore of reaſoning ſhall this be wherewith they aſſail us: they who are of grown age, muſt firſt be inſtructed, that they may believe, ere they be baptized: therefore it is unlawful to make baptiſm common to infants? Altho' they would burſt themſelves, they ſhall prove nothing elſe by this place but that the goſpel muſt be preached to them that are of a capacity able to hear it, before that they be baptized, foraſmuch as he there ſpeaketh of ſuch only. Let them hereof if they can make a ſtop to debar infants from baptiſm.

Children no more excluded from baptiſm by commandment given that no men ſhould be baptized before they believe, than from meat by the Apoſtles injuction, that none ſhould eat that labour-eth not.

29. But that even blind men alſo may with groping find out their deceits, I will point them out with a very clear ſimilitude. If any man cavil that infants ought to have meat taken from them, upon this pretence that the Apoſtle ſuffereth none to eat but them that labour, ſhall he not be worthy that all men ſhould ſpit at him? Why ſo? Becauſe he without difference draweth that to all men, which was ſpoken of one kind and one certain age of men. No whit handſomer is their handling in this preſent cauſe. For that which every man ſeeth to belong to one age alone, they draw to infants, that this age alſo may be ſubject to the rule which was made for none, but them that were more grown in years. As for the example of Chriſt it nothing upholdeth their ſide, he was not baptized before that he was thirty years old. That is indeed true: but there is a reaſon thereof ready to be ſhewed: becauſe he then purpoſed by his preaching to lay a ſound foundation of baptiſm, or rather to eſtabliſh the foundation which had been before laid of John. Therefore when he minded with his doctrine to inſtitute baptiſm, to procure the greater authority to his inſtitution, he ſanctified it with his own body, and that in ſuch fitneſs of time as was moſt convenient, namely when he began his preaching. Finally, they ſhall gather nothing elſe hereof, but that baptiſm took its original and beginning at the preaching of the goſpel. If they liſt to appoint the thirtieth year, why do they not keep it, but do receive every one to baptiſm as he hath in their judgment ſufficiently profited? yea and Servetus one of their maſters, when he

he ſtiffly required this time, yet began at the 21 year of his age to boaſt himſelf to be a prophet. As though he were to be ſuffered that taketh on himſelf the place of a teacher in the church, before that he be a member of the church.

The ſcripture ſheweth reaſon why the Lord's ſupper ſhould not be given unto infants, but why baptiſm, none.

30. At the laſt they object, that there is no greater cauſe why baptiſm ſhould be given to infants, than the Lord's ſupper, which yet is not granted them. As though the ſcripture did not every way expreſs a large difference. The ſame was indeed uſually done in the old church, as it appeareth by Cyprian and Auguſtine: but that manner is worthily grown out of uſe. For if we conſider the nature and property of baptiſm, it is truly an entry into the church, and as it were a form of admiſſion, whereby we are numbered the people of God, a ſign of our ſpiritual regeneration by which we are born again into the children of God: whereas on the other ſide the ſupper is given to them that are more grown in age, who having paſſed tender infancy, are now able to bear ſtrong meat. Which difference is very evidently ſhewed in the ſcripture. For there the Lord ſo much as pertaineth to baptiſm, maketh no choice of ages. But he doth not likewiſe give the ſupper to all to take part of it, but only to them who are fit to diſcern the body and blood of the Lord, to examine their own conſcience, to declare the Lord's death, to weigh the power thereof. Would we have any thing plainer, than that which the Apoſtle teacheth when he exhorteth that every man ſhould prove and examine himſelf, and then eat of this bread and drink of this cup? Therefore examination muſt go before, which ſhould in vain be looked for of infants. Again, he that eateth unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himſelf, not diſcerning the Lord's body. 1 Cor. xi. 28. If none can partake worthily but they that can well diſcern the holineſs of the Lord's body, why ſhould we give to our tender children, poiſon inſtead of lively food? What is that commandment of the Lord, ye ſhall do it in remembrance of me? what is that other which the Apoſtle deriveth from the ſame. So oft as ye ſhall eat of this bread, ye ſhall declare the Lord's death till he come? What remembrance (I beſeech you) ſhall we require at our infants of the thing which they never attained with underſtanding, what preaching of the croſs of Chriſt, the force and benefit whereof they do not yet comprehend in mind? None of theſe things is preſcribed in baptiſm. Therefore between theſe two ſigns is great difference: which we note alſo in like ſigns in the Old Teſtament; circumciſion, which is known to anſwer to our baptiſm, was appointed for infants. But the paſſover into whoſe place the ſupper hath now ſucceeded, did not receive all manner of gueſts without difference. But was rightly eaten of them only that might by age enquire of the ſignification of it. If theſe men had remaining one crumb of ſound brain, would they be blind at a thing ſo clear and offering itſelf to ſight.

Twenty arguments of Servetus againſt the baptiſm of children anſwered.

31. Although it grieveth me to load the readers with a heap of trifles: yet it ſhall be worth the pains briefly to wipe away ſuch gay reaſons as Servetus not the leaſt of the Anabaptiſts, yea the great glory of that company, thought himſelf to bring when he prepared himſelf to conflict. 1. He alledgeth that Chriſt's ſigns as they are perfect, ſo do require them that be perfect or able to conceive perfection. But the ſolution is eaſy: that the perfection of baptiſm, which extendeth even to death, is wrongfully reſtrained to one point of time. I ſay yet further that perfection is fooliſhly required in man at the firſt day, whereunto baptiſm allureth us all our life long, by continual degrees. 2. He objecteth that Chriſt's ſigns were ordained for remembrance, that every man ſhould remember that he was buried together with Chriſt. I anſwer that that which he hath feigned of his own head, needeth no confutation: yea that which he draweth to baptiſm, Paul's words ſhew to be proper to the holy ſupper, that every man ſhould examine himſelf: but of baptiſm there is no where any ſuch thing. Whereupon we gather that they are rightly baptized who for their ſmallneſs of age, are not yet able to receive examination. 3. Whereas he thirdly alledgeth, that all they abide in death who believe not the Son of God, and that the wrath of God abideth upon them: John iii. 36. and therefore that infants which cannot believe lie in their damnation: I anſwer that Chriſt there ſpeaketh not of the general guiltineſs wherewith all the poſterity of Adam are enwrapped, but only threatneth the deſpiſers of the goſpel, which do proudly and ſtubbornly refuſe the grace offered them. But this nothing pertaineth to infants. Alſo I ſet a contrary reaſon againſt them: that whomſoever Chriſt bleſſeth, he is diſcharged from

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the curſe of Adam and the wrath of God: ſince therefore it is known that infants are bleſſed of him, it followeth that they are diſcharged from death. Then he falſly cited that which is no where read, that whoſoever is born of the Spirit heareth the voice of the Spirit. Which although we grant to be written, yet ſhall prove nothing elſe but that the faithful are framed to obedience, according as the Spirit worketh in them. But that which is ſpoken of a certain number, it is faulty to draw indifferently to all. 4. Fourthly, he objecteth: becauſe that goeth before which is natural 1 Cor. xv. 46. we muſt tarry ripe time for baptiſm which is ſpiritual. But although I grant that all the poſterity of Adam begotten of the fleſh from the very womb bear their own damnation, yet I deny that that withſtandeth but that God may preſently bring remedy. For neither ſhall Servetus prove that there were many years appointed by God that the ſpiritualneſs of life may begin. As Paul teſtifieth, although they who are born of the faithful are by nature damned: yet by ſupernatural grace they are ſaved. 1 Cor. vii. 14. 5. Then he bringeth forth an allegory, that David going up into the tower of Zion, did lead neither blind men nor lame men with him but ſtrong ſoldiers. 2 Sam. v. 8. But what if I ſet a parable againſt it, wherein God calleth to the heavenly banquet blind men and lame men: Luke xiv. 21. how will Servetus unwind himſelf out of this knot? I aſk alſo whether lame and maimed men had not firſt been ſoldiers with David. But it is ſuperfluous to tarry longer upon this reaſon, which the readers ſhall find by the holy hiſtory to be made of mere falſhood. 6. There followeth another allegory, that the Apoſtles were fiſhers of men, not of little children. Matth. iv. 19. But I aſk, what that ſaying of Chriſt meaneth, that into the net of the goſpel are gathered all kinds of fiſhes. Matth. xiii. 47. But becauſe I like not to play with allegories, I anſwer that when the office of teaching was enjoined to the Apoſtles, yet they were not forbidden from baptizing of infants. Howbeit I would yet know, when the Evangeliſt nameth them *Anthropous*, men, (in which word is comprehended all mankind without exception) why they ſhould deny infants to be men. 7. Seventhly he alledgeth, that ſince ſpiritual things agree with ſpiritual, 1 Cor. ii. 13. infants who are not ſpiritual, are alſo not meet for baptiſm. But firſt it is plainly evident how wrongfully they wreſt the place of Paul. There is treated of doctrine: when the Corinthians did too much ſtand in their own conceit for vain ſharpneſs of wit, Paul rebuketh their ſluggiſhneſs, for that they were yet to be inſtructed in the firſt introduction of heavenly wiſdom. Who can thereof gather that baptiſm is to be denied to infants, whom being begotten of the fleſh, God doth by free adoption make holy to himſelf? Whereas he ſaith, that they muſt be fed with ſpiritual meat, if they be new men, the ſolution is eaſy, that by baptiſm they are admitted into the flock of Chriſt, and that the ſign of adoption ſufficeth them, till being grown to age they are able to bear ſtrong meat: that therefore the time of examination which God expreſly requireth in the holy ſupper, muſt be tarried for. Afterward he objecteth that Chriſt calleth all his to the holy ſupper. But it is certain enough that he admitteth none, but them that are already prepared to celebrate the remembrance of his death. Whereupon followeth that infants whom he vouchſafeth to embrace, do ſtay in a ſeparate and proper degree by themſelves till they grow to age, and yet are not ſtrangers. 8. Whereas he ſaith, that it is monſtrous that a man after that he is born, ſhould not eat: I anſwer that ſouls are otherwiſe fed than by the outward eating of the ſupper: and that therefore Chriſt is nevertheleſs meat to infants, although they abſtain from the ſign. But of baptiſm the caſe is otherwiſe, by which only the gate into the church is opened to them. 9. Again he objecteth that a good ſteward diſtributeth meat to the houſhold in due time. Matth. xxiv. 46. Which although I willingly grant: yet by what right will he appoint unto us the certain time of baptiſm, that he may prove that it is not given to infants out of time. 10. Moreover he bringeth in that commandment of Chriſt to the Apoſtles, that they ſhould make haſte into the harveſt, while the fields wax white. John iv. 35. Verily Chriſt meaneth this only, that the Apoſtles ſeeing the fruit of their labour preſent, ſhould the more cheerfully prepare themſelves to teach. Who ſhall therefore gather that the only time of harveſt is the ripe time for baptiſm? 11. His eleventh reaſon is, that in the firſt church Chriſtians and diſciples were all one: Acts xi. 26. but we ſee now that he fooliſhly reaſoneth from the part to the whole. Diſciples are called men of full age, who had been already thoroughly taught, and had profeſſed Chriſt: as it behoved that the Jews under the law ſhould be the diſciples of Moſes: yet no man ſhall thereof rightly gather, that infants were ſtrangers, whom the Lord hath teſtified to be of his own houſhold. 12. Beſides theſe he

he allegeth, that all Christians are brethren, in which number infants are not unto us, so long as we debar them from the supper. But I return to that principle, that none are heirs of the kingdom of heaven, but they that are the members of Christ: then, that the embracing of Christ was a true token of the adoption, whereby infants are joined in common with full grown men, and that they abstaining for a time from the supper withstandeth not but that they pertain to the body of the church. Neither did the thief that was converted on the cross, cease to be brother to the godly, although he never came to the supper. 13. Afterward he addeth, that none is made our brother but by the spirit of adoption, which is given only by the hearing of faith. I answer, that he still falleth back into the same deceitful argument, because he wiredraweth that to infants which was spoken only of grown men. Paul teacheth there that this is God's ordinary manner of calling to bring his elect to the faith, when he stirreth up to them faithful teachers, by whose ministry and labour he reacheth his hand to them. Who dare thereby appoint a law to him, but that he may by some other secret way graff infants into Christ? 14. Where he objecteth that Cornelius was baptized after he had received the holy Ghost: Acts x. 24. how wrongfully he doth out of one example gather a general rule, appeareth by the eunuch and the Samaritans, Acts viii. 27. in whom the Lord kept a contrary order, that baptism went before the gifts of the holy Ghost. 15. The fifteenth reason is more than foolish. He saith that we are by regeneration made gods: and that they be gods to whom the word of God is spoken, John i. 35. which accordeth not to children that be infants. Whereas he feigneth a godhead to the faithful, that is one of his dotages, which it pertaineth not to this present place to examine. But to wrest the place of the Psalm to so contrary a sense, is a point of desperate shamelessness. Christ saith, that kings and magistrates are called of the prophets gods, because they bear an office appointed them of God. But that which concerning the special commandment of government is directed to certain men, this handsome expositor draweth to the doctrine of the gospel, that he may banish infants out of the church. 16. Again he objecteth, that infants cannot be accounted new men, because they are not begotten by the word. But I do now again repeat that which I have often said, that to regenerate us, doctrine is the uncorruptible seed, if we be fit to receive it: but when by reason of age there is not yet in us aptness to learn, God keepeth his decrees of regenerating. 17. Afterward he cometh back to his allegories, that in the law a sheep and a goat were not offered in sacrifice so soon as they came out of the womb. If I listed to draw figures to this purpose, I could readily object against them, that all first begotten things were consecrate to God so soon as they had opened the womb: then that a lamb must be killed at a years age. Exod. xiii. 2. Exod xii. 5. Whereupon followeth that manly strength is not to be tarried for, but rather that the new and yet tender issues are chosen of God for sacrifices. 18. Furthermore he affirmeth that none can come to Christ but they that have been prepared of John. As though John's office were not enduring but for a time. But to omit this truly that same preparation was not in the children whom Christ embraced and blessed, Wherefore let him go with his false principle. 19. At length he calleth for patrons Trismegistus and the Sibylles, to prove that holy washings pertain not but to them that are of grown age. Lo how honourably he thinketh of the baptism of Christ, which he reduceth to the ceremonies of the Gentiles, that it may be no otherwise ministred than pleaseth Trismegistus. But we more esteem the authority of God, whom it hath pleased to make infants holy to himself, and to admit them with the holy sign, the force whereof they did not yet by age understand. Neither do we count it lawful to borrow out of the cleansings of the Gentiles any thing that may change in our baptism the everlasting and inviolable law of God, which he hath stablished concerning circumcision. Last of all, he maketh this argument: that if it be lawful to baptise infants without understanding, then baptism may irreverently and in sport be ministred to boys when they play. But of this matter let him quarrel with God by whose commandment circumcision was common to infants before that they had attained understanding. Was it therefore a matter of sport, or subject to the follies of children, that they might overthrow the holy ordinance of God? But it is no wonder that these reprobate spirits, as though they were vexed with a phrensy, do thrust in all the grossest absurdities for defence of their errors, because God doth with such giddiness justly take vengeance of their pride and stubbornness. Verily I trust I have made plain with how feeble succours Servetus hath holpen his silly brethren the Anabaptists.

32. Now I think it will be doubtful to no sober man, how *The drift of*

Satan inflaming up contention about the baptism of infants.

rashly they trouble the church of Christ, that move brawls and contentions for the baptism of infants. But it is profitable to consider, what Satan goeth about with this so great subtilty: even to take away from us the singular fruit of affiance and spiritual joy which is to be gathered hereof, and to diminish as much also the glory of the goodness of God. For how sweet is it to godly minds, to be certified not only by word, but also by sight to be seen with eyes, that they obtain so much favour with the heavenly Father, that he hath also care of their posterity? For here it is to be seen, how he taketh upon him the person of a most provident father of household toward us, which even after our death doth not lay away his carefulness of us, but provideth and foreseeth for our children. Ought we not here after the example of David with all our heart to leap up unto thanksgiving, that by such shew of his goodness, his name may be sanctified? Psal. xlviii. 11. This, verily Satan intendeth, in assailing with so great armies the baptism of infants: namely, that this testifying of the grace of God being taken away, the promise which by it is present before our eyes, may at length by little and little vanish away. Whereupon should grow not only a wicked unthankfulness toward the mercy of God, but also a certain slothfulness in instructing our children to godliness. For by this spur we are not a little pricked forward to bring them up in earnest fear of God and in the keeping of his law, when we consider that even immediately from their birth, he taketh and acknowlegeth them for his children. Wherefore unless we list enviously to darken the bountifulness of God, let us offer to him our children, to whom he giveth a place among them that are of his family and household, that is to say, the members of the church.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the holy supper of Christ; and what it availeth us.

The sacrament of the supper of Christ instituted to testify that our souls are not only once made alive, but continually kept and nourished by Christ as by food.

AFTER that God hath once received us into his family, and not only to take us as his servants but as his children: that he may fulfil the office of a most good father, and careful for his issue he taketh also upon him to nourish us throughout the whole course of our life. And not contented therewith, it pleased him by a pledge given, to assure us of this continual liberality. To this end therefore he hath given his church another sacrament by the hand of his only begotten son, namely a spiritual banket, wherein Christ testifieth himself to be the quickning bread, wherewith our souls are fed to true and blessed immortality. But forasmuch as the knowlege of so great a mystery is very necessary, and according to the greatness thereof, requireth a diligent declaration: and Satan, that he might bereave the church of this inestimable treasure, hath long ago spread mists, and since that time darkness, to obscure the light of it. and then hath stirred strifes and battels that might estrange the minds of the simple from tasting of this holy food, and knit up the sum from the capacity of the unlearned; I will undo those knots, wherewith Satan hath endeavoured to snare the world First, bread and wine are signs, which represent unto us the invisible food, which we receive of the flesh and blood of Christ. For as in baptism God again begetting us doth graff us into the fellowship of his church, and by adoption doth make us his own: so we have said that he performeth the office of a provident father of household, in this that he continually ministreth us meat, that he sustaineth and preserveth us in that life whereunto he hath by his word begotten us. Now the only meat of our soul is Christ, and therefore the heavenly Father calleth us to him, that being refreshed with common partaking of him, we may from time to time gather lively force, until we attain to heavenly immortality. But forasmuch as this mystery of the secret uniting of Christ with the godly is by nature impossible to be comprehended, he giveth the figure and image thereof in visible signs most fit for our small capacity: yea, as it were by earnest and tokens given, he maketh it so assured unto us as if it were seen with our eyes, because this so familiar a similitude entreth even to the grossest minds, that souls are so fed with Christ, as bread and wine do sustain the bodily life. Now therefore we have it declared, to what end this mystical blessing tendeth, namely to assure us, that the body of the Lord was so

so once offered for us, that we now eat it, and in eating it do feel in us the effectual working of that only sacrifice that his blood was so once shed for us, that it is unto us continual drink. And so sound the words of the promise there adjoined. Take, this is my body, which is delivered for you. The body therefore which was once offered up for our salvation, we are commanded to take and eat: that when we see our selves to be made partakers of this, we may certainly determine that the power of his death which bringeth life shall be effectual in us. Whereupon also he calleth the cup the covenant in his blood. For after a certain manner it reneweth, or rather continueth the covenant which he hath once established with his blood, so much as pertaineth to the confirming of our faith, so oft as he reacheth unto us that holy blood to be tasted of. Mat. xxvi. 26. and xiv. 17. Luke xxii. 19. 1 Cor. xi. 24.

The exchange which Christ hath made by taking that upon him which was ours, and communicating that which is his to us confirmed by this sacramant.

2. A great fruit verily of affiance and sweetness may godly souls gather of this sacrament, because they have a witness that we are grown together into one body with Christ so that whatsoever is his we may call ours. Hereupon followeth that we may boldly promise unto ourselves, that everlasting life is ours, whereof he is heir: and that the kingdom of heaven, whereunto he is now entered, can no more fall away from us than from him: again, that we cannot now be condemned for our sins, from the guiltiness whereof he hath acquitted us, when he willed them to be imputed to himself as if they were his own. This is the marvellous exchange, which of his immeasurable bountifulness he hath made with us: that he being made with us the son of man, hath made us with him the sons of God: that by his coming down into earth, he hath made us a way to go up into heaven: that putting upon him our mortality, he hath given us his immortality: that taking on him our weakness he hath strengthened us with his power: that taking our poverty to himself, he hath conveyed his riches to us: that taking to him the weight of our unrighteousness, wherewith we were oppressed, he hath clothed us with his righteousness.

Christ truly given and made ours in this sacrament the whole pith whereof in a manner standeth herein, that for us the body and blood of Christ were offered which we receive represented under bread and wine, to teach that they are to the soul the same which these visible creatures are to the body.

3. Of all these things we have so full a witnessing in this sacrament, that we must certainly determine, that Christ is truly given us, as if Christ himself were set present before our eyes, and handled with our hands. For this word can neither lie to us, nor mock us: Take, eat, drink: this is my body, which is delivered for you: this is the blood which is into the forgiveness of sins. Whereas he commandeth to take, he signifieth that it is ours. Whereas he commandeth to eat, he signifieth that he is made one substance with us. Whereas he saith of the body that it is delivered for us: of the blood that it is shed for us: therein he teacheth that both are not so much his as ours: because he took and laid away both, not for his behoof, but to our salvation. And truly it is to be diligently marked, that the chief, and in a manner, whole pith of the sacrament standeth in these words. Which is delivered for you, which is shed for you. For otherwise it should not much profit us, that the body and blood of our Lord are now distributed, unless they had been once given forth for our redemption and salvation. Therefore they are represented under bread and wine, that we should learn that they are not only ours, but also ordained for the nourishment of spiritual life. This is it that we before said, that from the corporal things which are shewed forth in the sacraments, we are by a certain proportional relation guided to spiritual things. So when bread is given us for a sign of the body of Christ, we ought by and by to conceive this similitude: as bread nourisheth, sustaineth, and maintaineth the life of our body: so the body of Christ is the only meat to quicken and give life to our soul. When we see wine set forth for a sign of his blood; we must call to mind what uses wine is of to the body, that we may consider that the same are brought to us spiritually by the blood of Christ: those uses are to cherish, to refresh, to strengthen, to make merry. For if we sufficiently weigh, what the delivering of this holy body, what the shedding of this holy blood, hath profited us: we shall plainly perceive that these things which are spoken of bread and wine, according to such proportional relation do very well accord with them toward us when they are communicated unto us.

The highest consideration in this sacrament is of

4. Therefore the chief parts of the sacrament are not simply and without higher consideration to reach to us the body of Christ:

the promiſe whereby Chriſt hath teſtified his fleſh to be meat and his blood to be drink indeed.

but rather that ſame promiſe, whereby he teſtifieth, that his fleſh is veriily meat, and his blood is drink, with which we are fed into eternal life: whereby he affirmeth himſelf to be the bread of life, of which whoſoever eateth, he ſhall live for ever: to ſeal, I ſay, and confirm that promiſe: and for bringing the ſame to paſs, to ſend us to the croſs of Chriſt, where that promiſe hath been truly performed, and in all points fulfilled. For we do not well and healthfully eat Chriſt but crucified, when we do with lively feeling conceive the effectualneſs of his death. For whereas he calleth himſelf the bread of life, he doth not borrow the name of the ſacrament, as ſome do wrongfully expound it: but becauſe he was given us ſuch of the Father, and performed himſelf ſuch, when being made partaker of our human mortality, he made us partners of his divine immortality: when offering himſelf for ſacrifice, he took our accurſedneſs upon himſelf, that he might fill us with bleſſing: when with his death he devoured and ſwallowed up death: when in his reſurrection he raiſed up this our corruptible fleſh which he had put on, to glory and incorruption.

This ſacrament maketh not Chriſt to be the bread of life, but teſtifieth unto us that he is ſo to ſuch as receive him in the due eſtimation of thoſe myſteries whereby he is received, to receive him to eat his fleſh and to drink his blood an effect of belief and a thing to be diſtinguiſhed from faith.

5. It remaineth that by application all the ſame may come to us. That is done, both by the goſpel, and more clearly by the holy ſupper, where both he offereth himſelf to us with all his good things, and we receive him by faith. Wherefore the ſacrament maketh not that Chriſt firſt beginneth to be the bread of life: but when it bringeth into remembrance that he was made the bread of life, which we continually eat, and when it giveth unto us the taſte and ſavour of that bread, then it maketh us to feel the ſtrength of that bread. For it promiſeth us, that whatſoever Chriſt did or ſuffered, the ſame was done to give life to us. Then, that this giving of life is everlaſting, by which we may without end be nouriſhed, ſuſtained, and preſerved in life. For as Chriſt ſhould not have been to us the bread of life, unleſs he had been born and had died for us, unleſs he had riſen again for us: ſo now he ſhould not be the ſame unleſs the effectualneſs and fruit of his birth, death and reſurrection, were an everlaſting and immortal thing. All which Chriſt hath very well expreſſed in theſe words. The bread which I will give, is my fleſh, which I will give for the life of the world. By which words without doubt he ſignifieth, that his body ſhould therefore be to us for bread, to the ſpiritual life of the ſoul, becauſe it ſhould be given forth to death for our ſalvation: and that it is delivered to us to eat of it, when by faith he maketh us partakers of it. Once therefore he gave it, that he might be made bread, when he gave forth himſelf to be crucified for the redemption of the world: daily he giveth it, when by the word of the goſpel he offereth it to us to be received, ſo far as it was crucified: where he ſealeth that deliverence with the holy myſtery of the ſupper: where he inwardly fulfilleth that which he outwardly betokeneth. Now herein we muſt beware of two faults, that neither doing too much in abaſing the ſigns, we ſeem to pluck them from their myſteries to which they are in a manner faſt knit: nor that being immeaſurable in advancing the ſame, we ſeem in the mean time ſomewhat to darken the myſteries themſelves. That Chriſt is the bread of life, wherewith the faithful are nouriſhed into eternal ſalvation, there is no man but he granteth, unleſs he be altogether without religion. But this point is not likewiſe agreed upon among all men, what is the manner of partaking of him. For there be that in one word define, that to eat the fleſh of Chriſt and to drink his blood, is nothing elſe but to believe in Chriſt himſelf. But I think that Chriſt meant ſome certainer and higher thing, in that notable ſermon where he commendeth to us the eating of his fleſh, namely, that we are quickened by the true partaking of him: which alſo he therefore expreſſed by the words of eating and drinking, leſt any man ſhould think, that the life which we receive of him is conceived by bare knowlege only. For as not the ſight but the eating of bread ſufficeth the body for nouriſhment; ſo it behoveth that the ſoul be truly and throughly made partaker of Chriſt, that by the power of him it may be quickened into a ſpiritual life. But in the mean time we confeſs that there is no other eating but of faith; as there can no other be imagined. But this is the difference between my words and theirs, that with them to eat is only to believe: but I ſay that the fleſh of Chriſt is eaten with believing, becauſe by faith he is made ours, and I ſay that eating is the fruit and effect of faith. Or if you will have it plainer, with them eating is faith: and I think it rather to follow faith. In words verily the difference is but ſmall:

but

but in the thing itself, not small. For though the apostle teacheth that Christ dwelleth in our hearts by faith: Eph. iii. 17. yet no man will expound this dwelling to be faith: but all men do perceive there is expressed a singular effect of faith, for that by it the faithful do obtain to have Christ dwelling in them. After this manner the Lord meant, in in calling himself the bread of life, John vi. 51. not only to teach that in the faith of his death and resurrection, salvation is reposed for us: but also that by true partaking of himself it is brought to pass, that his life passeth into us, and becometh ours: like as bread, when it is taken for food, ministreth liveliness to the body.

The meaning of saint Augustine and saint Chrysostome when they speak of the participation of the body of Christ.

6. Neither did Augustine, whom they bring in for their patron, in any other meaning write that we eat by believing, than to shew that this eating is of faith, not of the mouth. Which I also deny not: but yet therewithal I add, that we do by faith embrace Christ, not appearing afar off, but making himself one with us, that he may be our head, and we his members. Yet do not I utterly disallow that manner of speaking: but only I deny it to be a full declaration, if they mean to define what it is to eat the flesh of Christ. Otherwise I see that Augustine hath oft used this form of speech: as when he saith in the third book of christian doctrine, Unless ye eat the flesh of the son of man: this is a figure teaching that we must communicate with the passion of the Lord, and must sweetly and profitably lay up in remembrance that for us his flesh was crucified and wounded. Again when he saith that the three thousand men that were converted at Peter's sermon, Acts ii. 41. did drink the blood of Christ by believing, which they had shed by cruel dealing. (*Hom. in Joh.* 31. *and* 40.) But in many other places he honourably setteth out that benefit of faith, that by it our souls are no less refreshed with the communicating of the flesh of Christ, than our bodies are with the bread which they eat. And the same is it which in a certain place Chrysostom writeth, that Christ doth not only by faith, but also really maketh us his body. *Hom.* 60. For he meaneth not that we do from any other where than from faith, obtain such a benefit: but this only he meaneth to exclude that none when he heareth faith to be named, should conceive a naked imagination. As for them that will have the supper to be only a mark of outward profession, I do now pass them over: because I think that I have sufficiently confuted their error, when I treated of sacraments in general. Only this thing let the readers mark, that when the cup is called the covenant in the blood, Luk. xxii. 20. there is a promise expressed that may be of force to confirm faith. Whereupon followeth, that unless we have respect to God, and embrace that which he offereth, we do not rightly use the holy supper.

They strain the communion of Christ too narrowly who make it nothing but the participation of his spirit only.

7. Moreover they also do not satisfy who acknowlegeing that we have some communion with Christ, when they mean to express it, do make us partakers only of the spirit, without making any mention of flesh and blood. As though all those things were spoken of nothing, that his flesh is verily meat, that his blood is verily drink: that none hath life, but he that eateth that flesh, and drinketh that blood: and such other sayings that belong to the same end. Wherefore if it be certain that the full communicating of Christ proceedeth beyond their description, as it is too narrowly strained: I will now go about to sum up in few words, how large it is, and how far it extendeth it self, before that I speak of the contrary fault of excess. For I shall have a longer disputation with the excessive teachers, who, when according to their own grossness they frame a manner of eating and drinking full of absurdity, do also transfigure Christ stripped out of this flesh into a fantasy: if yet a man may with any words comprehended so great a mystery, which I see that I can not sufficiently comprehend with mind: and therefore I do willingly confess it, that no man should measure the highness thereof by the small proportion of my childishness. But rather I exhort the readers, that they do not restrain the sense of their minds within these two narrow bounds: but endeavour to rise up much higher, than they can by my guiding. For I myself, so oft as I speak of this thing when I have laboured to say all, think that I have yet said but little in respect of the worthiness thereof. And although the mind can do more in thinking than the tongue in expressing: yet with the greatness of the thing, the mind also is surmounted aud overwhelmed. Finally therefore nothing remaineth, but that I must break forth into admiration of that mystery, which neither the mind can suffice to think of, nor the tongue to declare. Yet after such a manner as I can, I will set forth the sum of my sentence: which as I nothing doubt

be true, so I trust that it will not be disallowed of godly hearts.

Christ from the beginning the fountain of life, by taking our flesh maketh it of power, being fed on, to be sustenance that nourisheth on to immortality.

8. First of all, we are taught out of the scripture, that Christ was from the beginning that life-bringing word of the Father, the fountain and original of life, from whence all things ever received their having of life. Wherefore John sometimes calleth him the word of life, and sometimes writeth that life was in him: meaning that he even then flowing into all creatures, poured into them the power of breathing and living. Yet the same John addeth afterward, that the life was then and not till then openly shewed, when the Son of God taking upon him our flesh gave himself to be seen with eyes, and felt with hands. For though he did before also spread abroad his power into the creatures: yet because man, being by sin estranged from God, having lost the communion of life, saw on every side death hanging over him: that he might recover hope of immortality, it behoved that he should be received into the communion of that word. For how small a confidence mayest thou conceive thereof if thou hear that the word of God indeed, from which thou art most far removed, containeth in it self the fulness of life, but in thy self and round about thee nothing offereth it self and is present before thine eyes but death? But since that fountain of life began to dwell in our flesh, now it lieth not a far off hidden from us, but presently delivereth it self to be partaken of us. Yea and it maketh the very flesh, wherein it resteth, to be of power to bring life to us, that by partaking thereof we may be fed to immortality. I am (saith he) the bread of life, that am come down from heaven. And the bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world. John vi. 48. and 58. In which words he teacheth not only that he is life, in respect that he is the eternal word of God which came down to us from heaven, but that in coming down he poured the same power into the flesh which he did put on, that from thence the communicating of life might flow forth unto us. Hereupon also these things now follow, that his flesh is verily meat, and his blood is verily drink, with which sustenances the faithful are nourished into eternal life. Herein therefore consisteth singular comfort to the godly, that now they find life in their own flesh. For so they do not only with easy passage attain unto it, but have it of it self laid abroad for them and offering it self unto them. Only let them hold open the bosom of their heart that they may embrace it being present, and they shall obtain it.

The flesh of Christ being (tho' not of it self) an unwasted fountain from whence life floweth; he that will live must of necessity be partaker thereof, and have fellowship with it.

9. But although the flesh of Christ have not so great power of it self, that it can give life to us, which both in its first estate was subject to mortality, and now being endued with immortality, liveth not by itself: yet it is rightfully called life-bringing, which is filled with fulness of life to pour it into us. In which meaning I do with Cyril expound that saying of Christ: as the Father hath life in himself, so he hath also given to the Son to have life in himself. John. v. 19. For there he properly speaketh of his gifts, not which he from the beginning possessed with the Father, but with which he was garnished in the same flesh in which he appeared. Therefore he sheweth that in his manhood also dwelleth the fulness of life, that whosoever partaketh of his flesh and blood, may therewithal also enjoy the partaking of life. Of what sort that is, we may declare by a familiar example. For as out of a fountain water is sometimes drunk, sometimes is drawn, sometimes by furrows, is conveyed to the watering of grounds, which yet of it self doth not overflow into so many uses, but from the very spring itself which with everlasting flowing yieldeth and ministreth unto it from time to time new abundance: so the flesh of Christ is like a rich and unwasted fountain which poureth into us the life, springing from the Godhead into it self. Now who seeth not that the communion of the flesh and blood of Christ is necessary to all that aspire to heavenly life? Hereunto tendeth that saying of the Apostle, that the church is the body of Christ and the fulfilling of it: and that he is the head out of which the whole body coupled and knit together by joints maketh increase of the body: that our bodies are the members of Christ. All which things we understand to be impossible to be brought to pass, but that he must wholly cleave to us in spirit and body. But that most near fellowship whereby we are coupled with his flesh, he hath yet set out with a more glorious title, when he said that we are members of his body, and are of his bones and of his flesh. At the last, to declare it to be a matter greater than all words, he concludeth his saying with an exclamation. This is (saith he) a great mystery. Eph. v. 30. Therefore it should be

be a point of extreme madneſs to acknowlege no communion of the faithful when the fleſh and blood of the Lord, which the apoſtle declareth to be ſo great, that he had rather wonder at it than expreſs it.

The body and blood of Chriſt truly given us, and not bare and naked figures thereof in this ſacrament.

10. Let the ſum be, that our ſouls are ſo fed with the fleſh and blood of Chriſt, as bread and wine do maintain and ſuſtain the bodily life. For otherwiſe the proportional relation of the ſign ſhould not agree, unleſs ſouls did find their food in Chriſt, Which cannot be done, unleſs Chriſt do truly grow into one with us, and refreſh us with the eating of his fleſh and drinking of his blood. But although it ſeem incredible, that in ſo great diſtance of places the fleſh of Chriſt reacheth to us that it may be meat to us: let us remember how much the ſecret power of the Spirit ſurmounteth above all our ſenſes, and how fooliſh it is to go about to meaſure his unmeaſurableneſs by our meaſure. That therefore which our mind comprehendeth not, let our faith conceive, that the Spirit truly knitteth in one thoſe things that are ſevered in places. Now that ſame holy communicating of his body and blood, whereby Chriſt poureth his life into us, even as if he had pierced it into our bones and marrows, he in the ſupper alſo teſtifieth and ſealeth: and that not with ſetting before us a vain or void ſign, but bringing forth there the effectual working of his ſpirit whereby he fulfilleth that which he promiſeth. And verily he there offereth and delivereth the thing ſignified to all them that ſit at that ſpiritual banquet: although it be received with fruit of the faithful only, which receive ſo great bountifulneſs with true faith and thankfulneſs of mind. After which manner the Apoſtle ſaid, that the bread which we break is the communion of the body of Chriſt: and that the cup which we hallow with the word and prayers to that purpoſe, is the communion of his blood. 2 Cor x. 16. Neither is there any cauſe why any man ſhould object, that it is a figurative ſpeech, by which the name of the thing ſignified is given to the ſign. I grant verily that the breaking of the bread is a ſign, not the thing it ſelf. But this being admitted, yet we ſhall rightly gather of the deliverance of the ſign, that the thing it ſelf is delivered. For unleſs a man will call God a deceiver, he can never be ſo bold as to ſay that he ſetteth before us an empty ſign. Therefore if by the breaking of bread the Lord doth truly repreſent the partaking of his body, it ought to be out of doubt, that he truly performeth and delivereth it. And this rule, is always to be holden of the godly, that ſo oft as they ſee the ſigns ordained of the Lord, they certainly think and perſuade themſelves that the truth of the thing ſignified is there preſent. For to what purpoſe ſhould the Lord deliver into thy hand the ſign of his body, but to aſſure thee of the true partaking of it? If it be true, that a viſible ſign is given us, to ſeal the gift of an inviſible thing: when we receive the ſign of the body, let us no leſs certainly believe that the body it ſelf alſo is given us.

Chriſt himſelf by faith, even his body and blood truly participated, in this ſacrament.

11. I ſay therefore (which both hath been always received in the church, and all they teach at this day that think right) that the holy myſtery of the ſupper conſiſteth of two things: that is to ſay of the bodily ſigns, which being ſet before our eyes do repreſent unto us inviſible things: according to the capacity of our weakneſs: and of ſpiritual truth, which is by thoſe ſigns both figured and delivered. Of what ſort that is, when I mean to ſhew it familiarly, I uſe to ſet three things: the ſignification, the matter which dependeth on the ſignification, the virtue or effect which followeth of both. The ſignification conſiſteth in the promiſes, which are after a certain manner wrapped together with the ſign. The matter or ſubſtance I call Chriſt with his death and reſurrection. By effect I underſtand the redemption, righteouſneſs, ſanctification and eternal life, and whatſoever other benefits Chriſt bringeth us. Now although all theſe things have reſpect to faith: yet I leave no place to this cavil; as though when I ſay that Chriſt is received by faith, I would have him conceived with underſtanding only and imagination. For the promiſes offer him, not that we ſhould ſtick faſt in the ſight alone and in bare knowlege: but that we ſhould enjoy the true communicating of him. And truly I ſee not how any man may have confidence that he hath redemption and righteouſneſs in the croſs of Chriſt, and life in his death, but principally ſtanding upon the true communion of Chriſt himſelf. For thoſe good things ſhould not come to us unleſs Chriſt firſt made himſelf ours. I ſay therefore, that in the myſtery of the ſupper, by the ſigns of bread and wine Chriſt is truly delivered to us, yea and his body and blood, in which he hath fulfilled all obedience for purchaſing of righteouſneſs to us: namely that firſt we ſhould grow together into one body with him: and then being made partakers of his

ſubſtance,

ſubſtance, we may alſo feel his power in the communicating of all his good things.

A local preſence of the body of Chriſt not needful unto this that we may enjoy the partaking of it which the ſpirit of Chriſt perfoꝛmeth without ſuch groſſneſs.

12. Now I come down to the exceſſive mixtures, which ſuperſtition hath brought in. For herein Satan hath played with marvellous ſubtilty, that withdrawing the minds of men from heaven, he might fill them with perverſe error, as though Chriſt were faſtned to the element of bread. And firſt we muſt not dream of ſuch a preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, as the craftſmen of the court of Rome have feigned: as though the body of Chriſt were made preſent with preſence of place, to be handled with hands, to be bruiſed with teeth, and ſwallowed with mouth. For this form of recantation Pope Nicholas endited to Berengarius, to be a witneſs of his repentance: namely with words ſo far monſtrous, that the author of the gloſs crieth out that there is danger, if the readers do not wiſely take heed to themſelves, leſt they ſuck out of them an hereſy worſe than was that of Berengarius. In the ſecond diſtinction, in the chapter beginning thus, *Ego Berengarius.* But Peter Lombard, although he labour much in excuſing the abſurdity, yet more inclineth to the contrary ſentence. For as we do not doubt that it hath limits according to the perpetual nature of the body of men, and is holden in heaven, into which it was once received, until he return to judgment: ſo to draw it back under theſe corruptible elements or to imagine it preſent every where, we account it to be utterly unlawful. Neither verily is it ſo needful to this that we may enjoy the partaking of it: foraſmuch as the Lord giveth us this benefit by his ſpirit that we be made one with him in body, ſpirit, and ſoul. The bond therefore of this union is the ſpirit of Chriſt, by the uniting whereof we are coupled together, and as it were a certain conduit, by which whatſoever Chriſt himſelf both is and hath, is conveyed to us. (*Chryſo. Ser de ſpiritu ſancto.*) For if we behold the ſun ſhining forth with his beams upon the earth after a certain manner to caſt forth his ſubſtance unto it to engender, nouriſh, and quicken the fruits thereof: why ſhould the extending of the beams of the ſpirit of Chriſt be inferior to convey the communion of his fleſh and blood into us? Wherefore the ſcripture, when it ſpeaketh of our partaking with Chriſt, referreth the whole virtue thereof to the ſpirit. Yet inſtead of many, one place ſhall be ſufficient. For Paul in the eight chapter to the Romans, ſaith that Chriſt dwelleth in us no otherwiſe than by his ſpirit: whereby yet he taketh not away that communion of his fleſh and blood of which we now ſpeak, but teacheth that the ſpirit alone worketh that we poſſeſs whole Chriſt and have him dwelling in us.

The manner of preſence which the ſchoolmen have deviſed in this ſacrament.

13. The ſchoolmen thought more ſhamefaſtly which were witholden with horror of ſo barbarous ungodlineſs. Yet they alſo themſelves do nothing but mock with ſubtiller deceits. They grant that Chriſt is not contained there by way of circumſcription not after a bodily manner: but afterward they invent a way, which neither themſelves do underſtand, nor can they declare to others: yet it is ſuch as falleth to this point that Chriſt muſt be ſought in the form of bread as they call it. For what is it? when they ſay that the ſubſtance of bread is turned into Chriſt, do they not faſten him to the whiteneſs which they there leave? But (ſay they) he is ſo contained in the ſacrament, that he abideth in heaven: and we determine no other preſence but of habitude. But whatſoever words they bring in, to cloak it with a deceitful colour, this is the end of all that is by conſecration made Chriſt, which before was bread: that from thenceforth Chriſt lieth hid under that colour of bread. Which alſo they are not aſhamed in plain words to expreſs. For theſe be the words of Lombard: (*Lib. 4. diſt.*) that the body of Chriſt, which in it ſelf is viſible, when the conſecration is ended, lieth hidden and is covered under the form of bread. So the form of that bread is nothing elſe but a viſor, that taketh away the ſight of the fleſh from the eyes. Neither need we many conjectures to find what ſnares they minded to lay with theſe words, ſince the thing it ſelf plainly ſpeaketh it. For it is to be ſeen with how great ſuperſtition in certain ages paſt, not only the common ſort of men, but alſo the very chief of them have been holden, and at this day are holden in Popiſh churches. For having little care of true faith (by which alone we both come into the fellowſhip of Chriſt, and do cleave together with him) ſo that they have a carnal preſence of him, which they have framed beſide the word, they think that they have him preſent enough. Therefore in ſum, we ſee that this hath been gotten by this witty ſubtilty that bread was taken of God.

Tranſubſtantiation deſtitute

14. From hence proceedeth that ſame feigned tranſubſtantiation, for which at this day they fight more earneſtly

of antiquity to defend it.

earneſtly than for all the other articles of their faith. For the firſt builders of that local preſence could not unwind themſelves from this doubt, how the body of Chriſt ſhould be mingled with the ſubſtance of bread, but that by many abſurdities did thruſt themſelves in place. Therefore they were driven of neceſſity to flee to this invention, that there is made a turning of bread into the body: not that the body is properly made of the bread, but becauſe Chriſt that he might hide himſelf under the form, bringeth the ſubſtance to nothing. But it is marvellous, that they fell to ſo great ignorance, yea ſenſeleſs dulneſs, that not only that ſcripture but alſo the conſent of the old church fighting againſt it, they brought abroad that monſter, I grant indeed that ſome of the old writers ſometimes uſed the name of turning: not for that they would deſtroy the ſubſtance in the outward ſigns, but that they might teach that the bread dedicate to the myſtery differeth far from common bread and is now other. But each where they all plainly declare, that the holy Supper conſiſteth of two parts, an earthly part, and a heavenly: and the earthly part they do without controverſy expound to be bread and wine. Truly whatſoever they bable, it is plain that in confirming of this doctrine they want the defence of antiquity, which they oftentimes preſume to ſet againſt the evident word of God. For it is not ſo long ago ſince it was invented, it was verily unknown not only to thoſe better ages, in which the purer doctrine of religion yet flouriſhed, but alſo even when that ſame pureneſs was much defiled. There is none of the old writers that do not in expreſs words confeſs that the holy ſigns in the ſupper are bread and wine. Although, as we have ſaid, they ſometimes ſet it out with divers titles, to advance the dignity of the myſtery. For whereas they ſay that in the conſecration is made of a ſecret turning, that now it is another thing than bread and wine: I have even now given warning that they do not thereby mean that the things themſelves, are brought to nought, but that they are now to be otherwiſe eſteemed than common meats, which are appointed only to feed the belly: foraſmuch as in them is delivered to us the ſpiritual meat and and drink of the ſoul. This we alſo deny not. If (ſay theſe men) there be a turning, it muſt needs be that there is or one thing made another thing. If they mean that there is ſome thing made which before was not, I agree with them. If they will draw it to that in their own imagination, let them anſwer me what change they think to be made in baptiſm. For herein the fathers alſo do determine a marvellous turning, when they ſay that of a corruptible element is made a ſpiritual waſhing of the ſoul, yet none of them deny that water remaineth. But (ſay they) there is no ſuch thing in baptiſm, as is that in the ſupper. This is my body. As though the queſtion were of thoſe words, which have a meaning plain enough: and not rather of that word of turning, which ought to ſignify no more in the ſupper than in baptiſm. Therefore farewel they with theſe ſnares of ſyllables, whereby they do nothing elſe but bewray their own hungrineſs. For otherwiſe the ſignification would not agree together unleſs the truth which is there figured, had a lively image in the outward ſign. Chriſt's will was by the outward ſign to teſtify that his fleſh is meat. If he did ſet before us only an empty imaginative form of bread not true bread, which were the correlation or ſimilitude which ſhould lead us from the viſible thing to the inviſible? For, that all things may agree together, the ſignification ſhall extend no further, but that we be fed with the form of the fleſh of Chriſt. As, if in baptiſm the form of water ſhould deceive our eyes, it ſhould not be to us a certain pledge of our waſhing: yea by that deceitful ſhew there ſhould be given us an occaſion of wavering. Therefore the nature of the ſacrament is overthrown, unleſs in the manner of ſignifying the earthly ſign anſwer to the heavenly thing. And therefore we loſe the truth of this myſtery, unleſs true bread repreſent to us the true body of Chriſt. I repeat it again: ſince the ſupper is nothing elſe, than a viſible teſtifying of that promiſe which is in the ſixth chapter of John, namely that Chriſt is the bread of life, which came down from heaven: there muſt be viſible bread uſed for a mean whereby that ſame ſpiritual bread may be figured: unleſs we will that we looſe all the fruit which in this behalf God tenderly granteth to ſuſtain our weakneſs. Now by what reaſon ſhould Paul gather, that all we are one body and one bread, 1 Cor. x 17. who do together partake of one bread, if there remained only an imaginative form and not rather a natural truth of bread?

The viſible elements in this ſacrament changed not in reſpect of their nature but of their uſe only.

15. But they could never have been ſo foully beguiled with the deceits of Satan, but becauſe they were already bewitched with this error, that the body of Chriſt incloſed under bread was by the bodily mouth ſent down into the belly. The cauſe of ſo brutiſh imagination

was, that conſecration ſignified as much among them as a magical enchantment. But this principle was drawn to them, that bread is a ſacrament to none but to men, to whom the word is directed: like as the water of baptiſm is not changed in itſelf, but ſo ſoon as the promiſe is adjoined, it beginneth to be that to us which it was not before. This ſhall better appear by example of a like ſacrament. The water ſpringing out of the rock in the deſart was to the fathers a token and ſign of the ſame thing, which the wine doth figure to us in the ſupper. Exod. xvii. 6. For Paul teacheth that they drunk the ſame ſpiritual drink. 1 Cor. x. 4. But it was a common watering for the beaſts and cattle of the people. Whereupon it is eaſily gathered, that in earthly elements, when they are applied to a ſpiritual uſe, there is made no other turning but in reſpect of men, inſomuch as they are to them ſeals of the promiſes. Moreover ſince God's purpoſe is (as I often repeat) as it were by handſome chariots to lift us up to himſelf, they do by their frowardneſs wickedly diſappoint the ſame, who do indeed call us to Chriſt, but lurking inviſibly under bread. For it is not poſſible that the mind of man, diſincumbring itſelf from the immeaſurableneſs of places, ſhould attain to Chriſt even above the heavens. That which nature denied them, they attempted to amend with a more hurtful remedy: that abiding in the earth, we ſhould need no heavenly nearneſs of Chriſt. Lo, this is the neceſſity, that compelled them to transfigure the body of Chriſt. In Bernard's time, although a harder manner of ſpeaking was grown in uſe, yet tranſubſtantiation was not then known. And in all ages before that, this ſimilitude did fly about in every man's mouth, that there is with bread and wine a ſpiritual thing joined in this myſtery. Of the words they anſwer as they think, wittily: but bring nothing fit for this preſent cauſe. The rod of Moſes (ſay they) being turned into a ſerpent, although it did get the name of a ſerpent, yet keepeth ſtill the old name, and is called a rod. Exod. iv. 3. and vii. 10. So in their opinion it is as probable, that although the bread paſs into a new ſubſtance, it may be abuſively and yet not unaptly called that which it appeareth to the eyes. But what likelihood or nearneſs find they between a clear miracle, and their feigned illuſion, of which no eye in earth is witneſs? The magicians had mocked with deceits, ſo that the Egyptians were perſuaded, that they excelled in divine power to change creatures above the order of nature. Moſes came forth, and driving away all their deceits, ſhewed that the invincible power of God was on his ſide, becauſe his own rod conſumed all the reſt. But forаſmuch as that was a turning diſcernable with eyes, therefore as we have ſaid, it pertaineth nothing to this preſent cauſe: and a little time after, the rod viſiby returned into his own form. Beſide that it is not known, whether that ſudden turning was of ſubſtance or no. Alſo the alluding to the rods of the magicians is to be conſidered, which the prophet therefore would not call ſerpents, leſt he ſhould ſeem to ſignify a turning where none was: becauſe thoſe deceivers had done nothing but caſt a miſt before the eyes of the beholders. What likeneſs herewith have theſe forms of ſpeech. The bread which we break, ſo oft as ye ſhall eat this bread, they communicated in breaking of bread, and ſuch other? 1 Cor. x. 26. and xi. 26. Acts xxiv. It is certain that their eyes were only deceived with the enchantment of the magicians. As concerning Moſes, the matter is more doubtful, by whoſe hand it was no more hard for God to make of a rod a ſerpent, and again of a ſerpent to make a rod, than to clothe angels with fleſhly bodies, and by and by after to unclothe them. If the nature of this myſtery were the ſame or like, there were ſome colour for their ſolution. Let this therefore remain certain, that it is not truly nor fitly promiſed us that in the ſupper the fleſh of Chriſt is truly to us for meat, unleſs the true ſubſtance of the outward ſign agree with it. And (as one error groweth of another) the place of Jeremiah is ſo fooliſhly wreſted to prove tranſubſtantiation, that it wearieth me to rehearſe it. The prophet complaineth that wood is put in his bread: meaning that by the cruelty of his enemies, his bread was infected with bitterneſs. Jer. xi. 19. As David with a like figure bewaileth that his meat was corrupted with gall, and his drink with vinegar. Pſal. lxix. 22. Theſe men will have it that the body of Chriſt was by way of allegory faſtened to the croſs. But ſome of the old fathers thought ſo. As though we ought not rather to pardon their ignorance, and to bury their ſhame, than to add ſhameleſſneſs to compel them yet ſtill to fight like enemies with the natural meaning of the prophet.

The error of conſubſtantiation and the cauſe whereof it riſeth.

16. Others, who ſee that the proportional relation of the ſign and the thing ſignified, cannot be overthrown, but that the truth of the myſtery muſt fall, do confeſs that the bread of the ſupper is verily a ſubſtance of an

an earthly and corruptible element, and ſuffereth no change in itſelf, but hath under itſelf the body of Chriſt incloſed. If they did ſo declare their meaning, that when the bread is delivered in the myſtery, there is adjoined the delivering of the body, becauſe the truth is inſeparable from the ſign: I would not much ſtrive with them. But becauſe they placing the body in the bread, do feign to it a being every where contrary to the nature thereof, and in adding under the bread, they will have it lie there hidden: it is neceſſary a little while to draw ſuch ſubtleties out of their dens. For my mind is not as of ſet purpoſe to go through with all this point: but only that I may lay the foundations of the diſputation which ſhall by and by follow in place fit for it. They will therefore have the body of Chriſt to be inviſible and immeaſurable, that it may be hid under the bread: becauſe they think they do not otherwiſe communicate with him than if he deſcend into the bread: but they comprehend not the manner of deſcending, whereby he lifteth us upward to himſelf. They lay upon it all the colours that they can: but when they have ſaid all, it ſufficiently appeareth, that they ſtay upon the local preſence of Chriſt. Whence cometh that? even becauſe they can abide to conceive no other partaking of the fleſh and blood, but which conſiſteth either of joining and touching of place, or of ſome groſs encloſing.

The fleſh of Chriſt by ſome, groſly extended as wide as heaven and earth, by others, ſubtilly imagined to be becauſe glorious therefore free from the natural properties of things corporal.

17. And, that they may obſtinately defend the error once raſhly conceived, ſome of them ſtick not to ſay, that the fleſh of Chriſt had never any other meaſurings, but ſo far and wide as heaven and earth is broad. Whereas he was born a child out of the womb, whereas he grew, whereas he was ſpread abroad on the croſs, whereas he was incloſed in the ſepulchre, the ſame was done by a certain diſpenſation, that he might be born and die, and perform the other duties of man. Whereas after his reſurrection he was ſeen in his wonted form of body, whereas he was taken up to heaven, whereas laſt of all alſo after his aſcenſion he was ſeen of Stephen and Paul: it was done by the ſame diſpenſation, that it might appear to the ſight of men that he was made a king in heaven. Acts i. 3, 9. and vii. 55. and ix. 3. What is this elſe, but to raiſe up Marcion out of hell. For no man can doubt that the body of Chriſt was a fantacy or a fantaſtical thing, if he was of ſuch ſtate. Some ſlip away ſomewhat more ſubtilly, with ſaying that this body which is given in the ſacrament is glorious and immortal: and that therefore it is no abſurdity, if it be contained in many places, if in no place, if with no form, under the ſacrament. But I aſk what manner of body Chriſt gave to the diſciples, the day before that he ſuffered? do not the words ſound that he gave the ſame mortal body, which was within a little after to be delivered? He had already before (ſay they) ſhewed his glory to be ſeen to three of the diſciples. Matth. xvii. 2. That is true indeed, but his will was by that brightneſs to give them a taſte of immortality for an hour. In the mean time they ſhall not there find a double body, but that one body which Chriſt did bear, garniſhed with new glory. But when he diſtributed his body at his firſt ſupper, the time was now at hand, when he being ſtriken of God, and humbled ſhould lie without glory as a leprous man: ſo far is it off that he then would ſhew forth the glory of his reſurrection. Iſa. liii. 4. And how great a window is here opened to Marcion, if the body of Chriſt was ſeen in one place mortal and baſe, and in another place was holden immortal and glorious? Howbeit if their opinion take place, the ſame happeneth daily; becauſe they are compelled to confeſs that the body of Chriſt being viſible in itſelf, lieth hid inviſibly under the ſign of bread. And yet they that vomit out ſuch monſtrouſneſs are ſo not aſhamed of their own ſhame, that they do unprovoked, hainouſly rail at us, becauſe we do not ſubſcribe to them.

The body and blood of Chriſt though not faſtened unto, yet ſpiritually delivered in the bread and wine of the holy Euchariſt.

18. Now if they liſt to faſten the body and blood of the Lord to bread and wine: the one ſhall of neceſſity be plucked aſunder from the other. For as the bread is delivered ſeperately from the cup, ſo the body united to the bread muſt needs be divided from the blood incloſed in the cup. For when they affirm that the body is in the bread and the blood in the cup: and the bread and wine are by ſpaces of place diſtant the one from the other: they can by no ſhift eſcape, but that the body muſt be ſevered from the blood. But whereas they are wont to allege, that by accompanying (as they feign) in the body is the blood, and likewiſe in the blood is the body, that verily is too

trifling: for as much as the ſigns in which they are encloſed, are ſo ſevered. But if we be lifted up with our eyes and minds to heaven, that we ſeek Chriſt there in the glory of his kingdom: as the ſigns do allure us to him whole, ſo under the ſign of bread, we ſhall be fed with his body, under the ſign of wine we ſhall ſeparately drink his blood, that at length we may enjoy him whole. For although he hath taken away his fleſh from us, and in his body is aſcended up into heaven, yet he ſitteth at the right hand of the Father, that is to ſay, he reigneth in the power, and majeſty, and glory of the Father. This kingdom is neither bounded with any ſpaces of place, nor compaſſed about with any meaſurings, but that Chriſt may ſhew forth his might whereſoever it pleaſeth him both in heaven and in earth: but that he may ſhew himſelf preſent with power and ſtrength: but that he may alway be at hand with them that are his, breathing his life into them, may live in them, ſtrengthen them, quicken them, preſerve them ſafe even as if he were preſent in body: finally, but that he may feed them with his own body, the communion whereof he doth by the power of his ſpirit pour into them. After this manner the body and blood of Chriſt is delivered to us in the ſacrament.

The true manner of Chriſt's preſence, and the ſubſtantial communicating of his body and blood in the Lord's ſupper, made hateful to the world by the unjuſt judgments of men.

19. But we muſt appoint ſuch a preſence of Chriſt in the ſupper, as may neither faſten him to the element of bread, nor ſhut him up in the bread, nor by any means compaſs him in, (for it is plain that all theſe things abate his heavenly glory) finally ſuch as may neither take from him his own meaſure, nor diverſly draw him in many places at once, nor feign to him ſuch an unmeaſurable greatneſs as is ſpread abroad throughout heaven and earth, for theſe things are plainly againſt the truth of the nature of manhood. Let us (I ſay) never ſuffer theſe two exceptions to be taken away from us. The one, that nothing be abated from the glory of Chriſt, which is done, when he is brought under the corruptible elements of this world, or is bound to any earthly creatures. The other, that nothing be by feigning, applied to his body, that agreeth not with the nature of man: which is done, when it is either ſaid to be infinite, or is ſet in many places at once. But theſe abſurdities being taken away, I willingly receive whatſoever may avail to expreſs the true and ſubſtantial communicating of the body and blood of the Lord, which communicating is delivered to the faithful under the holy ſigns of the ſupper: and ſo that they may be thought not to receive it by imagination only or underſtanding of mind, but to enjoy it indeed to the food of eternal life. Why this ſentence is ſo hateful to the world, and all defence taken away from it by the unjuſt judgments of many, there is no cauſe at all, but for that the devil hath with horrible bewitching madded their minds. Truly that which we teach, doth in all points very well agree with the ſcriptures: it containeth neither any abſurdity, nor darkneſs, nor doubtfulneſs: it is not againſt true godlineſs and ſound edification: finally, it hath nothing in it, that may offend, ſaving that in certain ages paſt, when that ignorance and barbaroufneſs of ſophiſters reigned in the church, ſo clear light and open truth hath been unworthily oppreſſed. Yet becauſe Satan at this day alſo laboureth by troubleſome ſpirits to ſpot it with all the ſlanders and reproaches that he can, and bendeth himſelf to no other thing with greater endeavour: it is profitable the more diligently to defend and reſcue it.

The words of Chriſt's inſtitution, in word held indeed, perverted, and forſaken by the authors as well of tranſubſtantiation as conſubſtantiation.

20. Now before that we go any further, we muſt treat of the very inſtitution of Chriſt: ſpecially becauſe this is the moſt glorious objection that our adverſaries have, that we depart from the words of Chriſt. Therefore, that we may be diſcharged of the falſe cauſe of malice wherewith they burden us, our fitteſt beginning ſhall be at the expoſition of the words. Three evangeliſts and Paul rehearſe, that Chriſt took bread: when he had given thanks he brake it, gave it to his diſciples and ſaid, take, eat, this is my body which is delivered, or broken for you. Of the cup Matthew and Mark ſay thus: This cup is the blood of the new Teſtament, which ſhall be ſhed for many unto forgiveneſs of ſins. Mat. xxvi. 26. Mark. xiv. 22. But Paul and Luke ſay thus: This cup is the new Teſtament in my blood. Luk. xxii. 17. 1 Cor. ix. 24. The patrons of tranſubſtantiation will have by the pronoun (this) the form of bread to be ſignified, becauſe the conſecration is made in the whole content of the ſentence, and there is no ſubſtance that can be ſhewed. But if they are holden with religious care of the words, becauſe Chriſt teſtified that,

that that which he reached into the diſciples hands, was his body: truly this their device, that that which was bread is now the body, is moſt far from the proper meaning of them. That which Chriſt took into his hands and gave the Apoſtles, he affirmeth to be his body: but he took bread: who therefore cannot underſtand that bread is yet ſhewed? and therefore there is no greater abſurdity, than to remove that to the form, which is ſpoken of the bread. Others, when they expound this word (is) for (to be tranſubſtantiate,) do flee to a more forced and violently wreſted gloſs. Therefore there is no cauſe why they ſhould pretend that they are moved with reverence of words. For this was unheard of among all nations and languages, that the word (is) ſhould be taken in this ſenſe, namely for to be turned into another thing. As for them that leave bread in the ſupper, and affirm that there is the body of Chriſt, they much differ among themſelves. They who ſpeak more modeſtly, although they preciſely exact the letter. This is my body, yet afterward ſwerve from their preciſeneſs, and ſay that it is as much in effect as that the body of Chriſt is with bread, in bread, and under bread. Of the matter itſelf which they affirm, we have already touched ſomewhat, and we ſhall by and by have occaſion yet to ſpeak more. Now I diſpute only of the words, by which they ſay they are reſtrained that they cannot admit bread to be called the body becauſe it is a ſign of the body. But if they ſhun all figures, why do they leap away from the plain ſhewing of Chriſt, to their own manners of ſpeaking far differing from it? For there is great difference between this that bread is the body, and this that the body is with bread. But becauſe they ſaw it to be impoſſible, that this ſimple propoſition might ſtand, that bread is the body: they have attempted to eſcape away by thoſe forms of ſpeech, as it were by crooked turnings. Some more bold ſtick not to affirm that even in proper ſpeaking, bread is the body, and by this means they truly prove themſelves to be literal men. If it be objected, that therefore the bread is Chriſt, and is God: this verily they will deny, becauſe it is not expreſſed in the words of Chriſt. But they ſhall nothing prevail by denying it: foraſmuch as all do agree that whole Chriſt is offered us in the ſupper. But it is an intollerable blaſphemy, that it be without figure ſpoken of a frail and corruptible element, that it is Chriſt. Now I aſk of them, whether theſe two propoſitions be both of one effect, Chriſt is the ſon of God, and bread is the body of Chriſt. If they grant that they are diverſe, (which we will force them to grant whether they will or no) then let them anſwer whence cometh the difference. I think they will bring no other but that the bread is after the ſacramental manner called the body. Whereupon followeth, that Chriſt's words are not ſubject to the common rule, nor ought to be tried by grammar. Alſo I aſk of the preciſe and ſtiff requirers of the letter, where Luke and Paul do call the cup the teſtament in the blood, Luk. xxii. 10. 1 Cor. ix. 25. whether they do not expreſs the ſame thing which they did in the firſt part, where they call bread the body. Truly the ſame religion was in the one part of the myſtery that was in the other: and becauſe ſhortneſs is dark, longer ſpeech doth better open the meaning. So oft therefore as they ſhall affirm by one word, that the bread is the body: I will out of more words bring a fit expoſition, that it is the teſtament in the body. For why? Shall we need to ſeek a more faithful or ſurer expoſitor than Paul and Luke? Neither yet do I tend hereunto, to diminiſh any thing of that communicating of the body of Chriſt which I have confeſſed: only my purpoſe is to confute that fooliſh waywardneſs, whereby they do ſo hatefully brawl about words. I underſtand, by the authority of Paul and Luke, that the bread is the body of Chriſt, becauſe it is the covenant in in the body. If they fight againſt this, they have war not with me, but with the ſpirit of God. Howſoever they cry out that they are touched with reverence of the words of Chriſt, whereby they do not figuratively underſtand thoſe things that are plainly ſpoken: yet this is not a pretence rightful enough, why they ſhould ſo refuſe all the reaſons which we object to the contrary. In the mean time, as I have already given warning, it is convenient to learn, what manner of thing this is, the teſtament in the body and blood of Chriſt: becauſe the covenant eſtabliſhed with the ſacrifice of death, ſhould otherwiſe not profit us, unleſs there were adjoined that ſecret communicating whereby we grow into one with Chriſt.

Figurative ſpeech uſual, and unto ſigns the names of things ſignified given when ſacramental myſteries are treated of: which

21. It remaineth therefore that for the affinity which the things ſignified have with their ſigns, we confeſs that the ſelf ſame name of the thing was given to the ſign: figuratively indeed, but not without a moſt fit proportional agreement. I leave allegories and parables, leſt any man ſhould quarrel that I ſeek

thing St. Auguſtine plainly teacheth.

ſtarting holes, and wander out of the preſent purpoſe. I ſay that this is a ſpeech by figure of tranſnomination which is commonly uſed in the ſcripture, when myſteries are treated of. For neither can you otherwiſe underſtand that which is ſaid: that circumciſion is a covenant: that the Lamb is the paſſover: that the ſacrifices of the law are expiations: finally that the rock, out of which water flowed in the deſart, was Chriſt, unleſs you take it to be ſpoken by way of transferring of names. Neither are names transferred only from the higher name to the lower? but contrariwiſe the name of the viſible ſign is alſo given to the thing ſignified: as when it is ſaid that God appeared to Moſes in the buſh: Exod. iii. 2. when the ark of the covenant is called God, and the face of God: Pſal. lxxxiv. 8. and xlii. 3. and the dove is called the holy Ghoſt. Mat. iii. 16. For though the ſign differ in ſubſtance from the thing ſignified: becauſe this is ſpiritual and heavenly, and that is corporal and viſible: yet becauſe it doth not only figure the thing which it is holily appointed to repreſent, as a naked and empty token, but doth alſo truly deliver it indeed: why may not the name of the thing rightly accord with it? If ſigns deviſed by men, which are rather images of things abſent, than marks of things preſent, which ſelf ſame abſent things, they do oftentimes deceitfully ſhadow, are yet ſometimes garniſhed with the titles of the things: then thoſe things that are ordained of God, do by much greater reaſon borrow the name of thoſe things, of which they always both bear a ſure and not deceitful ſignification, and have the truth adjoined with them. There is therefore ſo great likeneſs and nearneſs of the one to the other, that it is eaſy to draw their names to and fro. Therefore let our adverſaries ceaſe to heap unſavoury ſcoffings againſt us, in calling us Tropiſts, becauſe we expound the ſacramental manner of ſpeaking after the common uſe of the ſcripture. For whereas the ſacraments agree together in many things: in this transferring of names, they have all a certain community together. As therefore the Apoſtle teacheth, that the ſtone out of which ſpiritual drink did ſpring to the Iſraelites, was Chriſt, 1 Cor. x. 4. becauſe it was a viſible ſign, under which that ſpiritual drink was truly indeed, but not diſcernably to the eye perceived: ſo bread is at this day called the body of Chriſt, foraſmuch as it is a ſign whereby the Lord offereth to us the true eating of his body. Neither did Auguſtine otherwiſe think or ſpeak leſt any man ſhould deſpiſe this as a new invention. (*Epiſt.* 23. *ad Boniſac.*) If (ſaith he) the ſacraments had not a certain likeneſs of thoſe things whereof they are ſacraments, they ſhould not be ſacraments at all. And of this likeneſs oftentimes they take the names of the things themſelves. As therefore after a certain manner the ſacrament of the body of Chriſt, is the body of Chriſt: the ſacrament of the blood of Chriſt, is the blood of Chriſt: ſo the ſacrament of faith is faith. There be in him many like places, which it were ſuperfluous to heap together, ſince that one ſufficeth: ſaving that the readers muſt be warned that the holy man teacheth the ſame thing in the epiſtle to Euodius. But it is a trifling ſhift to ſay, that where Auguſtine teacheth, that when tranferring is often and commonly uſed in myſteries, he maketh no mention of the ſupper: becauſe if this ſhift were received, we might not reaſon from the generalty to the ſpecialty, neither were this a good argument: every feeling creature hath power of moving, therefore an ox and an horſe have power of moving. Howbeit long diſputation hereof is in another place ended by the words of the ſame holy man, where he ſaith, that Chriſt ſticked not to call it his body, when he gave the ſign of his body. Againſt Adimantus the Manichean, in the twelfth chapter, and in another place, upon the third pſalm. Marvellous (ſaith he) is the patience of Chriſt, that he received Judas to the banquet, wherein he committed and delivered to his diſciples the figure of his body and blood.

The force of the ſubſtantive verb in the words of conſecration.

22. But if ſome preciſe man, being blind at all the reſt, do ſtand only upon this word (this is) as though it ſevered this myſtery from all other, the ſolution is eaſy. They ſay that the vehemence of the ſubſtantive verb (is) is ſo great that it admitteth no figure. Which if we grant to them: even in the words of Paul is read the ſubſtantive verb, where he calleth bread the communicating of the body of Chriſt. 1 Cor. x. 16. But the communicating is another thing than the body it ſelf. Yea commonly where ſacraments are treated of, we find the ſame word uſed. As: this ſhall be to you a covenant with me. Gen xvii. 13. This lamb ſhall be to you a paſſover. Exod. xii. 43. To rehearſe no more: when Paul ſaith that the rock was Chriſt, 1 Cor. x. 4. why do they take

take the ſubſtantive verb in that place to be of leſs vehemence than in the ſpeech of Chriſt? Let them alſo anſwer, where John ſaith, the holy Ghoſt was not yet, becauſe Jeſus was not yet glorified, John xvii. 39. of what force the ſubſtantive verb is in that place. For if they abide faſtened to their rule, the eternal eſſence of the holy Ghoſt ſhall be deſtroyed, as though it took beginning at the aſcention of Chriſt. Finally, let them anſwer, what meaneth that ſaying of Paul, that baptiſm is the waſhing of regeneration and renewing, Tit. iii. 5. when it is evidently unprofitable to many. But nothing is ſtronger to confute them, than that ſaying of Paul, that the church is Chriſt. 1 Cor. xi. 12. For bringing a ſimilitude of the body of man, he addeth, ſo is Chriſt: in which place he underſtandeth the only begotten ſon of God, not in himſelf, but in his members. Hereby I think I have obtained that to ſound witted and uncorrupted men the ſlanders of our enemies, are loathſome, when they ſpread abroad, that we withdraw credit from the words of Chriſt: which we do no leſs obediently embrace than they, and do weigh them with more godly reverence. Yea their negligent careleſſneſs ſheweth that they do not greatly care what Chriſt meant, ſo that it give them a buckler to defend their obſtinacy: like as our earneſt ſearching ought to be a witneſs how much we eſteem the authority of Chriſt. They odiouſly ſpread abroad, that natural ſenſe of man withholdeth us from believing that which Chriſt hath uttered with his own holy mouth: but how maliciouſly they burden us with this ſlander, I have a great part already made plain, and hereafter it ſhall more clearly appear. Therefore nothing withholdeth us from believing Chriſt when he ſpeaketh, nor from obeying ſo ſoon as he doth but with a beck will this or that. Only this is the queſtion, whether it be unlawful to enquire of the natural meaning.

The words and ſyllables of Chriſt's ſpeech not ſo preciſely to be ſtood upon, that all expoſition be rejected which being ſound and ſober bringeth light, but no diſcredit unto the ſpeaker.

23. Theſe good maſters, that they may ſeem well lettered, do forbid men to depart be it never ſo little from the letter. But I on the other ſide, when the ſcripture nameth God a warlike man, becauſe I ſee that without figurative tranſlation it is too rough a manner of ſpeaking, do not doubt that it is a compariſon taken from men. And truly upon no other pretence in the old time the Anthropomorphites troubled the true teaching fathers, but that catching faſt hold of theſe ſayings, the eyes of God do ſee, it went up to his ears, his hand ſtretched out, the earth his footſtool, they cried out that God had his body taken from him, which the ſcripture aſſigneth unto him. If this law be received, outrageous barbarouſneſs ſhall overwhelm the whole light of faith. For what monſters of abſurdities may not frantic men pick out, if it be granted them to allege every ſmall title to eſtabliſh their opinions? That which they object, that it is not likely, that when Chriſt prepared for his Apoſtles a ſingular comfort in adverſities, he did then ſpeak in a riddle or darkly, maketh of our ſide. For if it had not come in the minds of the Apoſtles that bread was figuratively called the body, becauſe it was the ſign of the body, they had without doubt been troubled with ſo monſtrous a thing. Almoſt at the ſame moment John reporteth that they did ſtick in perplexity at every the leaſt difficulties. They who ſtrive among themſelves, how Chriſt will go to the Father: and do move queſtion, how he will go out of the world: they who underſtand nothing of thoſe things that are ſpoken concerning the heavenly Father, till they ſee him: how would they have been ſo eaſy to believe that which all reaſon refuſeth, that Chriſt ſitteth at the table in their ſight, and is incloſed inviſible under bread? Whereas therefore they in eating the bread without doubting, teſtified their conſent, hereby appeareth that they took Chriſt's words in the ſame ſenſe that we do, becauſe they remembred that which ought not to ſeem ſtrange in myſteries, that the name of the thing ſignified is transferred to the ſign. Therefore it was to the diſciples, as it is to us, a certain and clear comfort, entangled with no riddle. Neither is their any other cauſe why ſome ſhould depart from our expoſition, but becauſe the inchantment of the devil hath blinded them, namely that they ſhould feign darkneſs to themſelves, where the expoſition of an apt figure offereth itſelf. Moreover if we preciſely ſtand upon the words, Chriſt ſhould wrongfully have ſpoken in one place ſeverally another thing concerning the bread than he ſpeaketh of the cup. He calleth the bread his body, he calleth the wine his blood: either it ſhall be a confuſed vain repetition, or it ſhall be ſuch a ſeparation as ſhall divide the body from the blood. Yea it ſhall as truly be ſaid of the cup, this is my body, as of the bread it ſelf, and it may likewiſe interchangeably be ſaid, that the bread is the blood, if they anſwer that we muſt conſider to what

what end or uſe the ſigns were ordained: I grant it indeed: but in the mean time they ſhall not extricate themſelves, but that their error muſt draw this abſurdity with it, that the bread is the blood, and the wine is the body. Now I know not what this meaneth, when they grant the bread and the body to be divers things, yet do affirm that the one is ſpoken of the other properly and without any figure: as, if a man ſhould ſay that a garment is indeed a thing differing from a man, and yet that it is properly called a man. In the mean while as though their victory conſiſted in obſtinacy and railing, they ſay that Chriſt is accuſed of lying, if an expoſition be ſought of the words. Now it ſhall be eaſy for us to ſhew to the readers how unjuſt wrong theſe catchers of ſyllables do to us, when they fill the ſimple with this opinion, that we withdraw credit from the words of Chriſt, which we have proved to be furiouſly perverted and confounded by them, but to be faithfully and rightly expounded by us.

The unmeaſurable power of God not at all diminiſhed by them who refuſe the doctrine of conſubſtantiation.

24. But the ſlander of this lie cannot be utterly purged, till another crime be wiped away. For they ſpread abroad, that we are ſo addicted to natural reaſon, that we give no more to the power of God, than the order of nature ſuffereth and common ſenſe teacheth. From ſo malicious ſlanders I appeal to the very doctrine itſelf which I have declared: which doth clearly enough ſhew, that I do not meaſure this myſtery by the proportion of man's reaſon, nor make it ſubject to the laws of nature. I beſeech you, have we learned out of natural philoſophy, that Chriſt doth ſo from heaven feed our ſouls and bodies with his fleſh, as our bodies are nouriſhed with bread and wine? Whence cometh this power to fleſh, that it may give life? All men will ſay that it is not done naturally. It will no more pleaſe man's reaſon, that the fleſh of Chriſt reacheth to us, that it may be food unto us. Finally whoſoever hath taſted of our doctrine, ſhall be raviſhed into admiration of the ſecret power of God. But theſe good men that are ſo zealous of it, forge to themſelves a miracle, which being taken away, God himſelf vaniſheth with his power. I deſire to have the readers once again warned, that they diligently weigh what our doctrine bringeth, whether it depend upon common ſenſe, or with the wings of faith, ſurmounting the world, climbeth up beyond it into the heavens. We ſay that Chriſt as well with the outward ſign as with his ſpirit, deſcended to us, that he may truly quicken our ſouls with the ſubſtance of his fleſh and of his blood. In theſe few words he that perceiveth not to be contained many miracles, is more than ſenſeleſs: foraſmuch as there is nothing more beſide nature, than that ſouls ſhould borrow ſpiritual and heavenly life, of the fleſh which took her beginning of the earth, and which was ſubject to death. Nothing is more incredible, than that things diſtant and aſunder by the whole ſpace of heaven and earth, ſhould in ſo great diſtance of places not only be conjoined, but alſo united, that ſouls may receive food of the fleſh of Chriſt. Therefore let wayward men ceaſe to procure hatred to us, by a filthy ſlander, as though we did enviouſly reſtrain any thing of the immeaſurable power of God. For they do either too fooliſhly err, or too maliciouſly lie. For it is not here in queſtion what God could, but what he would. We affirm that to be done which pleaſed him. But it pleaſed him, that Chriſt ſhould be made like to his brethren in all things, except ſin. Heb. iv. 15. What manner of thing is our fleſh? Is it not ſuch as conſiſteth of the certain meaſure of it, as is contained in place, as is touched, as is ſeen? And why (ſay they) may not God make, that the ſelf ſame fleſh may occupy many and divers places, may be contained in one place, may be without meaſure and form? Thou mad man, why requireſt thou of the power of God to make fleſh at the ſame time to be and not to be fleſh? Like as if thou ſhouldeſt inſtantly require him to make at the ſame time the light to be both light and darkneſs. But he willeth light to be light, darkneſs to be darkneſs, fleſh to be fleſh. He ſhall indeed when it pleaſeth him, turn darkneſs into light, and light into darkneſs, but when thou requireſt that light and darkneſs may not differ, what doeſt thou elſe but pervert the order of the wiſdom of God? Therefore fleſh muſt be fleſh: and Spirit Spirit, every thing in ſuch law and condition as God hath created it. But ſuch is the condition of fleſh, that it muſt be in one yea and that a certain place, and conſiſt of her meaſure and of her form. With this condition Chriſt took fleſh upon him, to which (as Auguſtine witneſſeth) he hath given indeed incorruption and glory, but he hath not taken from it nature and truth. (*Ep. ad Dard.*)

They that make Chriſt to lurk inviſible under bread, are neither thereunto

25. They anſwer, that they have the word, whereby the will of God is made plain: namely if it be granted them to baniſh out of the church the gift of expoſition, which may bring light

led by the words of Christ, nor assisted ther einby God's Almightiness.

light to the word, I grant that they have the word: but such as in old time the *Anthropomorphites* had, when they made God having a body: such as Marcion and the Manichees had, when they feigned the body of Christ to be either heavenly or fantastical. For they alleged for testimonies, The first Adam was of the earth earthly, the second Adam is of heaven, heavenly: 1 Cor. xv. 47. again, Christ abased himself, taking upon him the form of a servant, and was found in likeness as a man. Phil. ii. 7. But the gross eaters think that there is no power of God, unless with the monster forged in their brains, the whole order of nature be overthrown: which is rather to limit God, when we covet with our feigned inventions to prove what he can do. For out of what word have they taken that the body of Christ is visible in heaven, but lurketh invisible in earth under innumberable little pieces of bread? They will say that necessity requireth this that the body of Christ should be given in the supper. Verily because it pleased them to gather a fleshly eating out of the words of Christ: they being carried away by their own prejudice were driven of necessity to coin this subtlety, which the whole scripture crieth out against. But that any thing is by us diminished of the power of God, is so false that by our doctrine the praise of it is very honourably set out. But forasmuch as they always accuse, us, that we defraud God of his honour, when we refuse that which according to common sense is hard to be believed, although it have been promised by the mouth of Christ: I make again the same answer that I made even now, that in the mysteries of faith we do not ask counsel of common sense, but with quiet willingness to learn, and with the spirit of meekness, which James commendeth, we receive the doctrine come from heaven. Jam. i. 21. But in that when they perniciously err, I deny not that we follow a profitable moderation. They hearing the words of Christ, This is my body, imagine a miracle most far from his mind. But when out of this feigned invention arise foul absurdities, because they have already with headlong haste put snares upon themselves, they plunge themselves into the bottomless depth of the almightiness of God, that by this mean they may quench the light of truth. Hereupon cometh that proud preciseness: we will not know how Christ lieth hid under the bread, holding ourselves contented with this saying of his, This is my body. But we, as we do in the whole scripture, do with no less obedience than care, study to obtain a sound understanding of this place: neither do we with preposterous heat rashly and without choice catch hold of that which first presenteth itself into our minds: but using diligent study upon it, we embrace the meaning which the spirit of God ministreth: and standing thereupon we do from aloft despise whatsoever earthly wisdom is set against it. Yea we hold our minds captive that they may not be bold so much as with one little word to carp against it: and do humble them, that they may not dare to rise up against it. Hereupon sprung up the exposition of the words of Christ, which to be by the continual usage of the scripture common to all sacraments, all they that have been thought but meanly exercised therein, do know. Neither do we, after the example of the holy virgin, think it lawful for us, in a hard matter to enquire how it may be done. Luke i. 34.

Christ proved by scripture not to be on earth according to the presence of the flesh, but only by majesty, providence and grace.

26. But because nothing shall more avail to confirm the faith of the godly, than when they have learned that the doctrine which we have taught is taken out of the word of God, and standeth upon the authority thereof: I will make this also evident with as great briefness as I can. The body of Christ, since the time that it rose again, not Aristotle but the Holy Ghost teacheth to be limited, and that it is comprehended in heaven until the last day. Neither am I ignorant that they boldly mock out those places that are alleged for this purpose. So oft as Christ saith that he will depart, leaving the world, John. xiv. 22. and 28. they answer that that departing is nothing else but a changing of mortal estate. But after this manner, Christ should not set the Holy Ghost in this place to supply (as they call it) the want of his absence: forasmuch as he doth not succeed into this place, nor Christ himself doth descend again out of the heavenly glory to take upon him the state of mortal life. Truly the coming of the Holy Ghost, and the ascending of Christ are things set as contrary: therefore it cannot be that Christ should according to the flesh dwell with us after the same manner that he sendeth his spirit. Moreover he in plain words expresseth, that he will not be always with his disciples in the world. Mat. xxvi. 11. This saying also they think that they do sufficiently wipe away, as though Christ said that he will not always be poor and miserable or subject

to the neceſſities of this frail life. But the circumſtance of the place crieth plainly to the contrary, becauſe there it is not treated of poverty and need, or of the miſerable ſtate of earthly life, but of worſhip and honour. The anointing pleaſed not the diſciples, becauſe they thought it to be a ſuperfluous and unprofitable coſt, and near unto riotous exceſs, therefore they had rather that the price thereof which they thought to be ill waſted, had been beſtowed upon the poor. Chriſt anſwereth that he ſhall not always be preſent that he may be worſhipped with ſuch honour. And no otherwiſe did Auguſtine expound it, (*Tract. in Joh.* 50.) whoſe words are theſe which are nothing doubtful. When Chriſt ſaid, ye ſhall not always have me, he ſpake of the preſence of his body. For according to his majeſty, according to his providence, according to his unſpeakable and inviſible grace, this was fulfilled which he ſaid, behold, I am with you even to the ending of the world. Mat. xxviii. 10. But according to the fleſh which the word took unto him, according to this that he was born of the virgin, according to this that he was taken of the Jews, that he was faſtened to the tree, that he was taken down from the croſs, that he was wrapped in linen cloaths, that he was laid in the grave, that he was manifeſtly ſhewed in the reſurrection, this was fulfilled, ye ſhall not always have me with you. Why ſo? Becauſe he was converſant according to the preſence of his body forty days with his diſciples, and while they accompanied him in ſeeing, not in following, he aſcended. He is not here: for he ſitteth there at the right hand of the Father. And yet he is here: becauſe he is not gone away in preſence of majeſty. Otherwiſe according to the preſence of majeſty we have Chriſt always: and according to the preſence of the fleſh it is rightly ſaid, But me ye ſhall not always have. For according to the preſence of the fleſh, the church had him a few days: now ſhe holdeth him by faith, but ſeeth him not with eyes. Where (that I may note this alſo briefly) he maketh him preſent to us three ways, by majeſty, providence, and unſpeakable grace, under which I comprehend this marvellous communion of his body and blood: if ſo that we underſtand it to be done by the power of the holy Ghoſt, not by that feigned encloſing of his body under the element. For our Lord hath teſtified, that he hath fleſh and bones which may be felt and ſeen. And to go away and aſcend do not ſignify to make a ſhew of one aſcending and going away, but to do indeed that which the words ſound. Shall we then (will ſome man ſay) aſſign to Chriſt ſome certain coaſt of heaven? But I anſwer with Auguſtine that this is a moſt curious and ſuperfluous queſtion, if ſo that yet we believe that he is in heaven. (*Lib. de fide ſym. cap.* 16.)

Aſcending ſophiſtically expounded to be nothing elſe but conveyance out of ſight.

27. But what doth the name of aſcending ſo oft repeated mean? doth it not ſignify a removing from one place to another? They deny it: becauſe after their opinion, by height is only ſignified majeſty of empire. But what meaneth the very manner of aſcending? was he not in ſight of his diſciples looking on, lifted up on high Act. i. 9.? Do not the evangeliſts plainly declare that he was taken up into the heavens? Mark. xvi. 1, 6. Theſe witty ſophiſters do anſwer that with a cloud ſet between him and them he was conveyed out of their ſight, that the faithful might learn that from thence forth he ſhould not be viſible in the world. As though, to make credit of his inviſible preſence, he ought not rather to vaniſh away in a moment, or as though the cloud ought not rather to compaſs him before that he ſtirred his foot. But when he is carried up on high into the air, and with a cloud caſt underneath him, teacheth that he is no more to be ſought in the earth: we ſafely gather, that now he hath his dwelling place in the heavens, as Paul alſo affirmeth, Phil. iii. 10. and from thence he biddeth us to look for him. After this manner the angels warned the diſciples, that they in vain gazed up into heaven: becauſe Jeſus who is taken up into heaven, ſhall ſo come as they have ſeen him go up. Here alſo the adverſaries of ſound doctrine ſtart away with a pleaſant ſhift as they think, ſaying that he ſhall then come viſible, who never went out of the earth but that he abideth inviſible with them that are his. As though the angels did there ſignify a double preſence, and do not ſimply make the diſciples witneſſes of his going up ſeeing it with their eyes, that no doubting might remain: even as if they had ſaid: he in your ſight beholding it, being taken up into heaven, that claimed to himſelf the heavenly empire: it remaineth that ye patiently abide in expectation, till he come again the Judge of the world: becauſe he is now entred into heaven, not that he may alone poſſeſs it, but that he may gather together with him you and all the godly.

Auguſtine wreſted and abuſed by the maintainers of con-

28, But foraſmuch as the defenders of this baſtard doctrine are not aſhamed to garniſh it with the conſenting voices of the old writers and eſpecially of Auguſtine:

Subſtantiation.

tine: I will in few words declare how perverſely they go about it. For whereas their teſtimonies have been gathered together of learned and godly men, I will not do a thing already done: let him that will, ſeek them out of their works. I will not heap together, neither out of Auguſtine himſelf, all that might make to the purpoſe: but will be content to ſhew by a few that he is without controverſy whole on our ſide. As for this that our adverſaries, to wreſt him from us, do allege that it is commonly read in his books, that the fleſh and blood of Chriſt is diſtributed in the ſupper, namely the ſacrifice once offered on the croſs: (*Ad Bonifac. Epiſt.* 25.) it is but trifling: ſince he alſo calleth it either thankſgiving, or the ſacrament of the body. But in what ſenſe he uſeth the words of fleſh and blood, we need not to ſeek with long compaſſing about: foraſmuch as he declareth himſelf, ſaying that ſacraments take their names of the likeneſs of the things which they ſignify: and that therefore after a certain manner the ſacrament of the body is the body. Wherewith accordeth another place which is well enough known, the Lord ſticked not to ſay, This is my body, when he gave the ſign of it. (*Contra Adama.*) Again they object, that Auguſtine writeth expreſly, that the body of Chriſt falleth to the ground, and entreth into the mouth: even in the ſame ſenſe, that he affirmeth it to be conſumed, becauſe he joineth them both together. Neither doth that make to the contrary, which he ſaith, that when the myſtery is ended the bread is conſumed: (*Mani. Lib.* 12.) becauſe he had a little before ſaid: ſince theſe things are known to men, foraſmuch as they are done by men, they may have honour as things: but as marvellous things, they may not. (*Lib.* 5. *de trin. c.*) And to no other end tendeth that which our adverſaries do too unadviſedly draw to themſelves: that Chriſt did (after a certain manner) bear himſelf in his own hands, when he reacheth the myſtical bread to the diſciples. For by enterlacing this adverb of likeneſs (after a certain manner) he ſufficiently declareth, that he was not truly nor really incloſed under the bread. And no wonder: ſince in another place he plainly affirmeth that bodies, if ſpaces of places be taken from them, ſhall be no where, they ſhall not be at all. (*In Pſalm.* 33.) It is a poor cavil, to ſay that in that place it is not ſpoken of the ſupper, in which God uttereth ſpecial power: becauſe the queſtion was moved concerning the fleſh of Chriſt, and the holy man of ſet purpoſe anſwering ſaith Chriſt gave immortality to his fleſh, but took not nature from it. After this form it is not to be thought that he is each where ſpread abroad: for we muſt beware that we do not ſo affirm the Godhead of the man, that we take away the truth of the body. And it followeth not, that which is in God muſt be each where as GOD is. There is a reaſon by and by added: for one perſon is God and man, and both are one Chriſt: each where, by this that he is God: in heaven, by this that he is man. (*Epiſt. ad Dardan.*) What a negligence had it been, not to except the myſtery of the ſupper being a thing ſo earneſt and weighty, if there had been in it any thing againſt the doctrine which he treated of. And yet if a man do heedfully read that which followeth within a little after, he ſhall find that under that general doctrine, the ſupper is alſo comprehended, that Chriſt the only begotten Son of God and the ſame the Son of man, is each where whole preſent as God: that he is in the temple of God (that is in the church) God as it were there dwelling, and in ſome certain place of heaven by reaſon of the meaſure of his true body. We ſee how, to the uniting of Chriſt with the church, he doth not draw his body out of heaven: which ſurely he would have done, if the body of Chriſt were not truly meat to us unleſs it were incloſed under bread. In another place defining how the faithful do now poſſeſs Chriſt. Thou haſt him (ſaith he) by the ſign of the croſs, by the ſacrament of baptiſm by the meat and drink of the altar. (*Tract.* 50. *in Joh.*) How rightly he reckoneth a ſuperſtitious uſage among the ſigns of the preſence of Chriſt, I do not now diſpute but he that compareth the preſence of the fleſh to the ſign of the croſs, ſufficiently ſheweth that he feigneth not a two bodied Chriſt, that the ſame He, may lurk hidden under the bread, who ſitteth viſible in heaven. If this need plainer declaration, it is by and by after added in the ſame place, that according to the preſence of majeſty, we always have Chriſt: that according to the preſence of the fleſh,, it is rightly ſaid, Me ye ſhall not always have. Mat. xxvi. 11. They anſwer, that this is alſo added, that according to an unſpeakable and inviſible grace, it is fulfilled which is ſaid of him, I am with you, even unto the end of the world. Mat. xxviii. 20. But that is nothing for their advantage: becauſe this is at length reſtrained to his majeſty, which is ever in compariſon ſet againſt the body, and his fleſh by expreſs name is made different from his grace and power. As in another place the ſame compariſon of contraries is read in him, that Chriſt by bodily preſence left the diſciples, that by ſpiritual preſence he may be ſtill with them: where it is plain that the ſubſtance of the fleſh is diſtinguiſhed from the

power of the ſpirit, which conjoineth us with Chriſt, though we be otherwiſe far ſevered by diſtance of places. The ſame manner of ſpeaking he oftentimes uſeth, when he ſaith: he is to comeagain to the quick and the dead with bodily preſence, according to the rule of faith and ſound doctrine. For with ſpiritual preſence he was alſo to come to them, and to abide with the whole church in the world until the ending of the world. Therefore this ſpeech is directed to the believers whom he had already begun to ſave with bodily preſence, and whom he was to leave with bodily abſence: that he m'ght with his father ſave them with ſpiritual preſence. To take bodily for viſible is but trifling: ſince he ſetteth alſo the body in compariſon againſt the divine power: and adding (to ſave with the father) he clearly expreſſeth that he doth pour abroad his grace from heaven to us by his ſpirit.

The body of Chriſt by glory not made inviſible, which fanſy concerning Chriſt hath no manner of ground in ſcripture.

29. And ſince they put ſo much confidence in this lurking hole of inviſible preſence, go to, let us ſee how well they hide themſelves in it. Firſt, they ſhall not bring forth one ſyllable out of the ſcriptures, whereby they may prove that Chriſt is inviſible: but that they take that for confeſſed which no man that hath his ſound judgment will grant them, that the body of Chriſt cannot otherwiſe be given in the ſupper but being covered with the viſor of bread. And this is the point about which they ſtrive with us, ſo far is it off from having the place of a principle. And when they ſo bable, they are compelled to make a double body of Chriſt: becauſe after their opinion it is in itſelf viſible in heaven, but inviſible in the ſupper after a ſpecial manner of diſpenſation. But how trimly this agreeth, it is eaſy to judge both by other places of ſcripture, and by the witneſs of Peter. Peter ſaith, that Chriſt muſt be holden or contained in heaven, till he come again. Acts iii. 21. Theſe men teach that he is every where, but without form. They take exception and ſay that it is unjuſt dealing, to make the nature of a glorified body ſubject to the laws of common nature. But this anſwer draweth with it that doting error of Servetus, (which is worthily to be abhorred of all the godly) that the body was ſwallowed up of the Godhead. I do not ſay that they think ſo. But if this be reckoned among the qualities of a glorified body, to fill all things after an inviſible manner, it is evident that the bodily ſubſtance is deſtroyed, and that there is left no difference of the Godhead and the nature of man. Again, if the body of Chriſt be of ſo many faſhions and divers, that it is ſeen in one place, and is inviſible in another: where is the very nature of a body which conſiſteth of his meaſured proportions? and where is unity? Much more rightly doth Tertullian ſay, who affirmeth that the body of Chriſt was a true and natural body, becauſe in the myſtery of the ſupper the figure of it is ſet before us for a pledge and aſſurance of the ſpiritual life. And verily Chriſt ſaid of his glorified body, ſee and feel, for a ſpirit hath not fleſh and bones. Luke xxiv. 39. Lo by Chriſt's own mouth the truth of the fleſh is proved, becauſe it can be felt and ſeen: take away theſe things, then it ſhall ceaſe to be fleſh. They ſtill flee to their den of diſpenſation which they have framed to themſelves. But it is our part ſo to embrace that which Chriſt abſolutely pronounceth, that that which he meaneth to affirm may be of force with us without exception. He proveth himſelf to be no ſpirit, becauſe he is viſible in his fleſh. Let that be taken away which he claimeth as proper to the nature of his body: muſt they not be fain to coin a new definition of a body? Now wherever they turn themſelves about, their feigned diſpenſation hath no place in that place of Paul where he ſaith, that we look for a ſaviour from heaven who ſhall faſhion our vile body like unto his glorious body. Phil. iii. 21. For we may not hope for a like faſhioning in thoſe qualities which they feign to Chriſt, that every one ſhould have an inviſible and immeaſurable body. Neither ſhall there be found any man ſo dull witted whom they may make to believe ſo great an abſurdity. Let them not therefore aſcribe this gift to Chriſt's glorified body, to be at once in many places, and to be contained in no ſpace. Finally, let them either openly deny the reſurrection of the fleſh, or let them grant that Chriſt being clothed with heavenly glory, did not put off his fleſh, who ſhall make us in our fleſh, fellows and partners of the ſame glory, when we ſhall have the reſurrection common with him. For what doth the ſcripture teach more plainly, than that as Chriſt did put on our true fleſh when he was born of the virgin, and ſuffered in our true fleſh when he ſatisfied for us: ſo he received again alſo the ſame true fleſh in riſing again, and carried it up to heaven? For this is to us the hope of our reſurrection and aſcending into heaven, that Chriſt is riſen again and aſcended; and (as Tertullian ſaith) he carried the earneſt of our reſurrection into the heavens with him. Now how weak and frail ſhould that hope be, unleſs this our real fleſh had been raiſed up with Chriſt and entered into the kingdom of heaven? But this is the proper truth of a body, to be contained in ſpace, to conſiſt of its meaſured proportions, to have its form. Therefore away with this fooliſh device, which doth

doth faſten both the minds of men and Chriſt to the bread. For to what purpoſe ſerveth the ſecret preſence under bread, but that they who deſire to have Chriſt united to them, may reſt in that ſign? But the Lord himſelf willed us to withdraw not only our eyes, but all our ſenſes from the earth, forbidding himſelf to be touched of the women until he had gone up to his Father. When he ſeeth Mary with godly zeal of reverence to make haſte to kiſs his feet, Joh. xx. 17. there is no cauſe why he ſhould diſallow and forbid this touching till he ſhould be taken up into heaven, but becauſe he will be ſought no where elſe. Whereas they object that he was afterwards ſeen of Steven, Acts vii. 53. the ſolution is eaſy. For neither was it therefore neceſſary that Chriſt ſhould change place, who could give to the eyes of his ſervant ſuch clearneſs of ſight as might pierce through the heavens. The ſame alſo is to be ſaid of Paul, Acts ix. 4. Whereas they object that Chriſt came out of the ſepulchre it being ſhut, Mat. xxviii. 6. and entered in among the diſciples the doors being ſhut, John xx. 19. that maketh never a whit more for the maintenance of this error. For as the water like a faſt pavement made a way to Chriſt walking upon the lake: Mat. xiv. 25. ſo it is no wonder, if at his coming the hardneſs of the ſtone yielded itſelf. Howbeit it is more probable, that by his commandment the ſtone was removed, and by and by after paſſage given him returned into its place. And to enter the doors being ſhut, is not as much in effect as to pierce through the whole ſubſtance, but by divine power to open an entry for himſelf, that he ſuddenly ſtood among the diſciples, verily after a marvellous manner, when the doors were faſt locked. That which they allege out of Luke, that Chriſt ſuddenly vaniſhed away from the eyes of the diſciples with whom he went to Emaus, Luke xxiv. 31. profiteth them nothing, and maketh for us. For, that he might take away the ſight of himſelf from them, he was not made inviſible, but only went out of ſight. As when he went in journey together with them (as the ſame Luke witneſſeth, chap. xxiv. 16.) he did not put on a new face, that he might not be known, but held their eyes. But theſe fellows do not only transform Chriſt, that he may be converſant on earth, but in divers places they make him divers and unlike himſelf. Finally, in ſo trifling they do not by one word indeed, but by a circumſtance, make of the fleſh of Chriſt a ſpirit: and not contented therewith, they put upon it altogether contrary qualities. Whereupon of neceſſity followeth that it is double.

30. Now although we grant them that which they prat of the inviſible preſence, the unmeaſurableneſs ſhall not be yet proved, without which they ſhall in vain attempt to incloſe Chriſt under bread, unleſs the body of Chriſt may be every where at once, without any compaſs of place, it ſhall not be likely that he lieth hidden under bread in the ſupper. By which neceſſity they brought in the monſtrous being every where. But it is ſhewed by ſtrong and plain witneſſes of ſcripture, that it was limited about by the meaſure of the body of a man: and then that by his aſcending he hath made it plain that he is not in all places, but that when he paſſeth into one place he leaveth the other that he was in before. Neither is the promiſe which they allege, to be drawn to the body, I am with you unto the end of the world, Mat. xxviii. 20. Firſt the continual union cannot ſtand, unleſs Chriſt dwell in us corporally without the uſe of the ſupper. Therefore there is no juſt cauſe why they ſhould ſo ſharply brawl about the words of Chriſt, that they may in the ſupper incloſe Chriſt under bread. Again the text itſelf proveth, that Chriſt ſpeaketh nothing leſs than of his fleſh, but promiſeth to his diſciples invincible help, whereby he may defend and ſuſtain them againſt all the aſſaults of Satan and the world. For when he enjoined them a hard charge: leſt they ſhould doubt to take it in hand, or ſhould fearfully execute it, he ſtrengtheneth them with aſſiance of his preſence: as if he had ſaid, that his ſuccour ſhould not fail them, which ſhould be impoſſible to be overcome. Unleſs they liſted to confound all things ought they not to make diſtinction of the manner of preſence. And verily ſome had rather with great ſhame to utter their ignorance, than to yield never ſo little of their error. I ſpeak not of the Papiſts: whoſe doctrine is more tolerable, or at the leaſt more ſhamefaſt. But contentiouſneſs ſo carrieth ſome away, that they ſay that by reaſon of the natures united in Chriſt, whereſoever the Godhead of Chriſt is, there is alſo his fleſh, which cannot be ſeparated from his Godhead. As though that ſame uniting have compounded of thoſe two natures, I wot not what mean thing which was neither God nor man. So indeed did

Though the inviſibilitie of the body of Chriſt were granted, yet the unmeaſurableneſs thereof, which being denied taketh away the preſence of Chriſt in or under the bread, was both condemned in the hereſy of Eutyches, and hath in ſcripture no colour of proof.

Eutyches, and after him Servetus. But it is plainly gathered out of the ſcripture, that the one only perſon of Chriſt doth ſo conſiſt of two natures, that either of them hath ſtill her own property remaining ſafe. And that Eutyches was rightfully condemned, they will be aſhamed to deny: it is a wonder that they mark not the cauſe of his condemning, that taking away the difference between the natures, enforcing the unity of perſon, he made of God man, and of man God. What madneſs therefore is it, rather to mingle heaven and earth together, than not to draw the body of Chriſt out of the heavenly ſanctuary? For whereas they bring for themſelves theſe teſtimonies, None is gone up to heaven but he that is come down the ſon of man who is in heaven. John. iii. 13. Again, the Son who is the boſom of the Father, he ſhall declare him: John. i. 18. it is a point of like ſenſeleſs dulneſs, to deſpiſe the communicating of properties which was in old time not without cauſe invented of the holy fathers. Truly, when the Lord of glory is ſaid to be crucified, 1 Cor. ii. 8. Paul doth not mean that he ſuffered any thing in his Godhead: but becauſe the ſame Chriſt, who being an abject and deſpiſed in the fleſh did ſuffer, was both God and Lord of glory. After this manner alſo the Son of man was in heaven: becauſe the ſelf ſame Chriſt, who according to the fleſh did dwell the Son of man in earth, was God in heaven. In which ſort he is ſaid to have deſcended from the ſaid place according to his Godhead: not that the Godhead did forſake heaven to hide itſelf in the priſon of the body, but becauſe although it filled all things, yet in the very manhood of Chriſt it dwelt bodily, that is to ſay naturally, and after a certain unſpeakable manner. It is a common diſtinction in ſchools, which I am not aſhamed to rehearſe: that although whole Chriſt be every where, yet not the whole that is in him is every where. And I would to God the ſchoolmen themſelves had well weighed the import of this ſaying: for ſo ſhould the unſavoury invention of the fleſhly preſence of Chriſt have been met withal. Therefore our mediator, ſince he is whole every where, is always at hand with his, and in the ſupper after a ſpecial manner maketh himſelf preſent: but yet ſo that whole he is preſent, not the whole that he is: becauſe, as it is ſaid, in his fleſh he is contained in heaven till he appear to judgment.

Chriſt preſent in the ſupper though he deſcend not to preſent his body

31. But they are far deceived, who conceive no preſence of the fleſh of Chriſt in the ſupper, unleſs it be made preſent in bread. For ſo they leave nothing to the ſecret working of the ſpirit, which *inviſible in bread,* uniteth Chriſt himſelf unto us. they think not Chriſt preſent, unleſs he come down to us. As though if he did lift us up to him, we ſhould not as well enjoy his preſence. Therefore the queſtion is only of the manner: becauſe they place Chriſt in the bread, but we think it not lawful for us to pluck him out of heaven. Let the readers judge which is the righteſt. Only let this cavil be driven away, that Chriſt is taken away from his ſupper, unleſs he be hidden under the cover of bread. For ſince this myſtery is heavenly, there is no need to draw Chriſt into the earth, that he may be joined to us.

The manner of the preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament incomprehenſible, inexplicable

32. Now if any man do aſk me of the manner, I will not be aſhamed to confeſs, that it is a higher ſecret than that it can be either comprehended with my wit, or uttered with my words: and, to ſpeak it more plainly, I rather feel it, than I can underſtand it. Therefore I do herein without controverſy embrace the truth of God, in which I may ſafely reſt. He pronounceth that his fleſh is the meat of my ſoul, and his blood is the drink. With ſuch food I offer my ſoul to him to be fed. In his holy ſupper he commandeth me under the ſigns of bread and wine to take, eat, and drink his body and blood. I doubt not but that both he doth truly deliver them, and I do receive them. Only I refuſe the abſurdities, which appear to be either unworthy of the heavenly majeſty of Chriſt, or diſagreeing from the truth of his nature of manhood: foraſmuch as they muſt alſo fight with the word of God, which alſo teacheth that Chriſt was ſo taken up into the glory of the heavenly kingdom that it lifteth him above all eſtate of the world, Luk. xxiv. 26. and no leſs diligently ſetteth forth in his human nature thoſe things that are properly belonging to his true manhood. Neither ought this to ſeem incredible, or not conſonant to reaſon, becauſe as the whole kingdom of Chriſt is ſpiritual, ſo whatſoever he doth with his church, ought not to be reduced to the reaſon of this world. Or, that I may uſe the words of Auguſtine, this myſtery, as others are, is done by men, but from God: in earth, but from heaven. (*Iren. lib. 4. ca.* 34.) Such (I ſay) is the preſence of the body, as the nature of the ſacrament requireth: which we ſay here to excel with ſo great force, and great effectualneſs, that it not only bringeth to our minds undoubted truſt of eternal life, but alſo aſſureth us of the immortality of our fleſh.

For

For it is now quickened of his immortal flesh, and after a certain manner communicateth of his immortality. They who are carried above this with their excessive speeches do nothing but with such entanglements darken the simple and plain truth. If any be not yet satisfied, I would have him here a while to consider with me, that we now speak of a sacrament, all the parts whereof ought to be referred to faith. But we do no less daintily and plentifully feed faith with this partaking of the body which we have declared, than they that pluck Christ himself out of heaven. In the mean time I plainly confess, that I refuse that mixture of the flesh of Christ with our soul, or the pouring out of it such as they teach: because it sufficeth us, that Christ doth out of the substance of his flesh breathe life into our souls, yea doth pour into us his own life, although the very flesh of Christ doth not enter into us. Moreover there is no doubt that the proportion of faith, whereby Paul willeth us to examine all exposition of scripture, Rom. xii. 3. doth in this behalf very well agree with me. As for them that speak against so evident a truth, let them look after what rule of faith they fashion themselves. He that doth not confess that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God. 2 John. 7. These men, altho' they cloke it, or mark it not, do spoil him of his flesh.

Our communicating of Christ in the sacrament spiritual not carnal, such as receiveth Christ himself not the effects of his grace only, otherwise sacramental than Lombard, and after him others, have dreamed, who think his flesh eaten without taste, without faith.

33. Of communicating is to be likewise thought, which they acknowlege none unless they devour the flesh of Christ under bread. But there is no small wrong done to the Holy Ghost, unless we believe that it is brought to pass by his incomprehensible power, that we communicate with the flesh and blood of Christ. Yea if the force of the mystery, such as it is taught of us, and as it was known to the old church from four hundred years ago, were weighed according to the unworthiness of it, there was enough and more whereupon we might be satisfied: the gate had been shut against many foul errors, out of which have been kindled many horrible dissentions wherewith both in old time and in our age the church hath been miserably vexed, while curious men do enforce an excessive manner of presence, which the scripture never sheweth. And they turmoil about a thing foolishly and rashly conceived, as if the enclosing of Christ under bread were (as the proverb is) the prow and poup of godliness. It principally behoved to know, how the body of Christ, as it was once delivered for us, is made ours: how we are made partakers of his blood that was shed: because this is to possess whole Christ crucified, that we may enjoy all his good things. Now these things, in which was so great importance, being omitted yea neglected and and in a manner buried, this only crabbed question pleaseth them, how the body of Christ lieth hid under bread or under the form of bread. They fasly spread abroad that whatsoever we teach concerning spiritual eating, is contrary to the true and real eating, as they call it: because we have respect to nothing but to the manner, which among them is carnal, while they enclose Christ in bread: but to us it is spiritual, because the secret power of the spirit is the bond of our union with Christ. No truer is that other objection, that we touch only the fruit or effect which the faithful take of the eating of the flesh of Christ. For we have said before, that Christ himself is the substance of the supper: and that thereupon followeth the effect, that by the sacrifice of his death we are cleansed from sins, by his blood we are washed, by his resurrection we are raised up into hope of the heavenly life. But the foolish imagination whereof Lombard was the author, hath perverted their minds, while they think that the eating of the flesh of Christ is the sacrament. For this saith he: the sacrament and not the thing are the forms of bread and wine: the sacrament and the thing, are the flesh and blood of Christ: the thing and the sacrament, is the mystical flesh. (*Lib.* 4. *Dist.* 8.) Again within a little after. The thing signified and contained, is the proper flesh of Christ: the thing signified and not contained, is his mystical body. Whereas he maketh difference between the flesh of Christ, and the effectual power of nourishing, wherewith it is endued, I agree: but whereas he feigneth it to be a sacrament, yea and contained under bread, it is an error not to be suffered. Hereupon hath grown the false exposition of sacramental eating, because they have thought that wicked men also and evil doers do eat the flesh of Christ, how much soever they are strangers from him. But the flesh of Christ, it self in the mystery of the supper is no less a spiritual thing than eternal salvation. Whereupon we gather, that whosoever are void of the spirit of Christ, can no more eat the flesh of Christ, than they can drink wine where-

wherewith is joined no taſte. Truly Chriſt is too hainouſly torn in ſunder, when that dead body and which hath no lively ſtrength, is given forth in common to unbelievers: and his expreſs words are directly againſt it. Whoſoever eateth my fleſh and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him. John vi. 56. They anſwer that in that place is not treated of the ſacramental eating: which I grant, ſo that they will not now and then ſtumble againſt the ſame ſtone, ſaying that the fleſh it ſelf is eaten without fruit. But I would know of them, how long they hold it when they have eaten it. Here, in my judgement, they ſhall have no way to get out. But they object, that nothing can be withdrawn or fail of the promiſes of God by the unthankfulneſs of men. I grant indeed, and I ſay that the force of the myſtery remaineth whole, howſoever wicked men do, as much as in them lieth, endeavour to make it void. Yet it is one thing to be offered, and another thing to be received. Chriſt reacheth this ſpiritual meat and offereth this ſpiritual drink to all men, ſome do greedily eat of it, ſome do lothingly refuſe it: ſhall theſe men refuſing make the meat and the drink to looſe their nature? They will ſay that their opinion is aſſiſted by this ſimilitude, namely, that the fleſh of Chriſt, though it be unſavoury, is nevertheleſs his fleſh. But I deny that it can be eaten without the taſte of faith: or (if we liſt rather to ſpeak as Auguſtine doth) I ſay that men bear away no more of this ſacrament, than they gather with the veſſel of faith. So nothing abated from the ſacrament, yea the truth and effectualneſs thereof remaineth undiminiſhed, although the wicked depart empty from the outward partaking of it. If they again object that this word, This is my body, is diminiſhed, if the wicked receive corruptible bread and nothing elſe, we have a ſolution ready, that God will not be known true in the receiving it ſelf, but in the ſtedfaſtneſs of his own goodneſs, when he is ready to give, yea liberally offereth to the unworthy that which they refuſe. And this is the fulneſs of the ſacrament, which the whole world cannot break, that the fleſh and blood of Chriſt is no leſs given to the unworthy than to the choſen faithful ones of God: but therewithal it is true, that as water lighting upon a hard ſtone, falleth away, becauſe there is no entry open into the ſtone: ſo the wicked do with their hardneſs drive back the grace of God that it cannot pierce into them. Moreover, that Chriſt ſhould be received without faith, is no more agreeing with reaſon, than ſeed to bud in the fire. Whereas they aſk, how Chriſt is come to damnation to ſome, unleſs they receive him unworthily, it is a very cold queſtion: foraſmuch as we no where read, that men do procure death to themſelves by unworthily receiving Chriſt, but rather by refuſing him. Neither doth Chriſt's parable help them, where he ſaith that ſeed groweth up among thorns, and afterward being choaked is marred: Mat. xiii. 7. becauſe he there treateth, of what value the faith is which endureth but for a time, which they do not think to be neceſſary to the eating of Chriſt's fleſh and drinking of his blood, that in this behalf do make Judas equal with Peter. But rather by the ſame parable their error is confuted, where Chriſt ſaith that ſome ſeed falleth in the high way, other-ſome upon ſtones, and neither of them taketh root. Whereupon followeth that to the unbelievers their own hardneſs is a let that Chriſt attaineth not to them. Whoſoever deſireth to have our ſalvation aſſiſted by this myſtery, ſhall find nothing fitter, than that the faithful being led to the very fountain, ſhould draw life out of the Son of God. But the dignity of it is honourably enough ſet out, when we keep in mind that it is a help whereby we are graffed into the body of Chriſt, or being graffed do more and more grow together, till he do fully make himſelf one with us in the heavenly life. they object that Paul ought not to have made them guilty of the body and blood of Chriſt, 1 Cor. xi. 29. unleſs they were partakers of them. But I anſwer that they are not therefore condemned becauſe they have eaten them, but only becauſe they have prophaned the myſtery, in treading under feet the pledge of the holy union with God, which they ought reverently to receive.

34. Now becauſe Auguſtine among the old writers chiefly hath affirmed that article of doctrine, that nothing is abated from the ſacraments, nor is the grace which they figure made void by the infidelity or naughtineſs of men: it ſhall be profitable to prove clearly by his own words, how unfitly and perverſly they do draw that to this preſent cauſe, who caſt the body of Chriſt to dogs to eat. The ſacramental eating, after their opinion, whereby the wicked receive the body and blood of Chriſt without the power of the Spirit, or any effect of grace. Auguſtine contrariwiſe weighing wiſely thoſe words. He that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my blood, ſhall not die for ever, ſaith: Namely the power of the ſacrament, not only the viſible ſacrament: and verily within, not without: he that eateth it with heart, not he that preſſeth it with tooth. (*Hom. in Joh.* 26.) Whereupon at length he concludeth that the ſacrament of this thing

thing, that is to say, of the unity of the body and blood of Christ, is set before men in the supper of the Lord, to some unto life, to some unto destruction: but the thing it self whereof it is a sacrament, to all men unto life, to none unto destruction, whosoever be partakers of it. John vi. 50. That none should here cavil, that the thing is called not the body, but the grace of the Spirit which may be severed from the body, the contrary comparison between these two words of addition visible and invisible driveth away all these mists: for under the first of them cannot be comprehended the body of Christ. Whereupon followeth that the unbelievers do communicate only of the visible sign. And that all doubting may be better taken away, after that he had said that this bread requireth the hunger of the inward man, he addeth: Moses and Aaron and Phineas, and many other that did eat, manna, pleased God, Exod. xvi. 14. Why so? because the spiritual meat they spiritually understood, spiritually hungred, spiritually tasted, that they might be spiritually filled. For we also at this day have received spiritual meat: but the sacrament is one thing, and the power of the sacrament is another. A little after: and by this he that abideth not in Christ, and in whom Christ abideth not, without doubt neither eateth spiritually his flesh, nor drinketh his blood, though carnally and visibly he presseth with his teeth the sign of the body and blood. We hear again that the visible sign is set in comparison as contrary to spiritual eating. Whereby that error is confuted, that the body of Christ invisible is indeed eaten sacramentally, tho' not spiritually. We hear also that nothing is granted to prophane and unclean men beside the visible receiving of the sign. Hereupon cometh his famous saying, that the other disciples did eat the bread the Lord: but Judas did eat the bread of the Lord: (*Hom. in Joh.* 59.) wherein he plainly excludeth the unbelievers from the partaking of the body and blood. Neither tendeth it to any other end which he saith in another place: (*Hom.* 62.) what marvellest thou, if to Judas was given the bread of Christ, by which he might be made bond to the devil: when thou seest on the contrary side that to Paul was given the angel of the devil, by whom he might be made perfect in Christ? 2 Cor. xii. 7. he saith verily in another place, (*Lib.* 5. *de bap. cont. Dona*) that the bread of the supper was the body of Christ to them to whom Paul said, he that eateth unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment to himself: 1 Cor. xi. 29. and that they have not therefore nothing, because they have received naughtily. But in what sense, he declareth more fully in another place. For taking in hand purposely to define how the wicked and evil doers, who profess the Christian faith with mouth but with deeds do deny it, do eat the body of Christ, (and that against the opinion of some who thought that they did not eat sacramentally only but in very deed.) But neither (saith he) ought it to be said that they eat the body of Christ, because they are not to be reckoned among the members of Christ. For (to speak nothing of the rest) they cannot together be the members of Christ, and the members of a harlot. Finally, where himself saith, he that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him, John vi. 56. he sheweth that it is not sacramentally but in very deed to eat the body of Christ. For this is to abide in Christ, that Christ may abide in him. For he so said this as though he had said, he that abideth not in me, and in whom I abide not, let him not say or think that he doth eat my body, or drink my blood. Let the readers weigh the things set as contraries in the comparison to eat, sacramentally, and in very deed: and there shall remain no doubt. He confirmeth the same, no less plainly in these words: prepare not your jaws, but your heart. Hereupon is this supper commended. Lo we believe in Christ, when we receive by faith: in receiving we know what to think. we receive a little and are fatted in heart. Therefore not that which is seen, but that which is believed, doth feed. Here also that which the wicked receive, he restraineth to the visible sign: and teacheth that Christ is no otherwise received than by faith. So also in another place; (*Cont. Faust. lib.* 13. *cap.* 16.) pronouncing expressly that the good and the evil do communicate together in the signs he excludeth the evil from the true eating of the flesh of Christ. For if they received the thing itself, he would not utterly have left that unspoken which was more fit for his matter. Also in another place, (*Ser.* 2. *de verb. Apost.*) treating of the eating and the fruit thereof, he concludeth thus: then shall the body and blood of Christ be life to every man, if that which in the sacrament is visibly received, be in the truth itself spiritually eaten, spiritually drunk. Therefore whosoever make unbelievers partakers of the flesh and blood of Christ, that they may agree with Augustin, let them shew us the visible body of Christ forasmuch as, by his judgment, the whole truth is spiritual. And it is certainly gathered out of

his words, that the ſacramental eating, when unbelief cloſeth up the entry to truth, is as much in effect as viſible or outward eating. If the body of Chriſt might be eaten truly and yet not ſpiritually, what ſhould that mean which he ſaith in another place: (*In Pſal.* xcviii.) Ye ſhall not eat this body which ye ſee, and drink the blood which they ſhall ſhed that ſhall crucify me. I have commanded a certain ſacrament unto you, being ſpiritually underſtood it ſhall quicken you. Verily he would not deny but that the ſame body which Chriſt offered for ſacrifice, is delivered in the ſupper: but he did ſet out the manner of eating: namely that being received into heavenly glory, by the ſecret power of the Spirit, it breatheth life into us. I grant indeed that there is oftentimes found in him this manner of ſpeaking, that the body of Chriſt is eaten of the unbelievers: but he expoundeth himſelf, adding, in ſacrament. And in another place he deſcribeth ſpiritual eating, in which our bitings conſume not grace. And leaſt mine adverſaries ſhould ſay, that I fight with them by a heap of places, I would know of them how they can unwind themſelves from one ſaying of his, where he ſaith that ſacraments do work in the elect only that which they figure. Truly they dare not deny but that the bread in the ſupper figureth the body of Chriſt. Whereupon followeth that the reprobate are debarred from the partaking of it. That Cyril alſo thought no otherwiſe, theſe words do declare. (*In* 6. *Joan. cap.* 17.) As if a man upon molten wax do pour other wax, he wholly tempered the one wax with the other: ſo it is neceſſary if any man receive the fleſh and blood of the Lord that he be joined with him that Chriſt may be found in him and he in Chriſt. By theſe words, I think it is evident, that they are bereaved of the true and real eating, that do but ſacramentally eat the body of Chriſt, which cannot be ſevered from his power: and that therefore faileth not the faith of the promiſes of God, which ceaſeth not to rain from heaven, although the ſtones and rocks conceive not the liquor of the rain.

Adoration of Chriſt in the ſacrament unwarranted.

35. This knowlege ſhall alſo eaſily draw us away from the carnal worſhipping, which ſome have with perverſe raſhneſs erected in the ſacrament: becauſe they reaſoned with themſelves in this manner: if it be the body, then both the ſoul and the Godhead are together with the body, which now cannot be ſeparated: therefore Chriſt is there to be worſhipped. Firſt, if their accompanying which they pretend be denied them, what will they do? For how much ſoever they cry out upon an abſurdity, if the body be ſevered from the ſoul and the Godhead: yet what ſound witted and ſober man can perſuade himſelf that the body of Chriſt is Chriſt: they think themſelves indeed ſufficient to prove it with their logical arguments. But ſince Chriſt ſpeaketh diſtinctly of his body and blood, but deſcribeth not the manner of preſence: how will they of a doubtful thing gather certainly that which they would? What then? If their conſciences chance to be exerciſed with any more grievous feeling, ſhall not they by and by with their logical arguments be diſſolved and melt? namely when they ſhall ſee themſelves deſtitute of the certain word of God, upon which alone our ſouls do ſtand faſt, when they are called to account, and without which they faint at every firſt moment: when they ſhall call to mind that the doctrine and examples of the Apoſtles are againſt them, and that themſelves alone are to themſelves the authors of it. To ſuch motions ſhall be added other not ſmall prickings. What? Shall it be a matter of no importance, to worſhip God in this form, where nothing was preſcribed unto us? When it concerned the true worſhip of God, ought they with ſo great lightneſs to have attempted that of which there is no where read any one word? But if they had, with ſuch humbleneſs as they ought, holden all their thoughts under the word of God, they would truly have hearkened to that which he ſaid, take, eat, drink, and would have obeyed this commandment, wherein he biddeth the ſacrament to be received, not to be worſhipped. But they who, as it is commanded of God, do receive it without worſhipping, are aſſured that they do not ſwerve from God's commandment: than which aſſuredneſs there is nothing better when we take any work in hand. They have the example of the Apoſtles, whom we read not to have fallen down flat and worſhipped it, but even as they were ſitting to have received it and eaten it. They have the uſe of the apoſtolic church, wherein Luke reporteth that the faithful did communicate not in worſhipping but in the breaking of bread. Acts ii. 4. They have the Apoſtles doctrine, wherewith Paul inſtructed the church of the Corinthians, profeſſing that he had received of the Lord that which he delivered. 1 Cor. xi.

Adoration of the ſacrament of Chriſt's body ſo-

36. And theſe things verily tend to this end, that the godly reader ſhould weigh how perilous

perſtitious, condemned in effect by the council of Nice, by the uſe of the old church and by ſcripture.

lous it is in ſo high matters to wander from the ſimple word of God to the dreams of our own brain. But thoſe things that are above ſaid, ought to deliver us from all doubt in this behalf. For that godly ſouls may therein rightly take hold of Chriſt they muſt needs be lifted up to heaven. If this be the office of a ſacrament, to help the mind of man which otherwiſe is weak, that it may riſe upward to reach the height of ſpiritual myſteries: then they who are holden down in the outward ſign do ſtray from the right way of ſeeking Chriſt. What then? Shall we deny that it is a ſuperſtitious worſhipping, when men do throw themſelves down before bread, to worſhip Chriſt therein? Doubtleſs the Nicene ſynod meant to meet with this miſchief, when it forbad us to be humbly attentive to the ſigns ſet before us. (*Surſum corda.*) And for no other cauſe was it in old time ordained, that before the conſecration the people ſhould with a loud voice be put in mind to have their hearts lifted upward. The ſcripture itſelf alſo, beſide that it diligently declareth unto us the aſcention of Chriſt, whereby he conveyed away the preſence of his body from our ſight and converſation: to ſhake away from us all carnal thinking of him, ſo oft as it maketh mention of him, commandeth us to have our minds raiſed upward, and to ſeek him in heaven ſitting at the right hand of the Father. Col. iii. 2. According to this rule he was rather to be ſpiritually worſhipped in heavenly glory, than this ſo perillous a kind of worſhipping to be deviſed, full of carnal and groſs opinion of God. Wherefore they that have invented the worſhipping of the ſacrament, have not only dreamed it of themſelves beſide the ſcripture, in which no mention of it can be ſhewed (which yet ſhould not have been overpaſſed if it had been acceptable to God:) But alſo all the ſcripture crying out againſt it, they have framed to themſelves a God after the will of their own luſt, leaving the living God. For what is idolatry, if this be not, to worſhip the gifts inſtead of the giver himſelf? Wherein they have doubly offended: for both the honour taken from God was conveyed to a creature: and he himſelf alſo diſhonoured in the defiling and prophaning of his benefit, when of his holy ſacrament is made a curſed idol. But let us contrariwiſe, leſt we fall into the ſame pit, throughly ſettle our ears, eyes, hearts, minds, and tongues in the holy doctrine of God. For that is the ſchool of the holy Ghoſt, the beſt ſchool-maſter, in which ſuch profit is attained, that nothing need more to be gotten from any where elſe, but we willingly ought to be ignorant of whatſoever is not taught in it.

Chriſt in the ſacrament offered and given by promiſe unto them not who behold and adore, but who eat and give thanks: this ſacrament being inſtituted for the participation of Chriſt by faith and the profeſſion of our grateful remembrance as two ſpecial uſes.

37. But now (as ſuperſtition, when it hath once paſſed the right bounds, maketh no end of ſinning) they fell a great way further. For they have deviſed ceremonies altogether foreign to the inſtitution of the ſupper, to to this end only, that they might give divine honours to the ſign. we yield, ſay they, this worſhip to Chriſt. Firſt, if this were done in the ſupper, I would ſay that that worſhipping only is lawful, which reſteth not in the ſign, but is directed to Chriſt ſitting in heaven. But now by what pretence do they boaſt that they worſhip Chriſt in that bread: when they have no promiſe thereof? They conſecrate an hoſt, as they call it, which they may carry about in pomp, which they may ſhew forth in a common gazing to be looked upon, worſhipped and called upon I aſk by what power they think to be rightly conſecrate. Verily they will bring forth thoſe words, This is my body. But I will object to the contrary, that it was therewithal ſaid, Take and eat, Neither will I do that of nothing. For when a promiſe is joined to a commandment, I ſay, that the promiſe is ſo contained under the commandment, that being ſeparated it becomes no promiſe at all. This ſhall be made plainer by a like example. God gave a commandment, when he ſaid, call upon me: he added a promiſe, I will hear thee, Pſal. l. 15. If any man calling upon Peter and Paul, do glory upon this promiſe, will not all men cry out, that he doth wrongfully? And what other thing I pray, do they who leaving the commandment concerning eating, do catch hold of a maimed promiſe, This is my body, to abuſe it to ſtrange ceremonies from the inſtitution of Chriſt? Let us therefore remember that this promiſe is given to them who keep the commandment joined with it: but that they are deſtitute of all the word, who remove the ſacrament to any other way. We have heretofore treated how the myſtery of the holy ſupper ſerveth our faith before God. But foraſmuch as the Lord doth here not only bring into our remembrance ſo great largeneſs of his bounty, as we have before ſhewed, but

doth as it were from hand to hand bring it forth, and ſtirreth us to acknowlege it: he doth therewithal warn us that we be not unthankful to ſo plentiful liberality: but rather that we would publiſh it with ſuch praiſes as it is meet, and advance it with thankſgiving. Therefore when he delivered the inſtitution of the ſacrament it ſelf to the apoſtles, he taught them that they ſhould do it in remembrance of him. Luk. xxii. 19. Which Paul expoundeth, to declare the Lord's death. 1 Cor. xi. 26. That is, publicly and altogether with one mouth openly to confeſs, that all our affiance of life and ſalvation is repoſed in the death of the Lord: that we may glorify him with our confeſſion, and may by our example exhort others to give glory to him. Here again it appeareth whereunto the aim of this ſacrament is directed, namely to exerciſe us in the remembrance of the death of Chriſt. For, this that we are commanded to declare the Lord's death till he come to judge, is nothing elſe but that we ſhould publiſh that with confeſſion of mouth, which our faith hath acknowleged in the ſacrament, that is, that the death of Chriſt is our life. This is the ſecond uſe of the ſacrament, which pertaineth to outward confeſſion.

A third uſe of this ſacrament in ſtirring up unto unity and love.

38. Thirdly, the Lord alſo willed it to be to us inſtead of an exhortation, than which no other can more vehemently encourage and enflame us both to pureneſs and holineſs of life, and alſo to charity, peace and agreement. For the Lord doth therein ſo communicate his body to us, that he is made throughly one with us, and we with him. Now ſince he hath but one body, whereof he maketh us all partakers, it is neceſſary that all we alſo be by ſuch partaking made one body. Which unity the bread which is delivered in the ſacrament, repreſenteth: which as it is made of many grains in ſuch ſort mingled together that one cannot be diſcerned from another: after the ſame manner we alſo ought to be conjoined and knit together with ſo great agreement of minds, that no diſagreement or diviſion come between us. This I had rather to be expreſſed with Paul's words. The cup of bleſſing (ſaith he) which we bleſs is the communicating of the blood of Chriſt: and the bread of bleſſing which we break, is the partaking of the body of of Chriſt, therefore we all are one body that partake of one bread. 1 Cor. x. 16. We ſhall have very well profited in the ſacrament, if this thought ſo ſhall be imprinted and ingraven in our minds, that none of the brethren can be hurt, deſpiſed, refuſed, abuſed, or any wiſe be offended by us, but that therewithal we do in ſo doing hurt, deſpiſe, and abuſe Chriſt with our injurious dealings: that we cannot diſagree with our brethren but that we muſt therewithal diſagree with Chriſt: that Chriſt cannot be loved of us, but that he muſt be loved in our brethren: that what care we have of our own body, ſuch alſo we ought to have of our brethren which are members of our body: as no part of our body is touched with any feeling of grief, which is not ſpread abroad into all the other parts, ſo we muſt not ſuffer our brother to be grieved with any evil whereof we ſhould not alſo be touched with compaſſion. Therefore Auguſtine not without cauſe ſo oft calleth this ſacrament that bond of charity. For what ſharper ſpur could be put to us, to ſtir up mutual charity among us, than when Chriſt giving himſelf to us, doth not only allure us with his own example, that we ſhould mutually dedicate and deliver our ſelves one to another: but in ſo much as he maketh himſelf common to all, he maketh all us alſo one in himſelf?

This ſacrament ſevered from the word nothing but a dumb ſhew.

39. But hereby is that very well confirmed which I have ſaid in another place, that the true miniſtration of the ſacrament ſtandeth not without the word. For whatſoever profit cometh to us of the ſupper, requireth the word: whether we be to be confirmed in faith, or to be exerciſed in confeſſion, or to be ſtirred up to duty, prayer is needful. Therefore nothing can be more diſorderly done in the ſupper, than if it be turned to a dumb action: it hath been done under the tyranny of the Pope. For they would have the whole force of conſecration to depend upon the intent of the Prieſt, as though this nothing pertained to the people, to whom it moſt of all behoved that the myſtery ſhould be declared. But thereupon hath grown this error, that they marked not that thoſe promiſes wherewith the conſecration is made, are directed not to the elements themſelves, but to them that receive them. But Chriſt ſpeaketh not to the bread, that it may be made his body, but commandeth his diſciples to eat, and promiſeth to them the communicating of his body and blood. And no other order doth Paul teach than that together with the bread and the cup, the promiſes ſhould be offered to the faithful. Thus it is truly. We ought not to imagine any magical inchantment, that it be ſufficient to have mumbled up the words, as though the elements

ments did hear them: but let us understand that those words are a lively preaching, which may edify the hearers, which may inwardly pierce into their minds, which may be imprinted and settled in their hearts. which may shew forth effectualness in the fulfilling of that which it promiseth; by these reasons it clearly appeareth that the laying up of the sacrament, which many do earnestly require, that it may be extraordinarily distributed to the sick, is unprofitable: for either they shall receive it without rehearsing of the institution of Christ, or the minister shall together with the sign join the true declaration of the mystery. In silence is abuse and fault. If the promises be rehearsed, and the mystery declared, that they who shall receive it may receive it with profit, there is no cause why we should doubt that this is the true consecration. To what end then will that other consecration come, the force whereof cometh not so far as to the sick men? But they that do so, have the example of the old church. I grant: but in so great a matter, and in which we err not without great danger nothing is safer than to follow the truth it self.

The danger of unworthily receiving this sacrament.

40. Now as we see that this holy bread of the supper of the Lord is spiritual meat, no less sweet and delicate than healthful to the godly worshippers of God, by the taste whereof they feel that Christ is their life, whom it raiseth up to thanksgiving, to whom it is an exhortation to mutual charity among themselves: so on the other side it is turned into a most noisome poison to all them whose faith it doth not nourish and confirm, and whom it doth not stir up to confession of praise and to charity. For as bodily meat, when it findeth a stomach possessed with evil humours, being it self also thereby made evil and corrupted doth rather hurt than nourish: so this spiritual meat, if it light upon a soul defiled with malice and naughtiness, throweth it down headlong with greater fall: verily not by the fault of the meat it self, but because to defiled and unbelieving men nothing is clean, Tit. i. 15. though otherwise it be never so much sanctified by the blessing of the Lord. For (as Paul saith) they that eat and drink unworthily are guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, and do eat and drink judgment to themselves, not discerning the body of the Lord. 2 Cor. xi. 29. For such kind of men as without any sparkle of faith, without any zeal of charity, do thrust themselves forth like swine to take the supper of the Lord, do not discern the body of the Lord. For in so much as they do not believe that that body is their life, they do as much as in them lieth dishonour it, spoiling it of all the dignity thereof, and finally in so receiving it they prophane and defile it. But in so much as being estranged and disagreeing from their brethren, they dare mingle the holy sign of the body of Christ with their disagreements, it is no thanks to them that the body of Christ is not rent in sunder, and limb by limb torn in pieces. And so not unworthily they are guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, which they do with ungodliness full of sacrilege so foully defile. Therefore by this unworthy eating, they take to themselves damnation. For whereas they have no faith reposed in Christ, yet receiving the sacrament they profess that there is salvation for them no where else than in him, and do foreswear all other affiance. Wherefore they themselves are accusers to themselves, they themselves pronounce witness against themselves, and they themselves seal their own damnation. Again when they being with hatred and evil will divided and drawn in sunder from their brethren, that is from the members of Christ, have no part in Christ: yet they do testify that this is the only salvation to communicate with Christ, and to be made one with him. For this cause Paul commandeth, that a man prove himself, before that he eat of this bread or drink of this cup. 1 Cor. xi. 21. Whereby (as I expound it) he meant that every man should descend into himself, and weigh with himself, whether he do with inward affiance of heart rest upon the salvation which Christ hath purchased: whether he acknowlege it with confession of mouth: then whether he do with desirous endeavour of innocency and holiness aspire to the following of Christ: whether after his example he be ready to give himself to his brethren, and to communicate himself to them with whom he hath Christ common to him: whether, as he himself is acconnted of Christ, he do likewise on his behalf take all his brethren for members of his own body: whether he covet to cherish, defend and help them as his own members. Not for that these duties both of faith and charity can now be perfect in us: but because we ought to endeavour this, and with all our desires to long toward it, that we may daily more and more encrease our faith begun.

Consciences tormented by that worthiness of receiving which is taught in the church of Rome.

41. Commonly when they go about to prepare men to such worthiness of eating, they have in a cruel manner tormented and vexed poor consciences: and yet they brought never a whit of all those things that might serve to the pur-

poſe. They ſaid that thoſe did eat worthily who were in a ſtate of grace. To be in a ſtate of grace they expounded to be pure and cleanſed from all ſin. By which doctrine all the men that ever have at any time been or now are in the earth, were debarred from the uſe of this ſacrament. For if we go about thus to fetch our worthineſs from ourſelves, we are utterly undone: only deſpair and damnable ruin abideth us. Though we endeavour with our whole ſtrength, we ſhall not the more prevail, but that then at leſt we ſhall be moſt unworthy, when we have moſt of all laboured about ſeeking of worthineſs. To heal this ſore, they have deviſed a way to attain worthineſs: that, as much as in us lieth, making examination, and requiring of ourſelves account of all our actions, we ſhould with contrition. confeſſion, and ſatisfaction cleanſe our unworthineſs, which way of cleanſing, what manner of thing it is, we have already ſhewed there where was a more convenient place to ſpeak of it. So much as ſerveth for our preſent purpoſe, I ſay that theſe are two vaniſhing comforts to diſmaid and diſcouraged conſciences, and ſuch as are ſtruck with horror of their ſin. For if the Lord by ſpecial forbidding admitteth none to the partaking of the ſupper but the righteous and innocent; there needeth no ſmall attention that may make a man aſſured of his own righteouſneſs which he heareth to be required of God. But whereby is this aſſuredneſs confirmed unto us, that they are diſcharged before God, who have done ſo much as in them lay? But although it were ſo, yet when ſhall it be that a man may be bold to aſſure himſelf that he hath done as much as in him lay? So when there is made no certain aſſurance of our worthineſs, the entry ſhall always remain ſhut by that horrible forbidding, whereby is pronounced that they eat and drink judgment to themſelves, who eat and drink unworthily.

The medicinable virtue of this ſacrament unto men weakened with the conſciouſneſs of their own unworthineſs.

42. Now it is eaſy to judge what manner of doctrine this is which reigneth in the papacy, and from what author it proceeded, which with the outragious rigour thereof, bereaveth and ſpoileth miſerable ſinners and ſuch as are tormented with fear and ſorrow of the comfort of this ſacrament in which yet all the ſweet delicates of the goſpel were ſet before them. Surely the devil could by no readier way deſtroy men, than by making them ſo ſenſeleſs, that they could not perceive the taſte and ſavour of ſuch food, wherewith it was the will of the moſt good heavenly Father to feed them. Leſt therefore we run into ſuch a headlong precipice, let us remember that this holy banquet is medicine to the ſick, comfort to ſinners, a liberal gift to the poor: which brings no profit to the healthy, righteous, and rich, if any ſuch could be found. For whereas in it Chriſt is given us for meat: we underſtand that without him we pine, ſtarve, and faint, like as famine deſtroyeth the lively ſtrength of the body. Again, whereas he is given us for life: we underſtand that without him we are in ourſelves utterly dead. Wherefore this is the worthineſs both the only and beſt that we can bring to God, if we offer to him our own vileneſs, and (as I may ſo call it) unworthineſs, that of his mercy he may make us worthy of him: if we deſpair in ourſelves, that we may be comforted in him: if we humble ourſelves, that we may be exalted in him: if we accuſe ourſelves, that we may be juſtified of him: moreover if we aſpire to that unity which he commendeth to us in his ſupper: and as he maketh us all one in himſelf, ſo if we wiſh to us all altogether one ſoul, one heart, one tongue. If we have theſe things thoroughly well weighed and conſidered, ſuch thoughts although they ſhake us yet ſhall never overthrow us. As how ſhould we being needy and naked of all good things, we defiled with filthineſs of ſins, we half dead, eat the body of the Lord worthily? We will rather think that we being poor come to the libeberal giver, we ſick to the phyſician, we ſinners to the author of righteouſneſs, finally, we dead men to him that giveth life: that that worthineſs which is commanded of God, conſiſteth chiefly of faith, which repoſeth all things in Chriſt and nothing in us: and next of charity, and the ſelf ſame charity which is enough to offer imperfect to God, that he may increaſe it to better, foraſmuch as it cannot be given perfect. Some other agreeing with us in this, that the worthineſs itſelf conſiſteth in faith and charity: yet in the meaſure of worthineſs have gone far out of the way, requiring a perfection of faith, whereunto nothing may be added, and a charity equal with that which Chriſt hath ſhewed toward us. But hereby they do no otherwiſe than thoſe before, drive all men away from coming to this holy ſupper. For if their ſentence ſhould take place, no man ſhould receive but unworthily, foraſmuch as all without exception ſhould be holden guilty and convicted of their imperfection. And truly it were a point of too amazing ſtupidity, I will not ſay fooliſhneſs, to require ſuch perfection in the ſacrament, as may make the ſacrament void and ſuperfluous:

fluous: which was not ordained for the perfect, but for the weak and feeble to awake, to ſtir up, to prick forward and exerciſe the affection of faith and charity, and to correct the default of either of them.

The liberty granted unto men and their wanton folly ſhewed in ceremonies annexed to the adminiſtration of this ſacrament.

43. But ſo much as concerneth the outward form of action, whether the faithful receive it in their hand or no, whether they divide it, or every one eat that which is given him: whether they put again the cup in the hand of the deacon, or deliver it to the next: whether the bread be leavened, or unleavened: whether the wine be red or white: it maketh no matter. Theſe things are indifferent and left to the liberty of the church. Howbeit it is certain, that the uſage of the old church was, that every one ſhould take it into his hand. And Chriſt ſaid, Divide it among you. Luke xxii. 17. The hiſtories report that it was leavened and common bread before the time of Alexander biſhop of Rome who firſt delighted in unleavened bread: but for what reaſon I ſee not, unleſs it were with a new ſight to draw the eyes of the common people to wondering at it, rather than to inſtruct their minds with good religion. I adjure all them that are touched with any thought but light zeal of godlineſs, to tell whether they do not evidently ſee both how much more brightly the glory of God ſhineth herein, and how much more abundant ſweetneſs of ſpiritual comfort cometh to the faithful, than in theſe cold and play-like trifles, which are of no other uſe but to deceive the ſenſe of the amazed people. This they call the holding of the people in religion, when being made fooliſh and ſenſeleſs with ſuperſtition it is drawn whither they liſt. If any man will defend ſuch invention by antiquity, I myſelf am not ignorant how ancient is the uſe of chreſme and blowing in baptiſm: how nigh to the age of the apoſtles the ſupper of the Lord was infected with fooliſh inventions: but this verily is the frowardneſs of man's boldneſs, who cannot withhold itſelf but that it muſt always play and be wanton in the myſteries of God. But let us remember that God doth ſo highly eſteem the obedience of his word, that he willeth us in it to judge both his angels and the whole world. Now bidding farewel to ſo great a heap of ceremonies: it might thus have been moſt comelily miniſtred, if it were oft and at leaſt every week ſet before the church, but that firſt they ſhould begin with public prayers: then a ſermon ſhould be made; then the miniſter having bread and wine ſet upon the table, ſhould rehearſe the inſtitution of the ſupper; and then ſhould declare the promiſes, that are in it left unto us? and therewithal ſhould excommunicate all them that by the Lord's forbidding are debarred from it, afterward they ſhould pray that with what liberality the Lord hath given us this holy food, he would inſtruct and frame us alſo with the ſame faith and thankfulneſs of mind to receive it, and that foraſmuch as we are not of ourſelves, he would of his mercy make us worthy of ſuch a banquet: that then either pſalms ſhould be ſung, or ſomewhat read, and the faithful ſhould in ſeemly order communicate of the holy banquet, the miniſters breaking the bread and giving it to the people: that when the ſupper is ended, exhortation ſhould be made to pure faith and confeſſion of faith, to charity, and to manners meet for Chriſtians: laſt of all that giving of thanks ſhould be rehearſed, and praiſes be ſung to God: which being ended the congregation ſhould be let go in peace.

The often receiving of this ſacrament.

44. Theſe things that we have hitherto ſpoken of this ſacrament, do largely ſhew, that it was not therefore ordained, that it ſhould be received once a-year, and that ſuperficially for manner's ſake (as now commonly the cuſtom is) but that it ſhould be in often uſe to all Chriſtians that with often remembrance they ſhould repeat the paſſion of Chriſt: by which remembrance they might ſuſtain and ſtrengthen their faith, and exhort themſelves to ſing confeſſion of praiſe to God, and to publiſh his goodneſs: finally, by which they might nouriſh mutual charity, and teſtify it among themſelves, whereof they ſaw the knot in the unity of the body of Chriſt. For ſo oft as we communicate of the ſign of the body of the Lord, we do as by a token given and received, interchangeably bind ourſelves one to another unto all duties of love, that none of us do any thing whereby he may offend his brother, nor omit any thing whereby he may help him, when need requireth and ability alloweth. That ſuch was the uſe of the apoſtolic church, Luke rehearſeth in the Acts, when he ſaith, that the faithful were continuing in the doctrine of the apoſtles, in communicating, in breaking of bread, and in prayers. Acts ii. 42. So was it altogether meet to be done, that there ſhould be no aſſembly of the church without the word, prayers, partaking of the ſupper, and alms. That this order was alſo inſtitute among the Corinthians we may alſo ſufficiently gather of Paul, and it is certain that in many ages afterward it was in uſe. For thereupon came thoſe old canons which they father upon Anacletus and Calixtus, that when the conſecration is done,

all

all ſhould communicate, that will not be without the doors of the church. And it is read in thoſe old canons, which they call the canons of the Apoſtles: that they who continue not unto the end, and do not receive the holy communion, muſt be corrected as men that move unquietneſs to the church. Alſo in the council at Antioch, it was decreed that they who enter into the church, and hear the ſcriptures, and do abſtain from the communion, ſhould be removed from the church, till they have amended this fault. Which altho' in the firſt council at Toletum it was either ſomewhat qualified, or at leaſt ſet forth in milder words, yet is there alſo decreed, that they, who when they have heard the ſermon, are found never to communicate, ſhould be warned: if after warning they abſtain, they ſhould be debarred from it.

The firſt beginnings of ſlackneſs to communicate.

45. Verily by theſe ordinances the holy men meant to retain and maintain the often uſe of the communion, which often uſe they had received from the Apoſtles themſelves, which they ſaw to be moſt wholſome for the faithful, and by little and little by the negligence of the common people to grow out of uſe, Auguſtine teſtifieth of his own time. (*In* 6. *cap. Johan. tract.* 26.) The ſacrament (ſaith he) of this thing, of the unity of the Lord's body, is ſomewhere daily, ſomewhere by certain diſtances of there received at the table, to ſome unto life, to the days, prepared unto the Lord's table, and is otherſome unto deſtruction. And in the firſt Epiſtle to *Januarius*: ſome do daily communicate of the body and blood of the Lord: ſome receive it at certain days: in ſome places there is no day let paſs wherein it is not offered: in ſome other places only upon the Saturday and the Sunday, and in ſome other places never but on the Sunday. But foraſmuch as the common people were (as we have ſaid) ſomewhat ſlack, the holy men did call earneſtly upon them with ſharp rebukings leaſt, they ſhould ſeem to wink at ſuch ſlothfulneſs. Such an example is in Chryſoſtome upon the Epiſtle to the Epheſians. (*In cap.* 1. *Hom.* 16. 12.) It is not ſaid unto him that diſhonoureth the banquet: wherefore didſt thou ſit down? but wherefore didſt thou come in? Whoſoever is not partaker of the myſteries, he is wicked and ſhameleſs for that he ſtandeth here preſent. I beſeech you if any be called to a banquet, waſheth his hands, ſitteth down, ſeemeth to prepare himſelf to eat, and then doth taſte of nothing: ſhall he not ſhame both the banquet, and the maker of the banquet? So thou ſtanding among them that with prayer do prepare themſelves to receive the holy meat, haſt even in this that thou haſt not gone away, confeſſed that thou art one of the number of them, at the laſt thou doſt not partake: had it not been better that thou hadſt not been preſent? Thou wilt ſay, I am unworthy. Therefore neither waſt thou worthy of the communion of prayer, which is a preparing to the receiving of the holy myſtery.

The cuſtom of yearly once receiving, perverſe.

46. And truly this cuſtom which commandeth to communicate yearly only is a moſt certain invention of the devil, by whoſe miniſtry ſoever it was brought in. They ſay that Zepherinus was author of that decree, which it is not likely to have been ſuch as we now have it. For he by his ordinance did peradventure not after the worſt manner provide for the church, as the times then were. For it is no doubt but that then the holy ſupper was ſet before the faithful ſo oft as they came together in aſſembly, neither is it any doubt but that a good part of them did communicate. But when it ſcarcely at any time happened that all did communicate together, and whereas it was neceſſary that they who were mingled with prophane men and idolaters, ſhould by ſome outward ſign teſtify their faith: the holy man for order and policies ſake, appointed that day, wherein the whole people of Chriſtians ſhould by partaking of the Lord's ſupper utter a confeſſion of their faith. The ordinance of Zepherinus being otherwiſe good hath been evil wreſted of them that came after, when a certain law was made of one communicating yearly: whereby it is come to paſs that almoſt all men when they have once communicate, as though they had ſufficiently diſcharged themſelves for all the reſt of the year, ſleep ſoundly on both ears. It ought to have been far otherwiſe done. Every week at the leaſt, the Lord's table ſhould be ſet before the aſſembly of the Chriſtians: the promiſes ſhould be declared, which might feed us ſpiritually at it: none ſhould indeed be compelled by neceſſity, but all ſhould be exhorted and pricked forward: the ſluggiſhneſs alſo of the ſlothful ſhould be rebuked. All ſhould by heaps, as hungry men, come together to ſuch dainties. Not without rightful cauſe therefore at the beginning I complained, that by the craft of the devil this cuſtom was thruſt in, which when it appointeth one certain day of the year, maketh men ſlothful for all the reſt of the year. We ſee indeed

indeed that this perverſe abuſe was crept in even in the time of Chryſoſtome: but we may alſo therewithal ſee how much it diſpleaſed him. For he complaineth with grievous words in the ſame place which I even now alleged, that there is ſo great inequality of this matter, that often in ſometimes of the year they came not even when they were clean, but at Eaſter they came even when they were unclean. Then he crieth out: O cuſtom, O preſumption. Then in vain is the daily offering uſed: in vain we ſtand at the altar: there is none that partaketh together with us. So far is it off that he allowed it by his authority adjoined to it.

An ordinance to take away half this ſacrament from the people.

47. Out of the ſame ſhop proceeded alſo another ordinance, which hath ſtoln away or violently taken away the half of the ſupper from the better number of the people of God, namely the ſign of the blood, which being denied to lay and profane men (for with ſuch titles forſooth they ſet out God's inheritance) became a peculiar poſſeſſion to ſhaven and anointed men. It is the commandment of the eternal God, that all ſhould drink: which commandment man dare diſcontinue and repel with a new and contrary law, commanding that not all ſhould drink. And that theſe lawmakers ſhould not ſeem to fight without reaſon againſt their God, they pretend perils that might happen if this holy cup were commonly given to all: as though thoſe dangers had not been foreſeen and marked of the eternal wiſdom of God. And then ſubtilly forſooth they reaſon, that the one is enough for both. For if (ſay they) it be the body, it is whole Chriſt, which cannot now be ſevered from his body. Therefore by accompanying the body containeth the blood. Lo how our wit agreeth with God, when it hath never ſo little begun with looſe rains to be wanton and wild. The Lord ſhewing bread ſaith, that it is his body: when he ſheweth the cup, he calleth it his blood. The boldneſs of man's reaſon crieth out contrariwiſe, that the bread is the blood, and the wine is the body: as though the Lord had for no cauſe ſevered his body from his blood both in words and in ſigns: or as though it had ever been heard ſpoken that the body or blood of Chriſt is called God and man. Verily if he had meant to ſignify his whole ſelf, he might have ſaid it is I: as he is wont to ſpeak in the ſcriptures, and not, this is my body, this is my blood. But he willing to help our weakneſs, did ſet the cup ſeperate from the bread, to teach that he ſufficeth no leſs for drink than for meat. Now let one part be taken away, then we ſhall find but the one half of the nouriſhments in him. Therefore, altho' it be true which they pretend, that the blood is in the bread by way of accompanying, and again, the body in the cup, yet they defraud godly ſouls of the confirmation of faith which Chriſt delivereth us as neceſſary. Therefore bidding their ſubtilties farewel, we muſt hold faſt the profit which is by the ordinance of Chriſt in the two earneſts.

Cavillous allegations for defence of the half communion.

48. I know indeed that the miniſters of Satan do here cavil, as it is an ordinary thing with them to make mockery of the ſcriptures. Firſt they allege, that of one bare doing ought not to be gathered a rule whereby the church ſhould be bound to perpetual obſerving. But they lie when they ſay that it was but a bare doing; for Chriſt did not only deliver the cup, but alſo did inſtitute that his Apoſtles ſhould in time to come do the ſame. For they are the words of a commander, drink ye all of this cup. And Paul ſo rehearſeth that it was a deed, that he alſo commendeth it for a certain rule. Another ſtarting hole is, that the Apoſtles alone were received of Chriſt to the partaking of this ſupper whom he had already choſen and taken into the order of the ſacrificing prieſts. But I would have them anſwer me to five queſtions. from which they ſhall not be able to eſcape, but that they ſhall be eaſily convinced of their lies. Firſt, by what oracle have they this ſolution revealed, being ſo ſtrange from the word of God? The ſcripture reckoneth twelve that ſate with Jeſus: but it doth not ſo obſcure the dignity of Chriſt that it calleth them ſacrificing prieſts, of which name we will ſpeak hereafter in place fit for it. Though he gave it then to the twelve, yet he commanded that they ſhould do the ſame, namely, that they ſhould ſo diſtribute it among them. Secondly, why in that better age, from the Apoſtles almoſt a thouſand years, were all without exception made partakers of both the ſigns? was the old church ignorant what gueſts Chriſt had received to the ſupper? It were a point of moſt deſperate ſhameleſſneſs, here to ſtick and dallying granting it to be true. There remain the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, there remain the books of the old writers, which miniſter evident teſtimonies of this matter. The fleſh (ſaith Tertullian) is fed with the body and blood of Chriſt, that the ſoul may be fatted with feeding upon God. (*Lib. de reſurrect. carnis.*) How ſaid Ambroſe

to Theodosius) wilt thou receive with such hands the holy body of the Lord? With what boldness wilt thou with thy mouth partake of the cup of the precious blood? (*Theod. lib.* 3. *ca.* 8. *Eucharistia.*) And Jerom saith: The priests who make the thanksgiving, and do distribute the blood of the Lord to the people. (*Hier. in* 2 *Mal.*) Chrysostom, not as in the old law the priest did eat part, and the people part: but one body is set before all, and one cup. Those things that pertain to the thanksgiving are all common between the priest and the people. (*Chrys. in* 2. *Cor. cap.* 8. *Eucharistia.*) The self same thing doth Augustine testify in many places.

The custom of ministring the cup to the people not abrogated as long as there continued any drop of pureness in the church.

49. But why dispute I about a thing most known? Let all the Greek and Latin writers be read over: such testimonies shall each where offer themselves. Neither was this custom grown out of use, while there remained one drop of pureness in the church. Gregory, whom you may rightly say to have been the last bishop of Rome, teacheth that it was kept in his time. What is the blood of the lamb, ye have now learned, not by hearing, but by drinking. His blood is poured into the mouths of the faithful. Yea it yet endured four hundred years after his death, when all things were grown out of kind. For neither was that taken only for an usage, but also for an inviolable law. For then was in force the reverence of God's institution, and they doubted not that it was sacrilege, to sever those things which the Lord had conjoined. For thus saith Gelasius. (*De consecr. dist.* 2. *cap. comper.*) We have found, that some receiving only the portion of the holy body, do abstain from the cup. Let them without doubt, because they seem to be bound with I wot not what superstition, either receive the sacraments whole, or be debarred from them whole. For the dividing of this mystery is not committed without great sacrilege. Those reasons of Cyprian were heard, which truly ought to move a Christian mind. (*Ser.* 5. *de lap.*) How (saith he) do we teach or provoke them to shed their blood in the confessing of Christ, if we deny his blood to them that shall fight? Or how do we make them fit for the cup of martyrdom: if we do not first in the church by the right of communion admit them to drink the cup of the Lord? Whereas the canonists do restrain that decree of Gelasius to the priests, that is so childish a cavil that it need not to be confuted.

Three other reasons why the people should communicate in both kinds.

50. Thirdly, why did he simply say of the bread, that they should eat: but of the cup, that they should all drink? even as if he had meant of set purpose to meet with the craft of Satan. Fourthly, if (as they would have it) the Lord vouchsafed to admit to his supper only sacrificing priests, what man ever durst call to the partaking of it, strangers whom the Lord had excluded? yea and to be partaking of that gift, the power whereof was not in their hands, without any commandment of him who only could give it. Yea upon confidence of what warrant do they use at this day to distribute to the common people the sign of the body of Christ, if they have neither commandment nor example of the Lord? Fifthly, did Paul lie, when he said to the Corinthians, that he had received of the Lord that which he had delivered to them? For afterward he declareth the thing that he delivered, that all without difference should communicate of both the signs. If Paul received of the Lord, that all should be admitted without difference: let them look of whom they have received who do drive away almost all the people of God: because they cannot now pretend God to be the author of it, with whom there is not yea and nay. And yet still for cloaking of such abominations they dare pretend the name of the church, and with such pretence defend it. As though either these Antichrists were the church, which so easily tread under foot, scatter abroad, and destroy the doctrine and institution of Christ: or the Apostolic church were not the church, in which the whole force of religion flourished.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the popiſh maſs, by which ſacrilege the ſupper of Chriſt hath not only been profaned, but alſo brought to nought.

The ſacrifice of the maſs being held to be a ſacrifice propitiatory, is nothing but a mere profanation of the ſupper of the Lord.

WITH theſe and like inventions Satan hath labboured as by an overſpreading of darkneſs to obſcure and defile the holy ſupper of Chriſt, that at leaſt the pureneſs of it ſhould not be kept ſtill in the church. But the head of horrible abomination was when he advanced a ſign, by which it might not only be darkened and perverted, but being utterly blotted and aboliſhed ſhould vaniſh and fall out of the remembrance of men: namely when he blinded almoſt the whole world with a moſt peſtilent error that they ſhould believe that the maſs is a ſacrifice and oblation to obtain the forgiveneſs of ſins. How at the beginning the founder ſort of the ſchoolmen took this doctrine, I regard not: farewel they with their crabbed ſubtilties: which howſoever they may be defended with caviling, yet are therefore to be refuſed of all good men, becauſe they do nothing elſe but ſpread much darkneſs over the brightneſs of the ſupper. Therefore bidding them farewel, let the readers underſtand that I here match in fight with that opinion, wherewith the Romiſh Antichriſt and his prophets have infected the whole world, namely that the maſs is a work whereby the ſacrificing prieſt who offereth up Chriſt, and the other that do partake at the ſame oblation, do deſerve the favour of God: or that it is a cleanſing ſacrifice, whereby they reconcile God to themſelves. Neither hath this been received only in common opinion of the people, but the very action itſelf is ſo framed, that it is a kind of pacifying wherewith ſatisfaction is made to God for the purging of the quick and dead. The words alſo which they uſe, do expreſs the ſame: and no other thing may we gather of the daily uſe of it. I know how deep root this peſtilence hath taken, under how great ſeeming of goodneſs it lurketh, how it beareth in ſhew the name of Chriſt, how in the one name of maſs many believe that they comprehend the whole ſum of faith. But when it ſhall be by the word of God moſt clearly proved, that this maſs, how much ſoever it be coloured and glorious, yet ſhamefully diſhonoureth Chriſt, burieth and oppreſſeth his croſs, putteth his death in forgetfulneſs, taketh away the fruit that cometh thereof unto us, doth weaken and deſtroy the ſacrament wherein was left the memory of his death: ſhall there then be any ſo deep roots, which this moſt ſtrong ax, I mean the word of God, ſhall not cut down and overthrow? Is there any face ſo beautiful, that this light cannot bewray the evil which lurketh under it?

Chriſt diſhonoured by the ſacrifice of the maſs.

2. Let us therefore ſhew that which hath been ſet in the firſt place, that in it is intolerable blaſphemy and diſhonour done to Chriſt. For he was conſecrate of his Father a prieſt and biſhop, not for a time as we read that they were ordained in the old teſtament, whoſe life being mortal their prieſthood alſo could not be immortal: for which cauſe alſo there needed ſucceſſors that ſhould from time to time be put in the place of them that died. But in place of Chriſt, who is immortal, there needeth no vicar to be ſet after him. Therefore he was ordained of the Father a Prieſt for ever, according to the order of Melchizedech, that he ſhould execute an everlaſting prieſthood. Heb. v. 5. and 7. 17. and ix. 11, 12. Pſal. cx. 14. This myſtery had been long before figured in Melchizedech, whom when the ſcripture had once brought in for the prieſt of the living God, it never afterward made mention of him, as though he had had no end of his life. Gen. xiv. 18. After this point of likeneſs, Chriſt was called a prieſt according to his order. Now they that do daily ſacrifice, muſt needs appoint prieſts to make the oblations whom they muſt appoint as it were ſucceſſors and vicars inſtead of Chriſt. By which putting inſtead of him, they do not only ſpoil Chriſt of his honour, and pluck from him the prerogative of eternal prieſthood, but alſo labour to thruſt him down from the right hand of his Father, on which he cannot ſit immortal, but that he muſt therewithal remain the eternal prieſt. Neither let them ſay for themſelves that their petty ſacrificers are not put in place of Chriſt as if he were dead, but only are helpers of his eternal prieſthood, which ceaſeth not therefore to continue. For they are more ſtrongly holden faſt with the words of the Apoſtle, than that they

may ſo eſcape: namely, that there were many other prieſts made, becauſe they were by death hindered to continue. Heb. vii. 13. Therefore there is but one that is not hindered by death, and he needeth no companions. Yet, ſuch is their frowardneſs, they arm themſelves with the example of Melchezedech to defend their wickedneſs. For, becauſe it is ſaid that he offered bread and wine, they gather that he was a foreſhewing of their maſs: as though the likeneſs between him and Chriſt were in the offering of bread and wine. Which is ſo empty and trifling that it needeth no confutation. Melchizedech gave bread and wine to Abraham and his companions, to refreſh them being weary after their journey and battle. What is this to a ſacrifice? Moſes praiſeth the gentleneſs of the holy king: theſe fellows unſeaſonably coin a myſtery whereof no mention is made. Yet they deceitfully paint their error with another colour, becauſe it followeth by and by after, and he was the prieſt of the higheſt God. I anſwer, that they wrongfully draw to the bread and wine that which the Apoſtle referreth to the bleſſing. Therefore when he was the prieſt of God he bleſſed Abraham. Whereupon the ſame Apoſtle (than whom we need to ſeek no better expoſitor) gathereth his excellency, becauſe the leſſer is bleſſed of the greater. Heb. vii. 7. But if the oblation of Melchizedech were a figure of the ſacrifice of the maſs, would the Apoſtle, I pray you, who ſearcheth out all even the leaſt things, have forgotten ſo earneſt and weighty a thing? Now (howſoever they triſle) they ſhall in vain go about to overthrow the reaſon which the Apoſtle himſelf bringeth, that the right and honour of ſacrificing prieſthood ceaſeth among mortal men, becauſe Chriſt who is immortal, is the only and perpetual ſacrificing prieſt.

The croſs of Chriſt thereby buried and oppreſſed.

3. Another virtue of the maſs was, that it oppreſſeth and burieth the croſs and paſſion of Chriſt. This verily is moſt certain, that the croſs of Chriſt is overthrown ſo ſoon as the altar is ſet up. For if he offered himſelf for a ſacrifice upon the croſs, that he might ſanctify us for ever, and purchaſe to us eternal redemption: undoubtedly the force and effectualneſs of that ſacrifice continueth without any end. Otherwiſe we ſhould think nothing more honourably of Chriſt, than of oxen and calves which were ſacrificed under the law: the offerings whereof are proved ineffectual and weak by this that they were oft renewed. Wherefore either we muſt confeſs, that the ſacrifice of Chriſt, which he fulfilled upon the croſs, wanted the force of eternal cleanſing, or that Chriſt hath made an end of all with one ſacrifice once for ever. This is it that the Apoſtle ſaith, that this chief biſhop Chriſt once appeared by offering up of himſelf before the ending of the world, to the driving away of ſin. Again, that we are ſanctified by the will of God, by the offering of the body of Jeſus Chriſt once. Again, that Chriſt with one oblation for ever hath made perfect them that are ſanctified: whereunto he adjoined a notable ſentence, that forgiveneſs of ſins being once purchaſed, there remaineth no more any oblation. Heb. ix. 26. and x. 10. This alſo Chriſt ſignified by his laſt ſaying and uttered among his laſt gaſpings, when he ſaid, it is finiſhed. John xix. 19. We are wont to note the laſt ſayings of men when they are a dying, for oracles. Chriſt dying teſtifieth that by his own ſacrifice is perfited and fulfilled whatſoever was for our ſalvation. Shall it be lawful for us daily to patch innumerable ſacrifices to ſuch a ſacrifice, (the perfection whereof he hath ſo ſhiningly ſet forth) as though it were unperfect? When the holy word of God not only affirmeth, but alſo crieth out, and proteſteth, that this ſacrifice was once fully done that the force thereof remaineth everlaſting: whoſo require another ſacrifice, do they not accuſe this of imperfection and weakneſs? But as for the maſs, which hath been delivered in ſuch ſort that there may every day be made a hundred thouſand ſacrifices, to what end tendeth it, but that the paſſion of Chriſt whereby he offered him an only ſacrificed oblation to the Father, ſhould lie buried and drowned? Who, unleſs he be blind, cannot ſee that it was the boldneſs of Satan, who wreſtled againſt ſo open and clear a truth? Neither am I ignorant with what deceits that father of lying uſeth to colour this his fraud, ſaying that there are not ſundry nor divers ſacrifices, but that one ſelf ſame ſacrifice is repeated. But ſuch ſmokes are eaſily blown away. For in the whole diſcourſe the Apoſtle laboureth to prove: not only that there are no other ſacrifices, but that that one ſacrifice was once offered up, and ſhall no more be repeated. The ſubtiller men do yet ſlip out at a narrower hole, ſaying, that it is not a repeating but an applying. But this ſophiſtical argument alſo is no leſs eaſily confuted. For neither did Chriſt once offer up himſelf with this condition: that his ſacrifice ſhould be daily confirmed with new oblations: but that by the preaching of the goſpel

goſpel, and miniſtring of the holy ſupper, the fruit thereof ſhould be communicated unto us. So Paul ſaith that Chriſt our paſſover was offered up, and biddeth us to eat of him. 1 Cor. v. 7. This (I ſay) is the mean whereby the ſacrifice of the croſs is rightly applied to us, when it is communicated to us to take the uſe of it, and we with true faith receive it.

The weak ſupporters of the maſs.

4. But it is worth the labour to hear, with what other foundation beſide theſe they uphold the ſacrifice of the maſs. For they draw to this purpoſe the prophecy of Malachy, whereby the Lord promiſeth that the time ſhall come when throughout the whole world there ſhall be offered to his name incenſe and a clean ſacrifice Mal. i. 8. As though it were a new or unwonted thing among the prophets, when they ſpeak of the calling of the Gentiles to expreſs by the outward ceremony of the law the ſpiritual worſhipping of God, to which they exhort them, that they might the more familiarly declare to the men of their age, that the Gentiles ſhould be called into the true fellowſhip of religion. Like as alſo they are wont altogether to deſcribe by figures of their law, the truth that was delivered by the goſpel. So they ſet for turning to the Lord, aſcending into Jeruſalem: for the worſhipping of God, the offering of all kinds of gifts; for larger knowlege of him which was to be given to the faithful in the kingdom of Chriſt, dreams and viſions. Joel ii. 28. That therefore which they allege, is like unto another prophecy of Iſaiah, where the prophet fortelleth of three altars to be ſet up in Aſſyria, Egypt, and Judea Iſa. xix. 21. For firſt I aſk, whether they do not grant that the fulfilling of this prophecy is in the kingdom of Chriſt. Secondly, where are theſe altars, or when were they ſet up. Thirdly, whether they think that to every ſeveral kingdom is appointed a ſeveral temple, ſuch as was that at Jeruſalem. Theſe things if they weigh, I think they will confeſs, that the prophet under figures agreeable with his time, prophecieth of the ſpiritual worſhip of God to be ſpread abroad into the whole world. Which we give to them for a ſolution. But of this thing ſince there do every where examples commonly offer themſelves, I will not buſy myſelf in longer rehearſal of them. Howbeit herein alſo they are miſerably deceived, that they acknowlege no ſacrifice but of the maſs, whereas indeed the faithful do now ſacrifice to the Lord, and do offer a clean offering, of which ſhall be ſpoken by and by.

By the ſacrifice of the maſs, the memory of the death of Chriſt blotted out.

5. Now I come down to the third office of the maſs, where I muſt declare how it blotteth out the true and only death of Chriſt, and ſhaketh it out of the remembrance of men. For as among men the ſtrength of a teſtament dependeth upon the death of the teſtator: ſo alſo our Lord hath with his death confirmed the teſtament whereby he hath given us forgiveneſs of ſins and eternal righteouſneſs. They that dare vary or make new any thing in this teſtament, do deny his death, and hold it as it were of no force. But what is the maſs, but a new and altogether different teſtament? For why? Doth not every different maſs promiſe new forgiveneſs of ſins, new purchaſing of righteouſneſs: ſo that now there are ſo many teſtaments, as there are maſſes? Let Chriſt therefore come again, and with another death confirm this teſtament, or rather with infinite deaths confirm innumerable teſtaments of maſſes. Have not I therefore ſaid true at the beginning, that the only and true death of Chriſt is blotted out by maſſes? Yea what ſhall we ſay of this that the maſs directly tendeth to this end, that if it were poſſible, Chriſt ſhould be ſlain again? For where is a teſtament (ſaith the Apoſtle) there of neceſſity muſt be the death of the teſtator. Heb. ix. 16. The maſs ſheweth itſelf to be a new teſtament of Chriſt: therefore it requireth his death. Moreover the hoſt which is offered, muſt neceſſarily be ſlain and ſacrificed. If Chriſt in every different maſs be ſacrificed, then he muſt at every moment be in a thouſand places cruelly ſlain. This is not mine but the Apoſtles argument, if he had needed to offer himſelf oft, he muſt oft have died ſince the beginning of the world. I know that they have an anſwer in readineſs, whereby alſo they charge us with ſlander. For they ſay that that is objected againſt them which they never thought, nor yet can. And we know, that the death and life of Chriſt is not in their hand. We look not whether they go about to kill him: only our purpoſe is to ſhew, what manner of abſurdity followeth of their ungodly and wicked doctrine. Which thing I prove by the Apoſtles own mouth. Though they cry out to the contrary a hundred times, that this ſacrifice is unbloody; I will deny that it hangeth upon the will of men, that ſacrifices ſhould change

their nature, for by this mean the holy and inviolable ordinance of God should fail. Whereupon followeth that this is a sure principle of the Apostle, that there is required shedding of blood, that washing may not be wanting.

The death of Christ made unfruitful by the sacrifice of the mass.

6. Now is the fourth office of the mass to be treated, namely to take away from us the fruit that came to us of the death of Christ, while it maketh us not to acknowlege it and think upon it. For who can call to mind that he is redeemed by the death of Christ when he seeth a new redemption in the mass? Who can trust that sins are forgiven him: when he seeth a new forgiveness? Neither shall he escape that shall say, that we do for no other cause obtain forgiveness of sins in the mass, but because it is already purchased by the death of Christ. For he bringeth nothing else than as if he should boast, that Christ hath redeemed us with this condition that we should redeem ourselves. For such doctrine hath been spread by the ministers of Satan, and such at this day they maintain with cryings out with sword and fire, that we when in the mass we offer up Christ to his father, by this work of offering do obtain forgiveness of sins, and are made partakers of the passion of Christ. What now remaineth to the passion of Christ, but to be an example of redemption, whereby we may learn to be our own redeemers? Christ himself, when in the supper he sealeth the confidence of pardon, doth not bid his disciples to stick in that doing, but sendeth them away to the sacrifice of his death: signifying that the supper is a monument or memorial (as the common speech is) whereby they may learn that the satisfactory cleansing sacrifice, by which the Father was to be appeased, must have been offered but once. For neither is it enough to know that Christ is the only sacrifice, unless the only sacrificing be joined with it, that our faith may be fastened to his cross.

The sacrament of that holy supper thereby defaced, and destroyed.

7. Now I come to the conclusion, namely that the holy supper, in which the Lord had left the remembrance of his passion graven and expressed, is by the setting up of the mass, taken away, defaced, and destroyed. For the supper itself is the gift of God, which was to be received with thanksgiving. The sacrifice of the mass is feigned to pay a price to God, which he may receive for satisfaction. How much difference there is between to give and to receive, so much doth the sacrifice differ from the sacrament of the supper. And this truly is the most wretched unthankfulness of man, that where the largeness of God's bounty ought to have been acknowleged, and thanks to be given, therein he maketh God his debtor. The sacrament promised, that by the death of Christ we are not only once restored into life, but are continually quickened, because then all the parts of our salvation were fulfilled. The sacrifice of the mass singeth a far other song, that Christ must be daily sacrificed, that he may somewhat profit us. The supper should have been distributed in the common assembly of the church, that it might inform us of the communion whereby we all cleave together in Christ Jesus. The sacrifice of the mass dissolveth and plucketh in sunder this community. For after that the error grew in force, that there must be sacrificers that should sacrifice for the people, the supper of the Lord as though it were posted over to them, ceased to be communicated to the congregation of the faithful according to the commandment of the Lord. An entry was made open to private masses, which might rather resemble a certain excommunication, than that same community ordained of the Lord, when that petty sacrificer willing seperately by himself to devour his sacrifice, doth sever himself from the whole people of the faithful. I call it private mass (least any man be deceived) wheresoever there is no partaking of the Lord's supper among the faithful, although otherwise a great multitude of men be present.

Private masses wicked abuses.

8. And whence the very name of mass first sprung, I could never certainly judge: saving that it seemeth to me likely that it was taken of the offerings that were given. Whereupon the old writers use it commonly in the plural number. But to leave striving about the name, I say that private masses are directly against the ordinance of Christ, and therefore they are a wicked prophaning of the holy supper. For what hath the Lord commanded us? not to take, and divide it among us? What manner of observing of the commandment doth Paul teach? not the breaking of bread, which is the communion of the body and blood 1 Cor. x. 16.? Therefore when one taketh it without distributing, what likeness is there? But that same one man doth it in the name of the whole church. By what commandment? Is not this openly to mock God, when one man privately taketh to himself that which ought not to have been done

but

but among many? But becauſe the words of Chriſt and Paul are plain enough, we may briefly conclude, that whereſoever is not breaking of bread to the communion of the faithful, there is not the ſupper of the Lord, but a falſe and wrongful counterfeiting of the ſupper. But a falſe counterfeiting is a corrupting. Now the corrupting of ſo great a myſtery is not without wickedneſs, Therefore in private maſſes is a wicked abuſe. And (as one fault in religion from time to time breadth another) after that that manner of offering without communion was once crept in, by little and little they began in every corner of churches to make innumerable maſſes, and diverſly to draw the people hither and thither, who ſhould have come together into one aſſembly, that they might acknowlege the myſtery of their own unity. Now let them go and deny it to be idolatry, that in their maſſes they ſhew forth bread to be worſhipped inſtead of Chriſt. For in vain they boaſt of thoſe promiſes of the preſence of Chriſt, which howſoever they be underſtood, verily were not given to this purpoſe, that wicked and prophane men ſo oft as they will, and to whatſoever abuſe they liſt, may make the body of Chriſt: but that the faithful, when with religious obſervation they do in celebrating of the ſupper follow the commandment of Chriſt, may enjoy the true partaking of him.

No commandment in ſcripture to warrant maſſing ſacrificers.

9. Beſide that, this perverſeneſs was unknown to the purer church. For howſoever the more ſhameleſs ſort among our adverſaries do here go about to diſguiſe the matter with falſe colours, yet it is moſt ſure that all antiquity is againſt them, as we have afore proved in other things, and it may more certainly be judged by the continual reading of old writers. But ere I make an end of ſpeaking of it, I aſk our maſſing doctors, ſince they know that obedience is more eſteemed of God than oblations, and that he more requireth that his voice be hearkened to, than that ſacrifices be offered: 1 Sam. xvi. 22. how they believe that this manner of ſacrificing is acceptable to God, whereof they have no certain commandment, and which they ſee not to be allowed by any one ſyllable of the ſcripture. Moreover when they hear the apoſtle ſay, that no man taketh to himſelf the name and honour of ſacrificing prieſthood, but he that is called as Aaron was: yea and that Chriſt himſelf did not thruſt in himſelf, but obeyed the calling of his Father: either they muſt bring forth God the author and ordainer of their ſacrificing prieſthood, or they muſt confeſs that the honour is not of God, into which they have with wicked raſhneſs broken in uncalled. But they cannot ſhew one title of a letter that maintaineth their ſacrificing prieſthood. Why therefore ſhall not their ſacrifices vaniſh away which cannot be offered without a prieſt?

Such ſacrifice never allowed by old writers as the church of Rome hath deviſed in the maſs.

10. If any man do thruſt in ſhort ſentences of the old writers gathered here and there, and do by their authority labour to prove that the ſacrifice which is done in the ſupper is far otherwiſe to be underſtood than we do expound it: let him be briefly anſwered thus: if the queſtion be of allowing the forged device of ſacrifice, ſuch as the Papiſts have feigned in the maſs, the old writers do never ſpeak in defence of ſuch ſacrilege. They do indeed uſe the word ſacrifice: but there withal they expound, that they mean nothing elſe but the remembrance of that true and only ſacrifice, which Chriſt our only ſacrificing prieſt (as they each where report of him) made on the croſs. The Hebrews (ſaith Auguſtine *Lib* 20. *contra Fauſt c.* 18.) in the ſacrifices of beaſts which they offered to God, did celebrate a prophecy of the ſacrifice to come, which Chriſt offered: the Chriſtians do with the holy oblation and partaking of the body of Chriſt celebrate a remembrance of the ſacrifice already made. Here verily he teacheth altogether the ſame thing, which is written in more words in the book of faith to Peter the deacon, whoſoever be the author of it. The words are theſe, Believe moſt ſtedfaſtly and doubt not at all, that the only begotten himſelf, being made fleſh for us, offered himſelf for us a ſacrifice and oblation to God into a ſavour of ſweetneſs: to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt in the time of the Old Teſtament beaſts were ſacrificed: and to whom now with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt (with whom he hath one Godhead) the holy church throughout the whole world ceaſeth not to offer the ſacrifice of bread and wine. For in thoſe fleſhly ſacrifices was a figuring of the fleſh of Chriſt which he ſhould offer for our ſins, and of his blood which he ſhould ſhed to the forgiveneſs of ſins. But in this ſacrifice is thankſgiving and rehearſal of the fleſh of Chriſt which he offered for us, and of his blood which the ſame he hath ſhed for us. Whereupon Auguſtine himſelf in many places expoundeth it to be nothing elſe but a ſacrifice of praiſe. (*Cont. adverſ. legis.*) Finally, you ſhall commonly find in him, that the ſupper of the Lord is for no other reaſon called a ſacrifice, but becauſe it

it is the remembrance, image, and witness of that singular, true, and only sacrifice wherewith Christ hath cleansed us. Also there is a notable place in his fourth book of his Trinity the xxiv. chapter, where after that he hath discoursed of the only sacrifice, he thus concludeth: because in a sacrifice four things are considered, to whom it is offered, and of whom, what is offered, and for whom. The same he himself the one and true mediator reconciling us to God by the sacrifice of peace, remaineth one with him to whom he offered: maketh them one in him for whom he offered: is one himself who offered and, the thing which he offered. To the same effect also speaketh Chrysostom. But they so challenge the honour of sacrificing priesthood to Christ, that Augustine testifieth it to be the voice of Antichrist if any man make a bishop intercessor between God and men. (*Lib.* 1. *cont. Parm. cap.* 8.)

Christ after a sort offered because his offering as it were painted out by this mystery: in celebration whereof the fathers not simply to be allowed, though not to be condemned of ungodliness neither.

11. Yet do we not deny but that the offering up of Christ is there so shewed in us, that the spectacle of the cross is in a manner set before our eyes: as the apostle saith that Christ was crucified in the eyes of the Galatians, when the preaching of the cross was set before them. But forasmuch as I see that those old fathers also wrested this remembrance another way than was agreeable with the institution of the Lord, (because their supper contained I wot not what repeated or at least renewed form of sacrificing) the safest way for godly hearts shall be to rest in the pure and simple ordinance of God: whose also the supper is therefore called, because in it his authority alone ought to be in force. Truly since I find that they have kept a godly and true sense of this whole mystery, and I do not perceive that they meant to abate any thing were it never so little from the only sacrifice of the Lord. I cannot condemn them of ungodliness: yet I think that they cannot be excused, but that they have offended somewhat in the manner of the celebration. For they counterfeited the Jewish manner of sacrificing more nearly than either Christ had ordained, or the nature of the gospel did bear. Therefore that same overthwart appliance to heavenly things is the only thing wherein a man may worthily blame them, for that being not contented with the simple and natural institution of Christ, they swerved to the shadows of the law. Gal. iii. 1.

The difference between the sacrifices of Moses and our thanksgiving

12. If a man do diligently weigh, that this difference is put by the word of the Lord between the sacrifices of Moses, and our thanksgiving, that whereas those did represent to the Jewish people the same effectualness of the death of Christ, which is at this day delivered to us in the supper, but the manner of representing was divers. For in those, the Levitical priests were commanded to figure that which Christ should perform it: there was brought a sacrifice which should be instead of Christ himself: there was an altar whereupon it should be offered: finally all things were so done, that there was set before their eyes an image of the sacrifice which was to be offered to God for a satisfactory cleansing. But since the time that the sacrifice is ended the Lord hath appointed to us another order: namely, that it should convey to the faithful people the fruit of the sacrifice offered to him by the son. Therefore he hath given us a table whereat we should eat, not an altar whereupon sacrifice should be offered: he hath not consecrated priests to sacrifice, but ministers to distribute the holy banquet. How much more high and holy the mystery is, so much more religiously and with greater reverence it is meet to be handled. Therefore there is no way safer, than putting away all boldness of man's understanding, to stick fast in that alone which the scripture teacheth. And truly if we consider that it is the supper of the Lord and not of men, there is no cause why we should suffer ourselves to be removed one hair breadth from it by any authority of men or prescription of years. Therefore when the apostle minded to cleanse it from all faults which had already crept into the church of the Corinthians, he useth the readiest way thereunto, that is, he calleth it back to the only institution of it, from whence he sheweth that a perpetual rule ought to be fetched. 1 Cor. xi. 20.

The name of sacrifice, two kinds thereof in the law, in the gospel, two other thereunto answerable.

13. Now lest any wrangler should stir us up strife by reason of the names of sacrifice and sacrificing priest, I will also declare, but yet briefly what in the whole discourse I have meant by a sacrifice, and what by a sacrificing priest. Whoso stretch the word sacrifice to all holy ceremonies and doings of religion, I see not by what reason they do it. We do know that by the continual use of the scripture a sacrifice is called that which the Greeks call sometime *Thusia*, sometimes *Prosphora*, some-

ſometimes *telete*. Which being generally taken comprehendeth whatſoever is in any wiſe offered to God. Wherefore we muſt make diſtinction: but yet ſo that this diſtinction may have a ſupernal appliance of ſimilitude from the ſacrifices of the law of Moſes: under the ſhadows whereof the Lord willed to repreſent to his people the whole truth of ſacrifices. Of thoſe although there were divers forms, yet they may all be referred to two ſorts For either there was oblation made for ſin after a certain manner of ſatisfaction, whereby guiltineſs was redeemed before God: or it was a ſign of the worſhipping of God, and a teſtifying of religion: ſometimes inſtead of ſupplication, to crave the favour of God ſometimes inſtead of thankſgiving, to teſtify thankfulneſs of mind for benefits received: ſometimes only for an exerciſe of godlineſs, to renew the eſtabliſhing of the covenant, to which latter ſort pertained burnt offerings, drink offerings, oblations, firſt fruits, and peace offerings. Wherefore let us alſo divide ours into two kinds: and for teaching's ſake let us call the one the ſacrifice of worſhip and of godly devotion, becauſe it conſiſteth in the honouring and worſhipping of God, which the faithful both owe and yield unto him: or, if you will, the ſacrifice of thankſgiving: foraſmuch as it is given to God of none but of them that being loaden with immeaſurable benefits, do render to him themſelves with all their doings. The other may be called propitiatory or of expiation. The ſacrifice of expiation is that which tendeth to appeaſe the wrath of God, to ſatisfy his judgment, and ſo to waſh and wipe away ſins: whereby the ſinner cleanſed from the filthy ſpots of them, and reſtored into purity of righteouſneſs, may return into favour with God himſelf. So in the law thoſe were called ſacrifices that were offered for the purging of ſins: Exod. xxix. 3. not for that they were ſufficient to recover the favour of God, or to put away iniquity: but for that they ſhadowed out ſuch a true ſacrifice which at length was fully done by Chriſt alone: and by him alone, becauſe it could be done by no other: and once, becauſe the effectualneſs and force of that one ſacrifice which Chriſt hath fully done, is eternal, as he himſelf hath teſtified with his own mouth, when he ſaid that it was finiſhed and fulfilled: John xix. 30. that is to ſay, that whatſoever was neceſſary to the reconciling of the Father's favour; to the obtaining of the forgiveneſs of ſins, to righteouſneſs and to ſalvation, all the ſame was performed and fulfilled with his only oblation, and there ſo nothing wanted thereof, that there was afterward no place left to any other ſacrifice.

14. Wherefore I determine, that it is a moſt wicked reproach, and blaſphemy not to be ſuffered, as well againſt Chriſt as againſt the ſacrifice which he hath fully done by his death upon the croſs for us, if any man by renewing an oblation think to purchaſe the pardon of ſins, to appeaſe God, and to obtain righteouſneſs. But what is elſe done by maſſing, but that by deſerving of new oblation we may be made partakers of the paſſion of Chriſt. And that there might be no meaſure of madding, they thought it but a ſmall thing to ſay that there is made indifferently a common ſacrifice for the whole church, unleſs they further ſaid that it is in their choiſe to apply it peculiarly to this man or that man to whom they would, or rather to every one whoſoever he were that would buy for himſelf ſuch ware with ready money. Now becauſe they could not reach to the price that Judas had, yet that they might in ſome mark reſemble their author, they kept the likeneſs of number. Judas ſold him for thirty ſilver pence: theſe fellows ſell him after the French account, for thirty brazen pence: † but Judas ſold him once, theſe fellows ſell him as oft as they can find a buyer. In this ſenſe alſo we deny that they are ſacrificing prieſts, that is to ſay, they that with ſuch an oblation are mediators to God for the people, they that appeaſing, may purchaſe the ſatisfactory purging of ſins. For Chriſt is the only biſhop and ſacrificing prieſt of the New Teſtament, into whom all prieſthoods are removed, and in whom they are ſhut up and ended. And if the ſcripture had made no mention of the eternal prieſthood of Chriſt: yet foraſmuch as God, ſince that he hath taken away thoſe old prieſthoods, hath ordained none, the apoſtle's argument remaineth invincible, that no man taketh honour to himſelf, but he that is called of God. Heb. v. 4. By what affiance therefore dare theſe robbers of God, that boaſt themſelves for the butchers of Chriſt, call themſelves the ſacrificing prieſts of the living God?

In the ſacrifice of the maſs Chriſt blaſphemed and ſold, the ſacrificer himſelf not authoriſed.

15. Plato hath an excellent place in his ſecond book of commonweal. Where when he treateth of the old manners of

The very practice of the church of Rome in their

† The common price of a maſs in France is three carolus, which make twenty demers, about the value of a ſterling groat.

maſs and the groſſneſs thereof condemned even by Plato himſelf.

expiation, and laugheth to ſcorn the fooliſh confidence of evil men and wicked doers, who thought that their wicked doings were by theſe as by coverings hidden that the gods could not ſee them, and did, as if they had gotten warrant of the gods by covenant, more careleſly follow their own luſts: he ſeemeth throughly to touch the manner of ſatisfactory purging of the maſs, ſuch as is at this day in the world. To beguile and undermine another man, all men know to be unlawful. To grieve widows with wrongful dealings, to rob the fatherleſs, to trouble the poor, by evil crafty means to catch other mens goods to themſelves, with forſwearings and deceits to enter forceably into any man's poſſeſſions, to oppreſs any man with violence and tyrannous fear, all men confeſs to be wicked. How therefore dare ſo many commonly do all theſe things, as though they ſhould freely be bold to do them? Truly, if we rightly weigh it, no other cauſe doth ſo much encourage them, but becauſe they have confidence, that by the ſacrifice of a maſs, as by payment of full price for recompence, they ſhall ſatisfy God, or at the leaſt that this is an eaſy way to compound with him. Then Plato proceedeth further to ſcorn their groſs blockiſhneſs, who think that by ſuch ſatisfactory cleanſings thoſe pains are redeemed that otherwiſe they ſhould ſuffer in hell. And whereto ſerve at this day the yearly obits, and the greater part of maſſes, but that they who throughout all their life have been moſt cruel tyrants, or moſt ravenous robbers, or given forth to all miſchievous doings, ſhould as though they were redeemed by this price, eſcape the fire of purgatory?

The ſacrifices of praiſe and thankſgiving.

16. Under the other kind of ſacrifice, which we have called the ſacrifice of thankſgiving, are contained all the dutiful works of charity, which when we extend to our brethren, we honour the Lord himſelf in his members: then, all our prayers, praiſings, givings of thanks, and whatſoever we do to the worſhipping of God. All which things finally do depend upon the greater ſacrifice, whereby we are in ſoul and body hallowed to be a holy temple to the Lord. For neither is it enough, if our outward doings be applied to the obeying of him: but firſt ourſelves, and then all that is ours ought to be conſecrate and dedicate to him: that whatſoever is in us, may ſerve his glory, and may ſavour of zealous endeavour to advance it. This kind of ſacrifice tendeth nothing at all to appeaſe the wrath of God, nothing at all to obtain forgiveneſs of ſins, nothing at all to deſerve righteouſneſs: but is occupied only in magnifying and extolling of God. For it cannot be pleaſant and acceptable to God, but at their hands, whom by forgiveneſs of ſins already received he hath by other means reconciled to himſelf, and therefore acquitted them from guiltineſs. But it is ſo neceſſary for the church, that it cannot be away from it. Therefore it ſhall be everlaſting, ſo long as the people of God ſhall continue, as we have before already ſhewed out of the prophet: for in that meaning I will take this prophecy, for from the riſing of the ſun to the going down thereof, great is my name among the Gentiles, and in every place incenſe ſhall be offered to my name, and a pure offering: becauſe my name is terrible among the Gentiles, ſaith the Lord: ſo far is it off, that we would put it away. So Paul biddeth us to offer our bodies a living ſacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, a reaſonable worſhip. Rom. xii. 1. Where he ſpake very forcibly, when he added that this is our reaſonable worſhipping: for he meant the ſpiritual manner of worſhipping of God, which he did ſecretly ſet in compariſon againſt the carnal ſacrifices of the law of Moſes. So liberal doing of good and communicating, are called ſacrifices by which God is pleaſed. Heb. xiii. 6. So the liberality of the Philippians, whereby they had relieved the poverty of Paul, is called a ſacrifice of ſweet ſmelling. So all the good works of the faithful are called ſpiritual ſacrifices. Philip. iv. 18.

Prayer and other good duties termed ſacrifices by the prophets, and chriſtians in reſpect thereof prieſts.

17. And why do I ſeek ſo many examples? For commonly this manner of ſpeaking is often found in the ſcriptures. Yea and while the people of God was yet holden under the outward ſchooling of the law, yet the prophets did ſufficiently expreſs, that under thoſe carnal ſacrifices was the truth, which the chriſtian church hath common with the nation of the Jews. After which manner David prayed, that his prayer might as incenſe aſcend into the ſight of God. Pſal. cxli. 2. And Hoſea called giving of thanks, the calves, of lips, Hoſeah xiv. 3. which in another place David calleth the ſacrifices of praiſe. Pſal. li. 21. Whom the apoſtle himſelf following, calleth them alſo the ſacrifices of praiſe, and expoundeth them the fruits of lips confeſſing to his name. Heb. xiii. 15. This kind

kind of ſacrifice the ſupper of the Lord cannot want: wherein when we declare his death and render thankſgiving, we do nothing but offer the ſacrifice of praiſe. Of this office of ſacrificing, all we Chriſtians are called a kingly prieſthood: 1 Pet. ii. 9. becauſe by Chriſt we offer to God that ſacrifice of praiſe of which the apoſtle ſpeaketh, the fruit of lips that confeſs to his name. For neither do we with our gifts appear in the ſight of God without an interceſſor. Chriſt is he, who being the Mediator coming between, we offer us and ours to the Father. He is our biſhop, who being entred into the ſanctuary of heaven, hath opened the entry to us, He is the altar, upon which we lay our gifts, that in him we may be bold all that we are bold. It is he (I ſay) that hath made us a kingdom and prieſts to the Father.

Maſs a grand deceiver of the world.

18. What remaineth, but that the blind may ſee, the deaf may hear, children themſelves may underſtand this abomination of the maſs? which being offered in a golden cup, hath made drunk the kings and peoples of the earth from the higheſt to the loweſt, Rev. i. 6. hath ſo ſtriken them with drowſineſs and giddineſs, that being become more ſenſeleſs than brute beaſts, they have ſet the whole ſhip of their ſafty only in this deadly devouring gulf. Truly Satan never did exert himſelf with a ſtronger engine than this to aſſail and vanquiſh the kingdom of Chriſt. This is the Helen, † for whom the enemies of the truth fight at this day with ſo great rage, ſo great furiouſneſs, ſo great cruelty: and a Helen indeed, with whom they ſo defile themſelves with ſpiritual whoredom, which is the moſt curſed of all. I do not here ſo much as once touch with my little finger thoſe groſs abuſes wherewith they might colour the unholy pureneſs of their holy maſs: how filthy marketings they uſe, how unhoneſt gains they make with their maſſings, with how great ravening they fill their covetouſneſs. Only I do point unto, and that with few and plain words, what manner of thing is even the very holieſt holineſs of the maſs, for which it hath deſerved in certain ages paſt to be ſo honourable and to be had in ſo great reverence. For, to have theſe ſo great myſteries ſet out according to their worthineſs, requireth a greater work: and I am unwilling to mingle herewith thoſe filthy uncleanneſſes that commonly ſhew themſelves before the eyes and faces of all men, that all men may underſtand, that the maſs taken in her moſt picked pureneſs, and wherewith it may be ſet out to the beſt ſhew, without her appendances, from the root to the top ſwarmeth full of all kind of wickedneſs, blaſphemy, idolatry, and ſacrilege

No ſacrament in the church but only baptiſm, and the Lord's ſupper.

19. The readers now have in a manner almoſt all thoſe things gathered into an abridgement, which we have thought neceſſary to be known concerning theſe two ſacraments: the uſe of which hath been delivered to the Chriſtian church from the beginning of the New Teſtament, to continue to the very end of the world: namely, that baptiſm ſhould be as it were a certain entry into it, and an admiſſion into faith: and the ſupper ſhould be as it were a continual food, wherewith Chriſt ſpiritually feedeth the family of his faithful. Wherefore as there is but one God, one faith, one Chriſt, one church, his body: ſo there is but one baptiſm, and is not oft miniſtred again. But the ſupper is from time to time diſtributed, that they who have been once received into the church, may underſtand that they are continually fed with Chriſt. Beſide theſe two as there is no other ſacrament ordained of God, ſo neither ought the church of the faithful to acknowlege any other. For that, it is not a thing that lieth in the choiſe of man to raiſe and ſet up new ſacraments, he ſhall eaſily underſtand that remembreth that which hath been here before plainly enough declared, that is, that ſacraments are appointed of God to this end, that they ſhould inſtruct us of ſome promiſe of his, and teſtify to us his good will toward us: and he alſo that calleth to mind, that none hath been God's counſellor, Iſa. xl. 13. Rom. xi. 34. that might promiſe us any certainty of his will, or aſſure us, and bring us out of care, what affection he beareth toward us, what he will give, or what he will deny us. For therewith is alſo determined, that no man can ſet forth a ſign to be a teſtimony of any will or promiſe of his: it is he himſelf alone, that can by a ſign given teſtify to us of himſelf. I will ſpeak it more briefly, and peradventure more groſly, but more plainly, a ſacrament can never be without promiſe of ſalvation. All men gathered on a heap together can of themſelves promiſe nothing of our ſalvation. Therefore neither can they of themſelves ſet forth or ſet up a ſacrament.

† Queen Helen the Grecian harlot cauſe of the war of Troy.

The divers ſacraments of the Jews, and our different caſe from theirs.

20. Therefore let the Chriſtian church be contented with theſe two, and let her not only not admit or acknowlege any third for the preſent time, but alſo not deſire or look for any to the end of the world. For whereas certain diverſe ſacraments, beſides thoſe their ordinary ones, were given to the Jews according to the diverſe courſe of times, as manna, water ſpringing out of the rock, the braſen ſerpent and ſuch others, Exod. xvi. 13. and xvii. 6. 1 Cor. x. 3. Numb. xxi. 8. they were by this change put in mind that they ſhould not ſtay upon ſuch figures whoſe ſtate was not very ſtedfaſt: but that they ſhould look for ſome better thing from God, which ſhould continue without any decaying, and without any end. But we are in a far other caſe, to whom Chriſt is openly ſhewed, John iii. 14.: in whom all the treaſures of knowlege and wiſdom are hidden with ſo great abundance and plenty, that either to hope for or look for any new increaſe to theſe treaſures, is verily to move God to wrath, and to provoke him againſt us, Col. ii. 3. We muſt hunger for, ſeek, look upon, learn, and throughly learn Chriſt alone, until that great day ſhall appear, wherein the Lord ſhall openly ſhew to the full the glory of his kingdom, and himſelf ſuch as he is, to be beholden of us. And for this reaſon this our age is in the ſcriptures ſignified by the laſt hour, the laſt days the laſt times, that no man ſhould deceive himſelf with vain looking for any new doctrine of revelation. For many times and in many ſorts he ſpake before of his prophets, in theſe laſt days the heavenly Father hath ſpoken in his beloved, Son, who only can manifeſtly ſhew the Father. 1 John iii. 2. 1 John ii. 18. 1 Pet. i. 20. Heb. i. 2. and indeed he hath manifeſtly ſhewed him to the full, ſo much as behoveth us, while we now behold him by a glaſs, 1 Cor. xiii. 12. As therefore this is now taken away from men that they cannot make new ſacraments in the church of God: ſo it were to be wiſhed, that as little as were poſſible of man's invention might be mingled with thoſe ſacraments that are of God. For like as when water is poured in, the wine departeth and is delayed: and as with leaven ſcattered among it, the whole lump of leaven waxeth ſowre: ſo the pureneſs of the myſteries of God is nothing elſe but defiled when man addeth any thing of his own. And yet we ſee how far the ſacraments are ſwerved out of kind from their natural pureneſs, as they are handled at this day. There is each where too much of pomps, ceremonies and geſturings: but of the word of God in the mean time there is neither any conſideration or mention, without which even the ſacraments themſelves are not ſacraments. Yea, and the very ceremonies that are ordained of God, in ſo great a rout cannot once lift up their head, but ly as it were oppreſſed. How little is that ſeen in baptiſm, which only ought there to have ſhined and been looked upon, as we have in another place rightfully complained, even baptiſm itſelf? As for the ſupper, it is utterly buried, ſince that it hath been turned into the maſs ſaving that it is ſeen once every year but in a mangled and half torn faſhion.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the five falſly named ſacraments: where is declared, that the other five which have been hitherto commonly taken for ſacraments, are not ſacraments: and then is ſhewed what manner of things they are.

A ſacrament defined to be a viſible ſign of inviſible grace, and this applied in the ſchool of Rome to five others beſides thoſe two before handled.

OUR former diſcourſe concerning ſacraments might have obtained this with the ſober and willing to learn, that they ſhould not over curiouſly proceed any further, nor ſhould without the word of God embrace any other ſacraments beſide thoſe two wich they knew to be ordained of the Lord. But foraſmuch as that opinion of the ſeven ſacraments, being commonly uſed in all mens talk, having wandered through all ſchools and preachings, hath by very antiquity gathered roots, and is yet ſtill ſettled in the minds of men: I thought that I ſhould do a thing worth the labour, if I ſhould ſeverally and more nearly ſearch thoſe other five that are commonly numbered among the true and natural ſacraments of the Lord, and wiping away all deceitful colour, ſhould ſet them forth to be ſeen of the ſimple

ple such as they are, and how falsely they have been hitherto taken for sacraments. First, I here protest to all the godly, that I do not take in hand this contention about the name for any desire of striving, but that I am by weighty causes led to fight against the abuse of it. I am not ignorant that Christians are lords, as of words, so of all things also, and therefore may at their will apply words to things, so that a godly sense be kept, although there be some unproperness in the speaking. All this I grant: although it were better that the words should be made subject to things, than things to the words. But in the name of sacrament there is another consideration. For they who make seven sacraments, do therewithal give to them all this definition, that they are visible forms of invisible grace: they make them altogether vessels of the Holy Ghost: instruments of giving of righteousness, causes of the obtaining of grace. Yea, and the master of the sentences himself denieth that the sacraments of the law of Moses are properly called by this name, because they did not deliver indeed the thing that they figured. Is it, I beseech you, to be suffered, that those signs which the Lord hath hallowed with his own mouth, which he hath garnished with excellent promises, should not be accounted for sacraments: and in the mean time this honour should be conveyed away to those usages which men either have devised of themselves, or at least do observe without express commandment of God? Therefore either let them change the definition, or let them abstain from the wrongful using of this word, which doth afterward engender false opinions and full of absurdity. Extreme anointing (say they) is a figure and cause of invisible grace, because it is a sacrament: if we ought in no wise to grant that which they gather upon it, then truly we must resist them in the name itself, lest thereby we admit that it may give occasion to such an error. Again, when they would prove it to be a sacrament they add to this cause, for that it consisteth of the outward sign and the word. If we find neither commandment nor promise of it, what can we do else but cry out against them?

In no man's power but in God's alone to institute sacraments.

2. Now appeareth that we brawl not about the word, but do move a controversy not superfluous concerning the thing itself. Therefore this we must strongly hold fast, which we have with invincible reason before confirmed, that the power to institute a sacrament is in the hand of none but of God only. For a sacrament ought with a certain promise to raise up and comfort the consciences of the faithful: who could never receive this certainty from man. A sacrament ought to to be to us a witnessing of the good will of God toward us, whereof none of all men or angels can be witness, forasmuch as none hath been of God's council. Therefore it is he alone which doth with right authority testify of himself to us by his word. A sacrament is a seal, wherewith the testament or promise of God is sealed. But it could not be sealed with bodily things and elements of this world, unless they be by the power of God framed and appointed thereunto. Therefore man cannot ordain a sacrament, because this is not in the power of man, to make that so great mysteries of God should ly hidden under so base things. The word of God must go before, which may make a sacrament to be a sacrament, as Augustine very well teacheth, (*Hom. in Joan* 80.) Moreover it is profitable that there be kept some difference between the sacrament and other ceremonies, unless we will fall into many absurdities. The apostles prayed kneeling: therefore men shall not kneel without a sacrament, Acts xix. 40. and 10. 3, 6. It is said that the disciples prayed toward the east: therefore the looking into the east shall be a sacrament. Paul willeth men in every place to lift up pure hands, and it is rehearsed that holy men oftentimes prayed with their hands lifted up, then let the lifting up of hands also be made a sacrament, 1 Tim. ii. 8. Finally let all the greatest of the saints turn into sacraments. Howbeit I would not also much pass upon these things, if so that they were not joined with those other greater disadvantages.

3. If they press us with the authority of the old church, I say that they pretend a false colour. For this number of seven is no where found among the ecclesiastical writers: neither is it certain at what time it first crept in. I grant indeed that sometimes they are very free in using the name of a sacrament: but what mean they thereby? even all ceremonies and outward rites, and all exercises of godliness. But when they speak of those signs that ought to be wit-

Although the word sacrament be in the fathers largely applied by St. Augustine speaking of those principal mysteries which Christ hath left unto his church, doth mention only baptism and the celebrating of the

body and blood of Christ.

neſſes of the grace of God toward us, they are contented with theſe two, baptiſm, and the ſupper. Leſt any man ſhould think that I falſely boaſt of this, I will here rehearſe a few teſtimonies of Auguſtine. To Januarius he ſaith. (*Epiſt.* 118.) Firſt I would have thee to hold faſt that which is the chief point of this diſputation, that our Lord Chriſt (as he himſelf ſaith in the goſpel) hath made us ſubject to a light yoke and a light burden. Wherefore he hath bound together the fellowſhip of the new people with ſacraments very few in number, very eaſy in obſerving, very excellent in ſignification. As are baptiſm hallowed in the name of the Trinity, and the communicating of the body and blood of the Lord, and whatſoever elſe is ſet forth in the canonical ſcriptures. Again, in his book of Chriſtian doctrine. (*Lib.* 3. *cap.* 9.) Since the Lord's reſurrection, the Lord himſelf and the doctrine of the Apoſtles hath delivered certain few ſigns inſtead of many, and thoſe moſt eaſy to be done, moſt reverend in underſtanding, moſt pure in obſerving: as is baptiſm and the celebrating of the body and blood of the Lord. Why doth he here make no mention of the holy number, that is, of the number of ſeven? It is likely that he would not have paſſed it over, if it had been at that time ordained in the church, eſpecially ſince he is otherwiſe in obſerving of numbers more curious than need were? Yea, when he nameth baptiſm and the ſupper, and ſpeaketh nothing of the reſt: doth he not ſufficiently ſignify that theſe two myſteries do excel in ſingular dignity, and that the other ceremonies do reſt beneath in a lower degree? Wherefore I ſay that theſe ſacramentary doctors are deſtitute not only of the word of the Lord, but alſo of the conſent of the old church, how much ſoever they glory of this pretence. But now let us come down to the ſpecial things themſelves.

Of Confirmation.

The cauſe and manner of ancient confirmation, with the opinions of Leo and Jerom concerning it.

4. This was the manner in old time; that the children of Chriſtians, when they were grown to age of diſcretion ſhould be brought before the biſhop: that they ſhould fulfil that duty which was required of thoſe that being grown in years did offer themſelves to baptiſm. For theſe ſat among thoſe that were to be catechiſed, till being fully inſtructed in the myſteries of the faith, they could make a confeſſion of their faith before the biſhop and the people. Therefore they that were baptiſed being infants, becauſe they had not then made confeſſion of their faith before the church, were about the end of their childhood or in the beginning of their years of diſcretion preſented again by their parents, and were examined of the biſhop according to the form of the catechiſm, which they had then certain and common. And that this doing, which otherwiſe ought worthily to be grave and holy, might have the more reverence and dignity, there was added alſo the ceremony of laying on of hands. So that ſame child, his faith being allowed, was let go with ſolemn bleſſing. The old writers do oft make mention of this manner. Leo the Pope writeth: (*Epi.* 39.) If any return from heretics, let him not be baptiſed again (but whom he wanted among the heretics) let the virtue of the ſpirit be given him by the biſhop's laying on of his hands. Here our adverſaries will cry out, that it is rightfully called a ſacrament, in which the Holy Ghoſt is given, but Leo himſelf doth in another place declare what he meaneth by thoſe words: (*Epi.* 77.) Whoſo (ſaith he) is baptiſed among heretics, let him not be rebaptiſed, but with calling upon the holy Ghoſt, let him be confirmed with laying on of hands: becauſe he received only the form of baptiſm without ſanctifying. Jerom alſo maketh mention of it, writing againſt the Luciferians. But although I do not deny that Jerom ſomewhat erreth therein, for that he ſaith that it is an obſervation of the Apoſtles: yet he is moſt far from theſe mens follies, and the very ſame alſo he qualifieth, when he addeth, that this bleſſing is given to the biſhops only, rather in honour of their prieſthood than by the neceſſity of law. Therefore ſuch laying on of hands, which is done ſimply inſtead of bleſſing, I praiſe, and would that it were at this day reſtored to the pure uſe thereof.

For confirmation as at this day they uſe it in the church of Rome, there is in the word of God no warrant.

5. But the later age having in a manner blotted out the thing it ſelf, hath ſet I know not what feigned confirmation for a ſacrament of God. They have feigned that the virtue of confirmation is, to give the holy Ghoſt to the encreaſe of grace, which in baptiſm was given to innocency: to ſtrengthen them to battle, which in baptiſm were new begotten to life. This confirmation is celebrate with anointing, and

and with this form of words, I ſign thee with the ſign of the holy croſs, and confirm thee with the chreſm of ſalvation, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghoſt. All this is gaily and trimly done. But where is the word of God, that may promiſe here the preſence of the holy Ghoſt? They cannot bring forth one title. Whereby then will they certify us, that their chreſm is the veſſel of the holy Ghoſt? We ſee oil, that it is a thick and fat liquor and nothing elſe. Let the word (ſaith Auguſtine) be added to the element, and there ſhall be made a ſacrament. Let them (I ſay) bring forth this word, if they will have us in the oil to look upon any thing but the oil. If they did acknowlege themſelves miniſters of the ſacraments, as they ought, we needed to ſtrive no longer. This is the firſt law of a miniſter, that he do nothing without commandment. Go to, let them bring forth any commandment of this point of miniſtry, and I will not ſpeak one word more. If they have no commandment, they cannot excuſe their boldneſs full of ſacrilege. After this manner the Lord aſked the Phariſees, whether the baptiſm of John were from heaven or from men: if they had anſwered, from men, then he had made them confeſs that it was trifling and vain: if from heaven, then were they compelled to acknowlege the doctrine of John. Therefore leaſt they ſhould too much ſlander John, they durſt not confeſs that it was from men. Mat. xii. 25. If therefore confirmation be from men, it is proved to be vain and trifling: if they will perſuade us that it is from heaven, let them prove it.

Impoſition of hands uſed by the Apoſtles, no preſident for popiſh confirmation.

6. They do indeed defend themſelves with the example of the Apoſtles, whom they think to have done nothing raſhly. This is well indeed: neither would we blame them, if they ſhewed themſelves followers of the Apoſtles. But what did the Apoſtles? Luke reporteth in the Acts, that the Apoſtles which were at Jeruſalem, when they heard that Samaria had received the word of God, ſent thither Peter and John: they prayed for the Samaritans, that they might receive the holy Ghoſt, which was not yet come into any of them, but they were baptized only in the name of Jeſus: when they had prayed, they laid their hands upon them: Acts viii. 21. by which laying on, the Samaritans received the holy Ghoſt. And of this laying on of hands he divers times maketh mention. I hear what the Apoſtles did: that is, they faithfully executed their miniſtery. The Lord willed that thoſe viſible and wonderful graces of the holy Ghoſt, which he then poured out upon his people, ſhould be miniſtred and diſtributed of his Apoſtles by the laying on of hands. But under this laying on of hands: I think there was not contained any higher myſtery: but I expound it, that they adjoined ſuch a ceremony, that by the very outward action they might ſignify, that they commended and as it were offered to God him upon whom they laid their hands. If this miniſtry which the apoſtles then executed, were yet ſtil remaining in the church, the laying on of hands alſo ought to be kept. But ſince that ſame grace hath ceaſed to be given, whereto ſerveth the laying on of hands? Truly the holy Ghoſt is yet preſent with the people of God without whom being guider and director, the church of God cannot ſtand. For we have the eternal promiſe, and which ſhall ever ſtand in force, by which Chriſt calleth to himſelf them that thirſt, that they may drink living waters. John vii. 37. But thoſe miracles of powers, and manifeſt workings, which were diſtributed by the laying on of hands, have ceaſed, neither behoved it that they ſhould be but for a time. For it behoved that the preaching of the goſpel while it was new, ſhould be glorioufly ſet forth and magnified, with unheard of and unwonted miracles. From which when the Lord ceaſed, he did not by and by forſake his church, but taught that the royalty of his kingdom and the dignity of his word was excellently enough diſcloſed. In what point therefore will theſe ſtage-players ſay that they follow the apoſtles? They ſhould have done it with laying on of hands, that the evident power of the Holy Ghoſt might by and by ſhew forth itſelf. This they bring not to paſs: why therefore do they boaſt that the laying on of hands maketh for them, which we read indeed that the apoſtles uſed, but altogether to another end?

7. This hath like reaſon as if a man ſhould teach that the breathing wherewith the Lord breathed upon his diſciples, John xx. 22. is a ſacrament whereby the Holy Ghoſt is given. But whereas the Lord did this once, he did not alſo will that we ſhould do the ſame. After the ſame manner alſo the apoſtles laid on their hands, during the time that it pleaſed the Lord that the viſible graces of the Holy Ghoſt ſhould be diſtributed at their prayers: not that they who come after, ſhould only player-like and without the thing indeed counterfeit an empty and cold ſign, as theſe apes do. But if they prove that in laying on of hands they

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low the apoſtles, (wherein they have no like thing with the apoſtles, ſaving I wot not what overthwart wrongful counterfeiting) yet whence cometh their oil which they call the oil of ſalvation? Who taught them to ſeek a ſalvation in oil? Who taught them to give to it the power of ſtrengthening? Did Paul, who draweth us far away from elements of the of the world, who condemneth nothing more than the ſticking to ſuch petty obſervations? Gal. iv. 9. Col. ii. 20. But this I boldly pronounce not of myſelf, but from the Lord: whoſo call oil the oil of ſalvation, they renounce the ſalvation that is in Chriſt, they deny Chriſt, they have no part in the kingdom of God. For oil is for the belly, and the belly for oil, the Lord ſhall deſtroy both. For all theſe weak elements, which decay with the very uſe, belong nothing to the kingdom of God, which is ſpiritual, and ſhall never decay. What then will ſome men ſay: do you meaſure with the ſame meaſure, the water wherewith we are baptized, and the bread and wine under which the ſupper of the Lord is given? I anſwer, that in ſacraments given of God, two things are to be looked unto: the ſubſtance of the bodily thing which is ſet before us, and the form that is by the word of God printed in it, wherein lieth the whole ſtrength. In reſpect therefore that the bread, wine and water that are in the ſacraments offered to our ſight, do keep their own ſubſtance, this ſaying of Paul always hath place, Meat for the belly, and the belly for meats; but God ſhall deſtroy them both. 1 Cor. vi. 13. For they paſs and vaniſh away with the faſhion of this world. But in reſpect that they are ſanctified by the word of God, that they may be ſacraments, they do not hold us in the fleſh, but do truly and ſpiritually teach us.

With derogation from baptiſm, force given unto confirmation which doth not belong unto it.

8. But let us yet more nearly look into it, how many monſters this fat liquor foſtereth and feedeth. Theſe anointers ſay, that the Holy Ghoſt is given in baptiſm to innocency: in confirmation to increaſe of grace: that in baptiſm, we are new begotten into life: in confirmation we are prepared to battle. And they are ſo paſt ſhame, that they deny that baptiſm can well be done without confirmation. O wickedneſs! are we not therefore in baptiſm buried together with Chriſt, being made partakers of his death, that we may be alſo partners of his reſurrection? But this fellowſhip with the death and life of Chriſt Paul expoundeth to be the mortifying of our fleſh, and quickening of our ſpirit: for that our old man is crucified, that we may walk in newneſs of life. Rom. vi. 4. What is it to be armed to battle if this be not? If they counted it a matter of nothing to tread under feet the word of God; why did they not at leaſt reverence the church, to whom they will in every point ſeem to be obedient? But what can be brought forth more ſtrong againſt their doctrine, than that decree of the Milevitane council? Whoſo ſaith that baptiſm is given only for the forgiveneſs of ſins, and not for a help of grace to come, let him be accurſed. But whereas Luke, in the place which we have alleged, ſaith that they were baptized in the name of Jeſus Chriſt, who had not received the Holy Ghoſt, Acts viii. 26. he doth not ſimply deny they were endowed with any gift of the Holy Ghoſt, who believed in Chriſt with the heart, and confeſſed him with the mouth; but meaneth of that receiving of the Holy Ghoſt, whereby the open powers and viſible graces were received. So it is ſaid that the apoſtles received the Spirit on the day of Pentecoſt, Acts ii. 4. whereas it had been long before ſaid unto them of Chriſt, it is not you that ſpeak, but the Spirit of my Father which ſpeaketh in you. Behold all ye that are of God, the malicious and poiſonous deceit of ſatan. That thing which was truly given in baptiſm, he lyingly ſaith to be given in his confirmation, that he may by ſtealth lead you unawares from baptiſm. Who can now doubt that this is the doctrine of ſatan, which cutting away from baptiſm the promiſes properly belonging to baptiſm, doth convey away and remove them to another thing? It is found (I ſay) upon what manner of foundation this godly anointing ſtandeth. The word of God is, that all they who are baptized in Chriſt have put on Chriſt with his gifts, Gal. iii. 27. The word of the anointers is, that they received in baptiſm no promiſe, by which they may be armed in battles. That is the voice of truth, therefore this muſt be the voice of lying. Therefore I can more truly define this confirmation than they have hitherto defined it: namely, that it is a notable ſlander of baptiſm, which darkeneth, yea aboliſheth the uſe thereof: that it is a falſe promiſe of the devil, which draweth us away from the word of God. Or if you will, it is oil defiled with the lying of the devil, which as it were by overſpreading of darkneſs deceiveth the eyes of the ſimple.

Chriſtianity imagined imperfect without confirmation and but

9. They add furthermore, that believers ought after baptiſm to receive the holy Ghoſt by laying on of hands, that they may be found full Chriſtians: becauſe he

half Chriſtianity. he ſhall never be a Chriſtian, that is not chreſmed with the biſhop's confirmation. Theſe are their own ſayings word for word. But I had thought that whatſoever things pertained to Chriſtianity, were all ſet forth in writing and comprehended in ſcriptures. Now as I perceive the true form of religion is to be ſought and learned from elſewhere than out of the ſcriptures. Therefore the whole wiſdom of God, the heavenly truth, the whole doctrine of Chriſt, doth but begin Chriſtians, and oil maketh them perfect. By this ſentence are damed all the apoſtles, and ſo many martyrs, whom it is moſt certain to have never been chreſmed: foraſmuch as the oil was not yet made, which being poured upon them, they might fulfil all the parts of Chriſtianity, or rather might be made Chriſtians which yet were none. But though I hold my peace, they do largely confute themſelves. For how many of the number of their own people do they anoint after baptiſm? why therefore do they ſuffer ſuch half Chriſtians in their flock, whoſe imperfection might eaſily be helped? Why do they with ſuch careleſs negligence ſuffer them to omit that which was not lawful to be omitted without grievous offence? Why do they not more ſeverely call upon the keeping of a thing ſo neceſſary, and without which ſalvation cannot be obtained, unleſs peradventure ſome be prevented by death? Verily, when they ſo freely ſuffer to be deſpiſed, they ſecretly confeſs that it is not of ſo great value as they boaſt it.

Confirmation preferred before baptiſm in worthineſs, becauſe adminiſtred by a biſhop.

10. Laſt of all they determine that this holy anointing is to be had in greater reverence than baptiſm: becauſe this anointing is peculiarly miniſtred by the hands of the chief biſhops, but baptiſm is commonly diſtributed by every prieſt. What may a man here ſay. but that they are utterly mad, who ſo flatter their own inventions, that in compariſon of them they careleſly deſpiſe the holy ordinances of God? O mouth that robbeſt God, dareſt thou ſet a fat liquor only defiled with the ſtink of thine own breath, and enchanted with murmuring ſound of words, againſt the ſacrament of Chriſt, and to compare it with water hallowed with the word of God? But thy wickedneſs accounted this but a ſmall matter, unleſs thou didſt alſo prefer it above the ſame. Theſe are the anſwers of the holy ſee, theſe are the oracles of the apoſtolic treſtle. But ſome of them, even in their own opinion, begun ſomewhat to qualify this unbridled madneſs. It is (ſay they) to be worſhipped with greater reverence: peradventure not for the greater virtue and profit that it giveth; but becauſe it is given of the worthier men, and is made in the worthier part of the body, that is, in the forehead; or becauſe it bringeth a greater increaſe of virtues, although baptiſm avail more to forgiveneſs. But in the firſt reaſon do they not bewray themſelves to be Donatiſts, who meaſure the virtue of the ſacrament by the worthineſs of the miniſter. But I will admit that confirmation be called the worthier by reaſon of the worthineſs of the biſhop's hand. But if a man aſk of them, from whence ſo great prerogative hath been given to biſhops, what reaſon will they bring beſide their own luſt? The apoſtles alone uſed that power, who alone diſtributed the Holy Ghoſt. Are the biſhops alone apoſtles? Yea are they apoſtles at all? But let us alſo grant them that: why do they not by the ſame argument affirm, that biſhops alone ought to touch the ſacrament of the blood in the ſupper of the Lord: which they therefore deny to lay men, becauſe the Lord gave it to the apoſtles alone? If to the apoſtles alone, why do they not conclude; therefore to the biſhops alone? But in that place they make the apoſtles ſimple prieſts: but now the giddineſs of their head carrieth them another way, ſuddenly to create them biſhops. Finally, Ananias was no apoſtle, to whom yet Paul was ſent in order to receive his ſight, be baptiſed, and be filled with the Holy Ghoſt. Acts ix. 17. I will add this alſo to the heap. If by the law of God this was the proper office of biſhops, why have they been ſo bold to give it away to common prieſts? as we read in a certain epiſtle of Gregory.

Confirmation the worthier becauſe in it the fore, in baptiſm the hinder part of the head is anointed.

11. As for their other reaſon, how trifling, fond, and fooliſh is it, to call their confirmation more worthy than the baptiſm of God, becauſe in it the forehead is anointed with oil, and in baptiſm the hinder part of the head, as though haptiſm were done with the oil and not with the water? I call all the godly to witneſs, whether theſe loſels do not endeavour themſelves to this end only, to corrupt the pureneſs of the ſacraments, with their leaven. I have already ſpoken this in another place, that in the ſacraments, that which is of God, ſcarcely glimmereth through at holes, among the heap of mens inventions. If any man did not believe me therein, let him now at leaſt believe his own maſters. Lo paſſing over the water, and making no account of it, they highly eſteem the oil only in baptiſm. We

therefore on the contrary ſide do ſay, that in baptiſm the forehead alſo is dipped in water. In compariſon of this we eſteem not your oil worth one piece of dung, whether it be in baptiſm or confirmation. If any allege that it is ſold for more: by this adding of price, the goodneſs (if any were in it) is corrupted: ſo much leſs may they commend a moſt filthy deceit by theft. In the third reaſon they bewray their own ungodlineſs, while they prat that in confirmation there is given a greater increaſe of virtues than in baptiſm. By the laying on of hands the apoſtles diſtributed the viſible graces of the Spirit. In what things do theſe mens fat liquor ſhew itſelf fruitful? But away with theſe qualifiers, that cover one ſacrilege with many ſacrileges. It is like the Gordian: which it is better to break in ſunder, than to labour ſo much in undoing it.

Confirmation not eſtabliſhed by conſent of antiquity, and if it were, yet not proved thereby a ſacrament.

12. But now when they ſee themſelves deſtitute of the word of God and probable reaſon, they pretend as they are wont, that it is a moſt ancient obſervation and eſtabliſhed by conſent of many ages. Although that were true, yet they win nothing thereby. A ſacrament is not from the earth, but from heaven; not from men, but from God alone. They muſt prove God to be the author of their confirmation, if they will have it taken for a ſacrament. But why do they object antiquity, whereas the old writers, when they mind to ſpeak properly, do no where reckon more ſacraments than two? If a fortreſs of our faith were to be fought from men, we have an invincible tower, that the old fathers never acknowleged thoſe for ſacraments which theſe men do lyingly feign to the ſacraments. The old writers ſpeak of the laying on of hands: but do they call it a ſacrament? Auguſtine plainly affirmeth that it is no other thing than prayer. (*Liber.* 2. *de bap. contra. Donat. c.* 16.) Neither let them here bark againſt me with their ſtinking diſtinctions, that Auguſtine meant that, not of the laying on of hands uſed to confirmation, but which was uſed to healing or reconciliation, the book remaineth and is abroad in the hands of men. If I wreſt it to any other ſenſe than Auguſtine himſelf wrote it, I give them leave after their ordinary manner to oppreſs me, not only with railing, but alſo with ſpitting at me. For he ſpeaketh of them that returned from ſchiſm to the unity of the church. He denieth that they needed to be rebaptiſed: for he ſaith, that the laying on of hands ſufficeth, that by the bond of peace the Lord may give them the Holy Ghoſt. But foraſmuch as it might ſeem an abſurdity, that the laying on of hands ſhould be repeated rather than baptiſm: he ſheweth a difference. For (ſaith he) what other thing is the laying on of hands, than prayer upon a man? And that this is the meaning appeareth by another place, where he ſaith: Hand is laid upon heretics amended, for the coupling of charity, which is the greateſt gift of the Holy Ghoſt, without which whatſoever holy things are in man they avail not to ſalvation. *Lib.* 5. *c.* 23.

The ancient right and profitable uſe of true confirmation.

13. But I would to God we did keep ſtill the manner which I have ſaid to have been in the old time, before that this untimely delivered image of a ſacrament was born: not that it ſhould be a confirmation as they feign, which cannot once be named without injury to baptiſm: but a catechiſing, whereby children or they that were near to the age of diſcretion did declare an account of their faith before the church. But it ſhould be the beſt manner of catechiſing, if a form were written to that uſe, containing and familiarly ſetting out a ſum in a manner of all the articles of our religion, in which the whole church of the faithful ought without controverſy to agree: that a child being ten years old ſhould offer himſelf to the church to declare a confeſſion of his faith, ſhould be examined of every article, and anſwer to every one: if he were ignorant of any thing, or did not underſtand it, he might be taught. So ſhould he before the church witneſſing and beholding it, profeſs the only, true, and pure faith, wherewith the people of the faithful doth with one mind worſhip the one God. If this diſcipline were at this day in force, truly the ſlothfulneſs of ſome parents would be whetted, who do careleſly neglect the inſtruction of their children as a thing nothing belonging to them, which then without open ſhame they could not omit: there ſhould be among Chriſtian people a greater conſent of faith, and not ſo great ignorance and rudeneſs of many: ſome ſhould not be ſo raſhly carried away with new and ſtrange doctrines: finally, all ſhould have as it were a certain orderly inſtruction of Chriſtian learning.

Of Penance.

The ancient laying on of hands by the biſhop and clergy after penance.

14. In the next place they ſet penance, of which they treat ſo confuſedly and diſorderedly, that conſciences can bear away no ſure or ſound thing of their doctrine.

We

nance, holy and healthful for the church.

We have already in another place declared at large what we have learned out of the ſcripture concerning repentance, and then what they alſo teach of it. Now we have this only to touch, what reaſon they had that raiſed up the opinion, which hath heretofore reigned in churches and ſchools, that it is a ſacrament. But firſt I will briefly ſay ſomewhat of the uſage of the old church, the pretence whereof they have abuſed to ſtabliſh their feigned invention. This order they kept in public penance, that they who had fully done ſatisfactions enjoined them, were reconciled with ſolemn laying on of hands. That was the ſign of abſolution, whereby both the ſinner himſelf was raiſed up before God with truſt of pardon and the church was admoniſhed gently to receive him into favour, putting away the remembrance of his offence. This Cyprian oftentimes calleth, to give peace. (*Epi. li.* 1. *c.* 2.) That this doing might be of great dignity, and have more commendation among the people, it was ordained that the biſhop's authority ſhould always be uſed for the mean herein. From hence came that decree of the ſecond council at Carthage: Be it not lawful to a prieſt at the maſs publicly to reconcile a penitent. And another decree of the council at Arauſium, Let thoſe who in time of their penance depart out of this life, be admitted to the communion without the laying on of hands uſed in the reconciling: if they recover of their ſickneſs let them ſtand in the degree of penitents, and when the time is fully expired, let them receive of the biſhop the laying on of hands uſed in reconciling. Again, the decree of the third council at Carthage. (*Cap.* 33.) Let not the prieſt without the authority of the biſhop, reconcile a penitent. All theſe tended to this end, that the ſeverity which they would have to be uſed in that behalf, ſhould not with too much lenity grow to decay. Therefore they willed the biſhop to be judge of it, which was likely that he would be more circumſpect in the examination thereof. Howbeit Cyprian in a certain place ſheweth, that not only the biſhop, but alſo the whole clergy laid their hands on him. For thus he ſaith, (*Decret.* 26. *quæſt.* 6.) At the full time they do penance, then they come to the communion, and by the laying on of hands of the biſhop and the clergy they receive power to partake of the communion. Afterward in proceſs of time it came to this point, that beſide public penance they uſed this ceremony alſo in private abſolutions. Hereupon came that diſtinction in Gratian between public and private reconciliation. I judge that ſame old uſage of which Cyprian maketh mention, to have been holy and healthful for the church, and I would that it were at this day reſtored. As for this latter, although I dare not diſallow it, or ſpeak more ſharply againſt it, yet I think it to be leſs neceſſary. Howſoever it be, yet we ſee that the laying on of hands in penance is a ceremony ordained of men, not of God, which is to be ſet among mean things and outward exerciſes: and thoſe verily which are not to be deſpiſed, but which ought to be in a lower degree than thoſe that are commended unto us by the word of the Lord.

Devices and ſhifts to make penance a ſacrament.

15. But the Romaniſts and ſchoolmen, (who have an ordinary cuſtom to corrupt all things with wrong expounding them) do here very carefully labour in finding out a ſacrament. Neither ought it to ſeem any wonder, for they ſeek a knot in a ruſh. But where they have it beſt, they leave a thing entangled in ſuſpence, uncertain, and confounded and troubled with diverſity of opinions. They ſay therefore that the outward penance is a ſacrament, and if it be ſo, that it ought to be taken for a ſign of the inward penance, that is, of the contrition of heart, which ſhall be the thing of the ſacrament: or that they both together are a ſacrament, not two ſacraments, but one full one. But, that the outward penance is only the ſacrament: the inward is both the thing and the ſacrament: and that forgiveneſs of ſins is called the thing and not the ſacrament. Let them who keep in remembrance the definition of a ſacrament which we have above ſet, examine thereby that which theſe men call a ſacrament, and they ſhall find that it is not an outward ceremony ordained of the Lord for the confirming of our faith. If they cavil that my definition is not a law which they need to obey: let them hear Auguſtine, whom they feign that they eſteem as moſt holy. Viſible ſacraments (ſaith he) were ordained for carnal mens ſake, that by degrees of ſacraments they may be conveyed from thoſe things that are ſeen with eyes to thoſe things that are underſtood. (*Lib.* 3. *quæ. vet. teſtam.*) What like thing do either they themſelves ſee, or can they ſhew to others in that which they call the ſacrament of penance? The ſame Auguſtine ſaith in another place: (*Sermone de bap. infant.*) It is therefore called a ſacrament, becauſe in it one thing is ſeen, and another thing is to be underſtood. That which is ſeen hath a bodily form, that which is underſtood hath a ſpiritual fruit. Neither doth theſe things in any wiſe agree with the ſacrament of penance ſuch as they

feign it, where there is no bodily form that may repreſent a ſpiritual fruit.

Abſolution after penance though not a ſacrament, yet rather a ſament than penance it ſelf.

16. And, to kill theſe beaſts upon their own fighting place, if there be any ſacrament here to be ſought, may it be not be much more plauſably ſaid that the abſolution of the prieſt is a ſacrament, than penance either inward oroutward? for it might readily be ſaid, that it is a ceremony to aſſure our faith of the forgiveneſs of ſins, and hath a promiſe of the keys as they call it, whatſoever ye ſhall bind or looſe upon earth, ſhall be bound or looſed in heaven. But ſome man would have objected, that the moſt part of them that are abſolved of the prieſts obtain no ſuch thing by ſuch abſolution, whereas by their doctrine the ſacraments of the new law ought to work indeed that which they figure. This were but to be lauged at. For, as in the ſupper, they make a double eating, a ſacramental eating, which is equally common to good and to evil, and a ſpiritual eating which is only proper to the good: why might they not alſo feign that abſolution is received two ways? Yet conld I not hitherto underſtand what they meant with this their doctrine, which we have already taught how far it diſagreeth from the truth of God, when we purpoſely treated of that argument. Here my mind is only to ſhew, that this doubt withſtandeth not, but that they may call the abſolution of the prieſt a ſacrament. For they might anſwer by the mouth of Auguſtine that ſanctification is without the viſible ſacrament, and the viſible ſacrament without inward ſanctification. (*Lib.* 3. *quæ. vet. Teſtament.*) Again, that the ſacraments do work in the elect only that which they figure. (*De bap. par. Liber* 5. *de bap. contr. Donat.*) Again, that ſome do put on Chriſt ſo far as to the partaking of the ſacrament, otherſome to ſanctification: the one, the good and evil equally do. this other the good only. Truly they have more than childiſhly erred and be blinded in the clear ſun, who labouring with great hardneſs, yet eſpied not a thing ſo plain and open to every man.

Reaſons why penance can be no ſacrament.

17. Yet leſt they ſhould wax too proud, in what part ſoever they ſet the ſacrament. I deny that it ought rightfully to be taken for a ſacrament. Firſt, becauſe there is no ſpecial promiſe to it, which is the only ſubſtance of a ſacrament. Again, becauſe whatſoever ceremony is here ſhewed forth, it is the mere invention of men: whereas we have already proved that the ceremonies of ſacraments cannot be ordained but of God. Therefore it was a lie and deceit which they have invented of the ſacrament of penance. This feigned ſacrament they have garniſhed with a meet commendation, calling it a ſecond boord after ſhipwreck, becauſe if a man have by ſinning marred the garment of innocency which he received in baptiſm, he may by penance repair it. But it is the ſaying of Jerom. (*Lib.* 4. *Sent. diſt.* 14. *cap.* 1. *De peni. diſt.* 1. *cap.* 2.) Whoſe ſoever it be, it cannot be excuſed but that it is utterly wicked if it be expounded after their meaning. As though baptiſm be blotted out by ſin, and is not rather to be called to remembrance of every ſinner, ſo oft as he thinketh of the forgiveneſs of ſin, that he may thereby gather up himſelf, and recover courage, and ſtrengthen his faith? that he ſhall obtain the forgiveneſs of ſins which is promiſed him in baptiſm. But that which Jerom hath ſpoken hardly and unproperly, that by penance baptiſm is repaired) from which they fall away that deſerve to be excommunicate from the church) theſe good expoſitors draw to their wickedneſs. Therefore you ſhall moſt fitly ſpeak, if you call baptiſm the ſacrament of penance, ſince it is given for a confirmation of grace, and ſeal of confidence, to them that purpoſe repentance. And leaſt you ſhould think this to be our device, beſide this that it agreeth with the words of the ſcripture, it appeareth that it was in the old church commonly ſpoken like a moſt certain principle. For in the book of faith to Peter, which is ſaid to be Auguſtine's, it is called the ſacrament of faith and penance. (*Decr.* 15. *quæ.* 1 *cap. firmiſſime.*) And why flee we to uncertain ſayings? As though we could require any thing more plain, than that which the evangeliſt reciteth: that John preached the baptiſm of repentance unto forgiveneſs of ſins? Mark i. 4. Luk. iii. 3.

Of extreme unction, as they call it.

The anointing of the ſick which was uſed in the time of the apoſtles, no ſuch matter as popiſh extreme unction.

18. The third feigned ſacrament is extreme unction, which is not done but of the prieſt, and that in extremes (ſo they term it) and with oyl conſecrate of the biſhop, and with this form: by this holy anointing, and by his moſt kind mercy, God pardon thee, whatſoever thou haſt offended by ſeeing, by hearing, by ſmelling, feeling, taſting. They feign that there be two virtues of it, the forgiveneſs of ſins, and eaſe of bodily ſickneſs if it be

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ſo expedient: if not, the ſalvation of the ſoul. They ſay that the inſtituton of it is ſet of James, whoſe words are theſe: is any ſick among you? Let him bring in the elders of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord: and the prayer of faith ſhall ſave the ſick man, and the Lord ſhall raiſe him up: and if he be in ſins, they ſhall be forgiven him. Jam. v. 14. Of the ſame ſort is this anointing, of which we have above ſhewed that the other laying on of hands is, namely a player-like hypocriſy, whereby without reaſon and without fruit they would reſemble the apoſtles. Mark rehearſeth Mark vi. 13. that the apoſtles at their firſt ſending, according to the commandment which they have received of the Lord, raiſed up dead men, caſt out devils, cleanſed leprous men, healed the ſick, and that in healing of the ſick they uſed oil. They anointed (ſaith he) many ſick men with oil, and they were healed. Hereunto James had reſpect, when he commanded the elders to be called together to anoint the ſick. man. That under ſuch ceremonies is contained no higher myſtery, they ſhall eaſily judge whomark how great liberty the Lord and his apoſtles uſed in in theſe outward things. The Lord going about to reſtore ſight to the blind man, made clay of duſt and ſpittle, ſome he healed with touchings, otherſome with his word. John ix. 6. Mat. ix. 29. Luk. xviii. 42. After the ſame manner the apoſtles healed ſome diſeaſes with the word only, ſome with touching, other ſome with anointing. Act. iii. 6. and v. 16. and xix. 12. But it is likely that this anointing was not (as all other things alſo were not) cauſeleſly put in uſe, I grant: yet not that it ſhould be a mean of healing, but only a ſign, that ths dulneſs of the unſkilful might be put in mind from whence ſo great power proceeded, to this end that they ſhould not give the praiſe thereof to the apoſtles. And that the Holy Ghoſt and his gifts are ſignified by oil it is a common and uſual thing. Pſal. xlv. 8. But that ſame grace of healing is vaniſhed away, like as alſo the other miracles, which the Lord willed to be ſhewed for a time, whereby he might make the new preaching of the goſpel marvellous for ever. Therefore though we grant never ſo much, that anointing was a ſacrament of thoſe powers which were then miniſtred by the hands of the apoſtles, it now nothing pertaineth to us to whom the miniſtration of ſuch powers is not committed.

Extreme anointing a forceleſs and unwarranted ceremony.

19. And by what greater reaſon do they make a ſacrament of this anointing, than of all other ſigns that are rehearſed to us in the ſcripture? Why do they not appoint ſome Siloam to ſwim in, whereinto at certain ordinary recourſes of time ſick men may plunge themſelves John ix. 7.? That (ſay they) ſhould be done in vain. Truly no more in vain than anointing. Why do they not lie along upon dead men, becauſe Paul raiſed up a dead child with lying upon him Act. xx. 10.? Why is not clay made of ſpittle and duſt, a ſacrament? But the other were but ſingular examples: but this is given of James for a commandment. Verily James ſpake for the ſame time, when the church yet ſtill enjoyed ſuch bleſſing of God. They affirm indeed that there is yet ſtill the ſame force in their anointing: but we find it otherwiſe by experience. Let no man now marvel, how they have with ſuch boldneſs mocked ſouls, which they know to be ſenſeleſs and blind when they are ſpoiled of the word of God, that is, of their life and light: ſince they are nothing aſhamed to go about to mock the living and feeling ſenſes of the body. Therefore they make themſelves worthy to be ſcorned, while they boaſt that they are endued with the grace of healings. The Lord verily is preſent with his in all ages, and ſo oft as need is he helpeth their ſickneſſes no leſs than in old time: but he doth not ſo utter thoſe manifeſt powers, nor diſtributeth miracles by the hands of the apoſtles: becauſe this gift both was but for a time, and alſo is partly fallen away by the unthankfulneſs of men.

Extreme anointing hath neither ordinance of God to be grounded on, nor promiſe of grace annexed.

20. Therefore as not without cauſe the apoſtles have by the ſign of oil openly teſtified, that the grace of healings committed to them was not their own power, but the power of the Holy Ghoſt: ſo on the other ſide they are wrong doers to the Holy Ghoſt, which make a ſtinking oil and of no force, to be his power. This is altogether like as if one would ſay that all oil is the power of the Holy Ghoſt, becauſe it is called by that name in ſcripture: that every dove is the Holy Ghoſt, becauſe he appeared in that form. Mat. iii. 16. John. i. 22. But theſe things, let them look too. So much as for this preſent is enough for us, we do moſt certainly perceive that their anointing is no ſacrament: which is neither a ceremony ordained of God, nor hath any promiſe. For when we require theſe two things in a ſacrament, that it be a ceremony ordained of God, and that it have a promiſe of God: we do therewithal require that the ſame ceremony be given to us, and that the promiſe belong unto us. For no man doth affirm that circumciſion is now a

sacrament of the christian church, although it both was an ordinance of God, and had a promise knit unto it: because it was neither commanded to us, nor the promise which was adjoined to it was given to us with the same condition. That the promise which they proudly boast of in their anointing, is not given to us, we have evidently shewed, and they themselves declare by experience. The ceremony ought not to have been used, but of them that were endued with the grace of healings, not of these butchers that have more skill of slaying and murthering than of healing.

If St. James did command anointing as a thing to continue in the church, yet not anointing at such unseasonable time, by such persons with such oil, in such persuasion, as the church of Rome, useth.

21. Howbeit although they obtain this, that that which James commandeth concerning anointing, agreeth with this age (which they are most far from) yet even so they shall not have much prevailed in proving of their unction wherewith they have hitherto anointed us. James willeth that all sick men be anointed: these men infect with their fat liquor, not sick men, but corps half dead, when the life lyeth already labouring at the top of their lips, or (as they themselves term it) in extremes. If they have in their sacrament a present medicine, whereby they may either ease the sharpness of diseases, or at least may bring some comfort to the soul, they are too cruel that do never heal in time. James willeth that the sick man be anointed of the elders of the church; Jam. v. 14. these men allow no anointer but the petty sacrificing priest. Whereas they expound in James *presbyteros* the elders to be priests, and foolishly say that the plural number is there set for comeliness sake: that is but trifling: as though the churches at that time abounded with swarms of sacrificing priests, that they might go in along pompous shew to carry a pageant of holy oil. When James simply biddeth that sick men be anointed, I understand by it no other anointing but of common oil: and no other is found in Mark's rehearsal. These men vouchsafe to have no other oil, but that which is hallowed of the bishop, that is to say, warmed with much breathing on it, enchanted with much mumbling, and with the knee bowed nine times saluted in this manner: thrice hail, holy oil: thrice hail, holy chresm: thrice hail, holy balm. Out of whom have they sucked such conjurations? James saith: that when the sick man is anointed with oil, and prayer hath been pronounced over him, if he be in sins they shall be forgiven him: namely, that the guiltiness being taken away, they may obtain release of the pain: not meaning that sins are put away with fat liquor, but that the prayers of the faithful whereby the afflicted brother is commended to God, shall not be vain. These men do wickedly lie, that by their holy, that is to say, abominable anointing, sins are forgiven. Lo how gaily they shall prevail, when they have been at large suffered to abuse the testimony of James at their pleasure. And least we should need to labour long in proof hereof, their own chronicles do discharge us of this difficulty. For they report that Pope Innocentius who in Augustin's time governed the church of Rome, ordained that not only priests, but also all christians should use oil to anoint for their necessity and others. Author hereof is Sigebert in his chronicles.

Of ecclesiastical orders.

In their sacrament of orders seven petty sacraments contained or as some of them do think more.

22. The fourth place in their register hath the sacrament of order, but the same so fruitful, that it breedeth out of it self seven little sacraments, But this is very worthy to be laughed at, that whereas they affirm that there be seven sacraments, when they go about to rehearse them, they reckon up thirteen. Neither can they allege for themselves, that they are but one sacrament, because they tend all to one priesthood, and are as it were certain degrees unto it. For since it is evident that in every one of them are several ceremonies, and they themselves say that there be divers graces: no man can doubt but that they ought to be called seven sacraments if their opinions be received. And why strive we about it as though it were a thing doubtful, forasmuch as they themselves do plainly and severally declare seven? But first we will briefly knit up by the way, how many and how unsavoury absurdities they thrust in unto us, when they go about to commend to us their orders instead of sacraments: and then we will see whether the ceremony which churches use in ordering of ministers, ought to be called a sacrament at all. They make therefore seven ecclesiastical orders or degrees, which they garnish with the name of a sacrament. Those be door-keepers, readers, exorcists, acoluthes or followers, subdeacons, deacons, priest: And seven they say that they be, for the sevenfold grace of the Holy Ghost, wherewith they ought to be endued that are promoted unto them. But it is increased

and

and more largely heaped to them in their promotion. Now the number it ſelf is hallowed with a wrongful expounding of the ſcripture, when they think that they have read in Iſaiah ſeven virtues of the Holy Ghoſt, Iſa. xi. 2. whereas both indeed Iſaiah there rehearſeth but ſix, and alſo the prophet meant not to comprehend them all in that place: for he is elſewhere as well called the ſpirit of life, of ſanctification, of adoption of the children, as he is in that place called the ſpirit of wiſdom, of underſtanding, of counſel, of ſtrength, of knowlege, and of the fear of the Lord. Ezek. i. 10. Rom. xiv. and viii. 15. Howbeit ſome more ſubtle men make not ſeven orders, but nine, after the likeneſs (as they ſay) of the church triumphing. But among them alſo there is ſtrife. becauſe ſome would have the ſhaving of the clergy to be the firſt order of all, and biſhopric the laſt: otherſome excluding ſhaving altogether, reckon archbiſhopric among the orders. ‡ Iſidor otherwiſe divideth them. For he maketh pſalmiſts and readers to be divers: he appointeth the pſalmiſts for ſongs, and the readers to the reading of the ſcriptures, wherewith the people may be inſtructed. (*Iſidor. lib. 7. Diſt. 21. & diſt. 33. cap. Lect. & cap. Oſtiarius.*) And this diſtinction is kept by the canons. In ſo great diverſity what will they have us to follow or flee? Shall we ſay that there be ſeven orders? So teacheth the maſter of the ſchool: but the moſt illuminate doctors do otherwiſe determine. Again they alſo diſagree among themſelves. Moreover the moſt ſacred canons call us another way. Thus forſooth do men agree, when they diſpute of godly matters without the word of God.

Chriſt led through the ſeven orders.

23. But this exceedeth all folly, that in every one of theſe they make Chriſt fellow with them. Firſt (ſay they) he executed the office of door-keeper, when he did with a whip made of cords, drive the buyers and ſellers out of the temple. John ii. 15. He ſignifieth himſelf to be a door-keeper, when he ſaith, I am the door. John x. 7. He took upon him the office of reader, when he read Iſaiah in the ſynogogue. Luke iv. 17. He did the office of an exorciſt, when touching the tongue and ears of the deaf and dumb man, he reſtored to him his hearing. Mark xvi. 33. He teſtified himſelf to be an acoluth or follower in theſe words. He that followeth me walketh not in darkneſs. John viii. 13. He executed the office of ſubdeacon, when being girded with a linen cloth he waſhed the diſciples feet. John xiii. 4. He did bear the perſon of a deacon, when he diſtributed his body and blood in the ſupper. Mat. xxvi. 26. He fulfilled the office of prieſt, when he offered himſelf upon the croſs a ſacrifice to his Father. Mat. xxvii. 50. Eph. v. 2. Theſe things cannot ſo be heard without laughing, that I wonder that they were written without laughing, if yet they were men that wrote them. But moſt notable is their ſubtilty wherewith they play the philoſophers about the name of acoluth, calling him a Ceroferar, a taper-bearer with a word (as I think) of ſorcery, truly ſuch a one as was never heard of in all nations and languages, whereas acoluthos in Greek ſimply ſignifieth a follower. Howbeit if I ſhould earneſtly tarry in confuting theſe men, I ſhould myſelf alſo worthily be laughed at, they are ſo trifling and real mockeries.

Men conſecrated in the church of Rome to execute certain mean duties, as if they could not lawfully be done but by hallowed men, and yet men unhallowed and unconſecrated ſuffered to do them.

24. But that they may not be able yet ſtill with falſe colours to deceive even very ſilly women, their vanity is by the way to be uttered. They create with great pomp and ſolemnity their readers, pſalmiſts, door-keepers, acoluthes, to execute thoſe offices, whereunto they appoint very children, or thoſe whom they call lay-men. For who for the moſt part lighteth the candles, who poureth wine and water into the cruet, but a child or ſome baſe fellow of the laity, that maketh his gain thereof? Do not the ſame men ſing, do they not ſhut and open the church doors? For who ever ſaw in their temples an acoluth, or door-keeper executing his office? But rather he that when he was a boy did the office of an acoluth, when he is once admitted into the order of acoluthes, ceaſeth to be that which he beginneth to be called, that they may ſeem to will of purpoſe to caſt off the office when they take upon them the title. Behold why they have need to be conſecrate by ſacraments, and to receive the Holy Ghoſt, namely, that they may do nothing. If they allege for excuſe, that this is the frowardneſs of times, that they forſake and neglect their miniſtries: let them therewithal confeſs that there is at this day in the church no uſe nor fruit of their holy orders, which they marvelouſly advance, and that their whole church is full of curſe: becauſe it ſuffereth tapers and cruets to be handled of children

‡ The firſt is the opinion of Hue, the other of William of Paris.

dren and prophane men, which none are worthy to touch but they that are conſecrated acoluthes: and becauſe it committeth the ſongs to children, who ought not to be heard but of a hallowed mouth. As for their exorciſts, to what end do they conſecrate them? I hear that the Jews had their exorciſts: Act. xix. 13. but I ſee that they were ſo called of the exorciſms or conjurations which they uſed. Of theſe counterfeit exorciſts who ever heard it ſpoken, that they ſhewed an example of their profeſſion? It is feigned that they have power given them to lay their hands upon mad men, them that are to be catechiſed, and men poſſeſſed with devils: but they cannot perſuade the devils that they have ſuch power, becauſe the devils do not only not yield to their commandments, but alſo uſe commanding authority over them. For a man can ſcarcely find every tenth of them, that is not led with an evil ſpirit. Therefore whatſoever things they bable concerning their petty orders, they are patched together of fooliſh and unſavoury lies. Of the old acoluthes, and door-keepers, and readers, we have ſpoken in another place, when we declared the order of the church. Our purpoſe here is only to fight againſt that new found invention of the ſevenfold ſacrament in eccleſiaſtical orders. Of which there is no where any thing read, but among theſe fooliſh praters the ſorboniſts and canoniſts.

Razor of the crown miniſtred in token of ſpiritual king like dignity, and ſcepter to that purpoſe abuſed.

25. Now let us conſider of the ceremonies which they uſe about it. Firſt whomſoever they receive into their order of ſoldiers, they do with one common ſign enter them into clergy. For they ſhave them in the crown, that the crown may betoken kingly dignity, becauſe clerks ought to be kings, that they may rule themſelves and others. For Peter ſpeaketh thus of them, ye are a choſen kind, a kingly prieſthood, a holy nation, a people of purchaſe. 1 Pet. ii. 9. But it was ſacrilege to take to themſelves alone that which is given to the whole church, and proudly to glory of the title which they had taken from the faithful. Peter ſpeaketh to the whole church: theſe fellows wreſt it to a few ſhaven men: as though it were ſaid to them alone: be ye holy: as though they alone were purchaſed by the blood of Chriſt: as though they alone were by Chriſt made a kingdom and prieſthood to God. Then they aſſign alſo other reaſons: the top of their head is made bare, that their mind may be declared to be free unto the Lord, which with open face may behold the glory of God. Or that they may be taught that the faults of their mouth and their eyes muſt be cut off. Or the ſhaving of their head is the putting away of temporal things, and the hairy compaſs about the crown are the remnants of goods that are retained for their ſuſtenance. All in ſigns: becauſe forſooth the vail of the temple is not yet cut in ſunder. Therefore being perſuaded that they have gaily diſcharged their duties, becauſe they have figured ſuch things by their crown, of the very things indeed they perform nothing at all. How long will they mock us with ſuch falſe colours and deceits? The clergy by ſhaving off a few hairs do ſignify that they have caſt away the abundance of temporal goods, that they behold the glory of God, that they have mortified the luſt of the ears and eyes: but there is no kind of men more ravening, more ſenſeleſly dull, more luſtful. Why do they not rather truly perform holineſs, than with falſe and lying ſigns counterfeit a ſhew of it?

In ſcripture no preſident of the popiſh razor miniſtred unto clerks at the firſt recite of their clergy.

26. Moreover when they ſay that the crown of the clergy hath the beginning and reaſon from the Nazarites: what other thing do they allege than that their myſteries are ſprung out of the Jewiſh ceremonies, or rather that they are mere Jewiſhneſs? But whereas they further ſay, that Priſcilla, Aquila, and Paul himſelf, taking a vow upon them did ſhave their heads, that they might purified: Act. xviii. 18. they bewray their groſs ignorance. For it is no where read of Priſcilla: and of Aquila alſo it is doubtful: for that ſame ſhaving may as well be referred to Paul as to Aquila. But, that we may not leave to them that which they require, that they have an example of Paul: the ſimpler muſt note, that Paul did never ſhave his head for any ſanctification, but only to ſerve the weakneſs of his brethren. I am wont to call ſuch vows the vows of charity not of godlineſs: that is to ſay, not taken in hand for any ſervice of God, but to bear with the rudeneſs of the weak: as he himſelf ſaith, that he was made a Jew to the Jews, &c. 1 Cor. ix. 10. Therefore he did this, and the ſame but once, and for a ſhort time, that he might for a time faſhion himſelf to the Jews. Theſe men when they will without any uſe counterfeit the purifying of the Nazarites, Num. vi. 18. what do they elſe but raiſe up another Jewiſhneſs, when they wrongfully covet to follow the old Jewiſhneſs? With the ſame religiouſneſs was that decretal epiſtle made, which according to the apoſtle, forbiddeth

biddeth clerks that they ſhould not ſuffer their hair to grow, but ſhave it round like a bowl. (*Cap. prohibemus. Diſt.* 25.) As though the apoſtle, when he teacheth what is comely for all men, 1 Cor. xi. 4. were careful for the round ſhaving of the clergy. Hereby let the readers conſider, of what force and worthineſs are thoſe other myſteries that follow, into which there is ſuch an entry.

The firſt occaſion of ſhearing in the clergy in the delivery of keys unto doorkeepers, the bible unto readers, the forms of exorciſm unto exorciſts, of tapers and cruet unto acoluthes.

27. Whence the ſhearing of clerks took beginning, appeareth ſufficiently even by Auguſtine alone. (*Aug de ope. monac. in fine. Item in Retract.*) Whereas at that time none ſuffered their hair to grow, but nice men, and ſuch as coveted a ſmoothneſs and trimneſs not meet enough for men it ſeemed to be a point of no good example, if that were permitted to the clergy. Therefore clerks were commanded either to ſhear their head or to ſhave it, that they ſhould not bear any ſhew of woman-like triming. But this was ſo common that certain monks, that they might the more ſet out their holineſs with notable and ſeveral attire from other men, did let their hair grow long. But afterward when the faſhion turned to wearing of hair, and certain nations were added to Chriſtendom which always uſed to wear long hair, as France, Germany, and England: it is likely that clerks did every where ſhear their heads, leſt they ſhould ſeem to covet the gayneſs of hair. At the laſt in a corrupter age, when all old ordinances were either perverted or gone out of kind into ſuperſtition, becauſe they ſaw no cauſe in the ſhearing of the clergy (for they had retained nothing but a fooliſh counterfeiting) they fled to a myſtery, which now they ſuperſtitiouſly thruſt in unto us for the approving of their ſacrament. The door-keepers at their conſecration receive the keys of the church, whereby they may underſtand that the keeping of it is committed to them. The readers receive the holy bible. The exorciſts the forms of exorſms, which they ſhould uſe over mad men and them that are to be catechiſed. The acoluthes receive their tapers and cruet. Lo theſe are the ceremonies wherein (if God will) there is ſo much ſecret power, that they may be not only tokens, but all cauſes of inviſible grace. For this they require by their definition, when they will have them taken among the ſacraments. But to make an end in few words, I ſay it is an abſurdity that in their ſchools and canons they make theſe leſſer orders ſacraments: whereas even by their own confeſſion that teach this, they were unknown to the primitive church, and deviſed many years after, For ſacraments, ſince they contain the promiſe of God, cannot be ordained of angels, nor of men, but of God alone, whoſe office alone it is to give promiſe.

The order of prieſthood injurious to Chriſt.

28. There remain three orders, which they call the greater. Of the which, ſubdeaconry (as they call it) was removed into that number ſince that the rout of the ſmaller ones began to grow. But becauſe they ſeem to have a teſtimony for theſe out of the word of God, they do peculiarly for honour's ſake, call them holy orders. But now it is to be ſeen, how crookedly they abuſe the ordinances of God to their pretence. We will begin at the order of the prieſthood or the ſacrificer's office. For by theſe two names they ſignify one thing, and ſo they call them to whom they ſay that it pertaineth to offer upon the altar the ſacrifice of the body and blood of Chriſt, to pronounce prayers, and to bleſs the gifts of God. Therefore at their conſecration they receive the patine with the hoſts, for tokens of power given to them, to offer acceptable ſacrifices to God. And their hands are annointed: by which ſign they are taught, that they have power given them to conſecrate. But of the ceremonies we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. Of the thing itſelf I ſay: it ſo hath no title of the word of God which they pretend, that they could not more wickedly corrupt the order ſet by God. Firſt, verily this ought to ſtand for a thing confeſſed (which we have affirmed in treating of the popiſh maſs) that they are all wrong-doers to Chriſt, who call themſelves ſacrificing prieſts, or offer a ſacrifice of appeaſement. He was appointed and conſecrate of the Father a prieſt with an oath, according to the order of Melchizedek, without any end, without any ſucceſſor, Pſal. cx. 2. He once offered a ſacrifice of eternal ſatisfactory cleanſing, and reconciliation: and now alſo being entered into the ſanctuary of heaven, he maketh interceſſion for us, Heb. v. 6. and vii. 3. In him we are all ſacrificing prieſts, but to praiſes and thankſgivings of thanks, finally to offer us and ours to God. It was his ſingular office alone, with his offering to appeaſe God, and to purge ſins. When theſe men take that upon them, what remaineth, but that their ſacrificing prieſthood is

ungodly and full of ſacrilege? Truly they are too wicked when they dare garniſh it with the name of a ſacrament. As touching the true office of prieſthood, which is commended to us by the mouth of Chriſt, I willingly account it in that degree. For therein is a ceremony, firſt taken out of the ſcriptures, then ſuch a one as Paul teſtifieth not to be vain or ſuperfluous, but a faithful ſign of ſpiritual grace. (1 Tim. iv. 14) But whereas I have not ſet it for a third in the number of ſacraments I did it becauſe it is not ordinary and common among all the faithful, but a ſpecial rite for one certain office But ſince this honour is given to the Chriſtian miniſtery, there is cauſe therefore why the popiſh ſacrificers ſhould be proud. For Chriſt commanded diſtributers of his goſpel and myſteries to be ordained, not ſacrificers to be conſecrated. (Matth. xxviii. 19.) He gave them commandment to preach the goſpel and to feed the flock, not to offer ſacrifices (Mark xvi. 15.) He promiſed them the grace of the Holy Ghoſt, not to make ſatisfactory purging of ſins, but rightly to execute and to maintain the government of the church, John xxi. 15.

Blowing and giving the Holy Ghoſt in ordaining of prieſts.

29. The ceremonies agree very well with the thing itſelf. Our Lord when he ſent forth the apoſtles to preach the goſpel, did blow upon them. By which ſign he repreſented the power of the Holy Ghoſt which he gave unto them, John xx. 22. This blowing theſe good men have retained, and as though they did put forth the Holy Ghoſt out at their throat, they wiſper over their ſilly prieſts that they make, receive the Holy Ghoſt. So leave they nothing which they do overthwartly counterfeit: I will not ſay like players (who uſe their geſturings neither without art nor without ſignification) but like apes, which counterfeit every thing wantonly and without any choiſe. We keep (ſay they) the example of the Lord. But the Lord did many things which he willed not to be examples to us. The Lord ſaid to the diſciples, Receive the Holy Ghoſt, John xx. 22. He ſaid alſo to Lazarus, Lazarus come forth, John xi. 42. He ſaid to the man ſick of the palſy, Riſe, and walk, Mat. ix. 5. John v. 8. Why do not they ſay the ſame to all dead men and ſick of the palſy? He ſhewed a proof of his divine power, when in blowing upon the apoſtles he filled them with the the grace of the Holy Ghoſt. If they go about to do the ſame thing, they enviouſly counterfeit God, and do in a manner challenge him to ſtrive with them: but they are far from the effect, and do nothing with this fooliſh geſturing but mock Chriſt. Verily they are ſo ſhameleſs, that they dare affirm that they give the Holy Ghoſt. But how true that is, experience teacheth, which crieth out that ſo many as are conſecrated prieſts are of horſes made aſſes of fools made mad men. Neither yet do I ſtrive with them for that: only I condemn the ceremony itſelf, which ought not to have been drawn to be an example, foraſmuch as it was uſed of Chriſt for a ſingular ſign of one miracle: ſo far is it off, that the excuſe of following his example ought to defend them.

Unction of prieſts to the imitation of ſons of Aaron.

30. But of whom received they the anointing? They anſwer that they received it of the ſons of Aaron, from whom their order alſo took beginning, (*Lib. 4. Sent. diſt. 24. cap. 8. & in can. diſt. 21. cap. 1.*) Therefore they had rather always to defend themſelves with wrongful examples, than to confeſs that themſelves had deviſed that which they uſe without cauſe. But in the mean time they conſider not, that while they profeſs themſelves the ſucceſſors of the ſons of Aaron, they are wrong doers of the prieſthood of Chriſt, which alone was ſhadowed and figured by all the old ſacrificing prieſthoods. In him therefore they all contained and fulfiled, in him they ceaſed, as we have ſometimes already repeated, and the epiſtle to the Hebrews without help of any gloſſes teſtifieth. But if they be ſo much delighted with the ceremonies of Moſes, why do they not haſtily take oxen, calves, and lambs to make ſacrifices? They have indeed a good part of the old tabernacle and of the whole Jewiſh manner of worſhiping: but yet this wanteth in their religion, that they do not ſacrifice calves and oxen. who cannot ſee, that this obſervation of anointing is much more hurtful than circumciſion, eſpecially when there is adjoined ſuperſtition and phariſaical opinion of the worthineſs of the work? For the Jews did ſet in circumciſion, truſt of righteouſneſs: theſe men do ſet in anointing, ſpiritual graces. Therefore while they covet to be counterfiters of the Levites, they are made apoſtates from Chriſt, and do put themſelves from the owce of paſtors.

No reaſon why the church of

31. This is (if God will) the holy oil that printeth the mark that cannot be razed out. As though

Rome' ſhould in the making of her prieſts, uſe the ceremonies of anointing more than the reſt, which were uſed in the making of Levitical prieſts: the laying on of hands idle in that action which no commandment of God doth warrant.

though oil could not be wiped away with duſt and ſalt, or if it ſtick faſter, with ſope. But this mark is ſpiritual. What hath oil to do with the ſoul? Have they forgotten that which they oft chant to us out of Auguſtine, that if the word be taken from the water, it ſhall be nothing but water, and that it hath this from the word that it is a ſacrament? What word will they ſhew in their fat liquor? Will they ſhew the commandment that was given to Moſes, concerning the anointing of the ſons ſons of Aaron? But there is alſo commandment given, of the coat, the ephod, the hat, the crown of holineſs, with which Aaron was to be garniſhed, and of the coats, girdles, and miters, wherewith the ſons of Aaron were to be clothed. There is commandment given, to kill a calf, and burn the fat of him for incenſe, to cut rams and burn them, to ſanctify their ears and garments with the blood of another ram, and innumerable other obſervations, which being paſſed over, I marvel why the only anointing of oil pleaſeth them. But if they love to be ſprinkled, why are they rather ſprinkled with oil than with blood? Forſooth they go about a witty thing, to make one religion of Chriſtianity, Jewiſhneſs, and Paganiſm, as it were of patches ſewed together. Therefore their anointing ſtinketh which is without the ſalt, that is, the word of God. There remaineth laying on of hands, which as I grant in true and lawful orderings to be a ſacrament, ſo I deny that it hath any part in this play, where they neither obey the commandment of Chriſt, nor have reſpect to the end whereunto the promiſe ought to lead us. If they will not have the ſign denied them, they muſt apply it to the thing itſelf, whereunto it is appointed.

The order of deaconry.

32. About the order alſo of deaconry I would not ſtrive with them, if that ſame miniſtry which was in the apoſtle's time and in the purer church, were reſtored to the uncorrupted ſtate thereof. But what like thing have they whom thoſe men feign to be deacons? I ſpeak not of the men (leſt they ſhould complain that the doctrine is wrongfully weighed by the faults of the men) but I affirm that for thoſe whom they deliver us by their doctrine, they unworthily fetch teſtimony from the example of them whom the apoſtolic church ordained deacons. They ſay that it pertaineth to their deacons to ſtand by the prieſts, to miniſter in all things that are done in the ſacraments, namely in baptiſm, in the chreſme, in the patine, in the chalice: to bring in the offerings and lay them upon the altar, to make ready the Lord's table, and to cover it: to carry the croſs, to pronounce and ſing the goſpel and epiſtle to the people. Is here any one word of the true miniſtery of deacons? Now let us here the inſtituting of them. Upon the deacon that is ordered, the biſhop alone layeth his hand. He layeth a prayer book and a ſtoale upon his left ſhoulder, that he may underſtand that he hath received the light yoke of the Lord, whereby he may ſubdue to the fear of God thoſe things that pertain to the left ſide. He giveth him the text of the goſpel, that he may perceive himſelf to be a publiſher of it. And what belongeth theſe things to deacons? They do even like as if a man would ſay that he ordained them apoſtles whom he appointed only to burn frankincenſe, to trim the images, to ſweep the churches, to catch mice, to drive away dogs. Who could ſuffer ſuch kind of men to be called apoſtles, and to be compared with the very apoſtles of Chriſt? Therefore let them not hereafter lyingly ſay that thoſe are deacons, whom they inſtitute only for their interlude-like plays. Yea, and by the very name itſelf they ſufficiently declare what manner of office they have. For they call them Levites, and will have their order and beginning referred to the children of Levi. Which I give them leave to do, ſo that they do not afterward garniſh them with the feathers of others.

The order of ſubdeaconry and the trifling uſe thereof.

33. Of ſubdeacons to what purpoſe is it to ſpeak? For whereas indeed they were in old time appointed for care of the poor, they aſſign to them I wot not what trifling buſineſs, as to bring the chalice with the patine, the little cruet with water, and the towel to the altar, to pour water to waſh hands, &c. Now whereas they ſpeak of receiving and bringing in of offerings, they mean thoſe which they devour as abandoned to their holy uſe. With this office very well agreeth the form of their conſecrating. That he receive of the biſhop, the patine and the chalice: of the archdeacon, the cruet with water, the manual, and ſuch other baggage. Within theſe trifles they require to have us confeſs that the

Holy Ghoſt is incloſed. What godly man can abide to grant this? But, to make once an end, we may determine the ſame of them that we do of the reſt. Neither need we to repeat further theſe things that are above declared. This may be enough to teach the ſober and willing to learn (whom I have taken in hand to inſtruct) that there is no ſacrament of God but where is ſhewed a ceremony joined with a promiſe: or rather verily but where is a promiſe ſeen in a ceremony. Here is not found one ſyllable of any certain promiſe: therefore it were in vain to ſeek a ceremony to confirm the promiſe. Again of thoſe ceremonies that they uſe, it, it is not read that any one is inſtitue of God. Therefore here can be no ſacrament.

Of matrimony.

Matrimony not thereby proved a ſacrament becauſe it reſembleth our conjoining with Chriſt.

34. The laſt is matrimony, which as all men confeſs to be ordained of God, ſo no man until the time of Gregory ever ſaw that it was given for a ſacrament. And what ſober man would ever have thought it? It is a good and holy ordinance of God ſo tillage, carpentry, ſhoe-makers craft, barbers craft, are lawful ordinances of God, and yet they are no ſacraments. For there is not only this required in a ſacrament, that it be the work of God, but that it be an outward ceremony appointed of God to confirm a promiſe. That there is no ſuch thing in matrimony, very children alſo can judge. But (ſay they) it is a ſign of the holy thing, that is of the ſpiritual conjoining of Chriſt with the church. If by this word (ſign,) they underſtand a token ſet before us of God to this end to raiſe up the aſſuredneſs of our faith, they are far beſide the truth. If they ſimply take a ſign for that which is brought to expreſs a ſimilitude, I will ſhew how wittily they reaſon. Paul ſaith, as one ſtar differeth from another ſtar in brightneſs, ſo ſhall be the reſurrection of the dead, 1 Cor. xv. 42. Lo here is one ſacrament. Chriſt ſaith, The kingdom of heaven is like a grain of muſtard ſeed, Mat. xiii. 31. Lo here is the ſecond. Again, The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, chap. iii. 3. Lo here is the third. Iſaiah ſaith, Behold, the Lord ſhall feed his flock as a ſhepherd, Iſaiah xl. 11. Lo here the fourth. In another place, The Lord ſhall go forth as a giant, chap. xlii. 13. Lo here is the fifth. Finally what end or meaſure ſhall there be? There is nothing but by this mean it ſhall be a ſacrament. How many parables and ſimilitudes are in the ſcripture, ſo many ſacraments there ſhall be. Yea, and theft ſhall be a ſacrament becauſe it is written, the day of the Lord is like a thief, 1 Theſ. v. 2. Who can abide theſe ſophiſters prating ſo fooliſhly? I grant indeed that ſo oft as we ſee a vine, it is very good to call to remembrance that which Chriſt ſaith, I am a vine, ye are branches, my Father is the vine-dreſſer, John xv. 1. So oft as a ſhepherd with his flock cometh toward us, it is good alſo that this come to our mind, I am a good ſhepherd, my ſheep hear my voice, John x. 11. But if any man add ſuch ſimilitudes to the number of ſacraments, he is meet to be ſent to Antycira ‡.

St. Paul's words wreſted to prove matrimony a ſacrament.

35. But they ſtill lay forth the words of Paul, in which he giveth to matrimony the name of a ſacrament: he that loveth his wife loveth himſelf. No man ever hated his own fleſh, but nouriſheth it and cheriſheth it, even as Chriſt doth the church, Eph. v. 29: becauſe we are members of his body, of his fleſh and of his bones. For this a man ſhall leave his father and mother, and ſhall cleave to his wife, and they ſhall be two in one fleſh. This is a great ſacrament: but I ſay in Chriſt and in the church. But ſo to handle the ſcriptures, is to mingle heaven and earth together. Paul, to ſhew to married men what ſingular love they ought to bear to their wives ſetteth forth Chriſt to them for an example. For as he poured forth the bowels of his kindneſs, upon the church which he had eſpouſed to himſelf: ſo ought every man to be affectioned toward his own wife. It followeth after, he that loveth his wife loveth himſelf, as Chriſt loved the church. Now to teach how Chriſt loved the church as himſelf, yea, how he made himſelf one with his ſpouſe the church, he applieth to him thoſe things which Moſes reporteth that Adam ſpake of himſelf. For when Eve was brought into his ſight, whom he knew to have been ſhapen out of his ſide: This woman (ſaith he) is a bone of my bones, and fleſh of my fleſh, Gen. iii. 23. Paul teſtifieth that all this was ſpiritually fulfilled in Chriſt and us, when he ſaith that we are members of his body, of his fleſh, and of his bones yea,

‡ Antycira where groweth Hellebor, a good purgation for phrentick heads.

yea, and one fleſh with him. At length he addeth a concluding ſentence, this is a great myſtery. And leſt any man ſhould be deceived with the double ſignifying of the words, he expreſſeth that he ſpeaketh not of the fleſhly conjoining of man and woman, but of the ſpiritual marriage of Chriſt and the church. And truly it is indeed a great myſtery, that Chriſt ſuffered a rib to be taken from himſelf, whereof we might be ſhapen: that is to ſay, when he was ſtrong, he willed to be weak, that we might be ſtrengthned with his ſtrength: that now we may not ourſelves live, but he may live in us, Gal. ii 20.

The church of Rome abſurd and repugnant to herſelf in making matrimony a ſacrament.

36. The name of ſacrament deceived them. But was it rightful that the whole church ſhould ſuffer the puniſhment of their ignorance? Paul ſaid myſtery: which word when the tranſlator might have left being not unuſed with Latin ears, or might have tranſlated it a ſecret: he choſe rather to put in the word ſacrament, yet in no other ſenſe than Paul had in Greek called it a myſtery. Now let them go and with crying out rail againſt the ſkill of tongues, by ignorance whereof they have ſo long moſt foully been blind in an eaſy matter, and ſuch as offereth itſelf to be perceived of every man. But why do they in this one place ſo earneſtly ſtick upon this little word ſacrament, and ſome other times do paſs it over unregarded? For alſo in the firſt epiſtle to Timothy the tranſlator hath uſed it, 1 Tim. iii. 9. and in the ſelf ſame epiſtle to the Epheſians, Epheſ. i. 9. in every place for myſtery. But let this ſlipping be pardoned them: at leſt the liars ought to have had a good remembrance. For, when they have once ſet out matrimony with title of a ſacrament, afterward to call it uncleanneſs, defilling and fleſhly filthineſs, how giddy lightneſs is this? how great an abſurdity is it to debar prieſts from a ſacrament? If they deny that they debar them from the ſacrament, but from the luſt of copulation: they eſcape not ſo away from me. For, they teach that the copulation itſelf is a part of the ſacrament, and that by it alone is figured the uniting that we have with Chriſt in conformity of nature: becauſe man and women are not made one but by carnal copulation. Howbeit ſome of them have here found two ſacraments: the one of God and the ſoul, in the betrothed man and woman: the other of Chriſt and the church, in the huſband and the wife. Howſoever it be, yet copulation is a ſacrament, from which it is unlawful that any Chriſtian ſhould be debarred: unleſs peradventure the ſacraments of Chriſtians do ſo ill agree, that they cannot ſtand together. There is alſo another abſurdity in their doctrines. They affirm that in the ſacrament is given the grace of the Holy Ghoſt: they teach that copulation is a ſacrament: and they deny that at copulation the Holy Ghoſt is at any time preſent.

The ſundry bad ordinances, practices and dealings of the court of Rome, grounded on this opinion that matrimony is a ſacrament.

37. And, becauſe they would not ſimply mock the church, how long a row of errors, lies, deceits, and wickedneſſes have they knit to one error? ſo that a man may ſay, that they did nothing but ſeek a den of abominations, when they made of matrimony a ſacrament. For when they once obtained this they drew to themſelves the hearing of cauſes of matrimony: for it was a ſpiritual matter which prophane judges might not meddle with. Then they made laws, whereby they ſtabliſhed their tyranny, but thoſe partly manifeſtly wicked againſt God, and partly moſt unjuſt toward men. As are theſe: that marriages made between young perſons without conſent of their parents, ſhould remain of force and ſtabliſhed, that the marriages be not lawful between the kinsfolks to the ſeventh degree: and if any ſuch be made, that they be divorced. And the very degrees they feign againſt the laws of all nations, and againſt the civil government of Moſes. That it be not lawful for a man that hath put away an adultereſs, to marry another. That ſpiritual kinsfolks may not be coupled in marriage. That there be no marriages celebrated, from Septuageſime to the utas of Eaſter, in three weeks before mid-ſummer, nor from Advent to Twelftide. And innumerable other ſuch things, which it were long to rehearſe. At length we muſt creep out of their mire, wherein our talk hath now tarried longer than I would. Yet I think I have ſomewhat profited that I have partly plucked the lion's ſkins from theſe aſſes.

CHAP. XX.

Of civil government.

Magiſtracy not taken away by the liberty which is promiſed in the goſpel.

NOW whereas we have above ſet two kinds of government in man, and whereas we have ſpoken enough of the one kind which conſiſteth in the ſoul or in the inward man, and hath reſpect to eternal life: this place requireth that we ſpeak ſomewhat alſo of the other, which pertaineth only to the civil and outward righteouſneſs of manners. For the courſe of this matter ſeemeth to be ſevered from the ſpiritual doctrine, which I took in hand to treat of: yet the preceding ſhall ſhew that I do rightfully join them together, yea that I am of neceſſity compelled to do it: ſpecially ſince on the other ſide, mad and barbarous men do furiouſly go about this order eſtabliſhed by God: and on the other ſide the flatterers of princes, advancing their power without meaſure, ſtick not to ſet it againſt the empire of God himſelf. Unleſs both theſe miſchiefs be oppoſed withal, the pureneſs of faith ſhall be loſt. Beſide that it is not a little for our behoof, to know how lovingly God hath in this behalf provided for mankind, that there may flouriſh in us a greater deſire of godlineſs to witneſs our thankfulneſs. Firſt, ere we enter into the thing itſelf, we muſt hold faſt that diſtinction which we have above ſet, leſt (as it commonly happeneth to many) we unwiſely mingle theſe two things together, which have altogether divers conſideration. For when they hear that liberty is promiſed by the goſpel, which acknowlegeth among them no king and no magiſtrate, but hath regard to Chriſt alone: they think that they can take no fruit of their liberty, ſo long as they ſee any power to have pre-eminency over them. Therefore they think that nothing ſhall be ſafe, unleſs the whole world be reformed into a new faſhion: where may neither be judgments, nor laws, nor magiſtrates, nor any ſuch thing which they think to withſtand their liberty. But whoſoever can put difference between the body and the ſoul, between this preſent and tranſitory life, and that life to come and eternal: he ſhall not hardly underſtand that the ſpiritual kingdom of Chriſt, and the civil government are things far aſunder. Since therefore that is a Jewiſh vanity, to ſeek and incloſe the kingdom of Chriſt, under the elements of this world: let us rather thinking as the ſcripture plainly teacheth, that it is a ſpiritual fruit, which is gathered of the benefit of Chriſt, remember to keep within the bonds thereof this whole liberty which is promiſed and offered us in him. For what is the cauſe why the ſame apoſtle who biddeth us to ſtand, and not be made ſubject to the yoke of bondage, Gal. v. 1. in another place forbiddeth bond-ſervants to be careful of their ſtate: 1 Cor. vii. 21. but becauſe ſpiritual liberty may very well agree with civil bondage? In which ſenſe alſo theſe his ſayings are to be taken: In the kingdom of God there is neither Jew, nor Greek, nor male, nor female, nor bond, nor free. Gal. iii. 28. Again, There is neither Jew, nor Greek, circumciſion, uncircumciſion, barbarian, Scythian, bond, or free: but Chriſt is all in all. Col. iii. 11. Whereby he ſignifieth, that it maketh no matter in what eſtate thou be among men, nor under the laws of what nation thou liveſt: foraſmuch as in theſe things conſiſteth not the kingdom of Chriſt.

The uſe of civil government amongſt Chriſtians.

2. Yet doth not this diſtinction tend hereunto, that we ſhould think that the whole order of policy is an unclean thing, nor pertaining at all to Chriſtian men. So indeed do the phrantic men, that are delighted with unbridled licentiouſneſs, cry out and boaſt. For ſince we are dead by Chriſt to the elements of the world, and being removed into the kingdom of God do ſit among the heavenly ones: they think that it is unworthy for us, and far beneath our excellence, to be occupied with theſe prophane and unclean ears that are buſied about affairs not pertaining to a Chriſtian man. To what purpoſe (ſay they) are laws without judgments and judgment ſeats? But what hath a Chriſtian man to do with judgments themſelves? yea if it be not lawful to kill, whereto ſerve laws and judgments among us? But as we have even now given warning, that this kind of government is ſeperate from that ſpiritual and inward kingdom of Chriſt: ſo is it alſo to be known that they nothing diſagree together. For the civil government doth now begin in us upon earth certain beginnings of the heavenly kingdom, and in this mortal and vaniſhing life, doth as it were enter upon an immortal and incorruptible bleſſedneſs: but the intent of his ſpiritual government is, ſo long as we ſhall live among men

men, to cheriſh and maintain the outward worſhipping of God, to defend the ſound doctrine of godlineſs and the ſtate of the church, to frame our life to the fellowſhip of men, to faſhion our manners to civil righteouſneſs, to procure us into friendſhip one with another, to nouriſh common peace and quietneſs: all which I grant to be ſuperfluous, if the kingdom of God, ſuch as it is now among us do deſtroy this preſent life. But if the will of God be ſo, that we while we long toward the heavenly country, ſhould be wayfareing from home upon the earth: and ſince the uſe of ſuch wayfareing needeth ſuch helps: they who take them from man, do take from him his very nature of man. For whereas they allege that there is ſo great perfection in the church of God, that her own moderate government ſufficeth it for a law: they themſelves do fooliſhly imagine that perfection which can never be found in the common fellowſhip of men. For ſince of naughty men the pride is ſo great, and the wickedneſs ſo obſtinate, as cannot be reſtrained with great ſharpneſs of laws: what think we that they will do, if they ſee unpuniſhed liberty lie open to their lewdneſs, which cannot even with force be ſufficiently compelled not to do evil.

Religion by civil policy maintained.

3. But of the order of policy, there ſhall be another fitter place to treat. Now our meaning is to have this only underſtood, that to think to drive it away, is outragious barbarouſneſs, the uſe whereof is no leſs among men, than of bread, water, the ſun, and air, but the dignity much more excellent. For it tendeth not only hereunto (which is the only commodity of all thoſe things) that men may breath, eat, drink and be cheriſhed (although indeed it comprehendeth all theſe things, while it maketh that they live together) yet I ſay, it tendeth not hereunto only: but alſo that idolatry, ſacrileges againſt the name of God, blaſphemies againſt his truth, and other offences of religion may not riſe up and be ſcattered among the people, that common quiet be not troubled, that every man may keep his own ſafe and unappaired, that men may uſe their affairs together without hurt, that honeſty and modeſty be kept among them: finally that among Chriſtians may be a common ſhew of religion, and among men may be man-like civility. Neither let any man be moved, for that I do now refer the care of ſtabliſhing of religion to the policy of men, which I ſeemed before to have ſet without the judgment of men. For I do no more here, than I did before, give men leave after their own will to make laws concerning religion and the worſhipping of God, when I allow the order of policy, which endeavoureth hereunto, that the true religion which is contained in the law of God, be not openly and with public ſacrileges freely broken and defiled. But the readers being holden by the very plainneſs of order, ſhall better underſtand what is to be thought of the whole kind of civil government, if we ſeverally treat of the parts thereof. There are three parts of it: the magiſtrate who is the governor and keeper of the laws: the laws according to which he governeth: the people, who are governed by the laws, and obey the magiſtrate. Therefore let us firſt conſider of the office of the magiſtrate, whether it be a lawful vocation and allowed of God, what manner of office he hath, and how great is his power, then with what laws a Chriſtian civil ſtate is to be ordered: then laſt of all, what profit of the laws cometh to the people, what reverence is due to the magiſtrate.

The magiſtrate's office allowed of God.

4. The Lord hath not only teſtified that the office of magiſtrates is allowed and acceptable to him, but alſo ſetting out the dignity thereof with moſt honourable titles, he hath marvelouſly commended it unto us. That I may rehearſe a few of them. Whereas whoſoever be in place of magiſtrates are named gods, let no man think that in that naming is ſmall importance. For thereby is ſignified that they have commandment from God, that they are furniſhed with the authority of God, do altogether bear the perſon of God, whoſe ſtead they do after a certain manner ſupply. This is not my cavillation, but the expoſition of Chriſt. If the ſcripture (ſaith he) called them gods to whom the word of God was given: John x. 35. What is this elſe, but that God hath committed his buſineſs to them, that they ſhould ſerve in his office, and (as Moſes and Jehoſhaphat ſaid to their judges whom they appointed in every ſeveral city of Judah) that they ſhould ſit in judgment, not for man but for God? Deut. i. 16. 1 Chron. xix. 6. To the ſame purpoſe maketh this that the wiſdom of God affirmeth by the mouth of Solomon, Prov. viii. 15. that it is his work, that kings reign, and counſellors decree righteous things, that princes bear principality, and all the judges of the earth execute judgment. For this is all one in effect as if it had been ſaid, that it cometh not to paſs by the

the perverſneſs of men, that the government of all things in earth is in the hand of kings and other rulers, but by the providence and holy ordinance of God, to whom it ſo ſeemed good to order the matters of men: for as much as he is both preſent and preſident among them in making of laws and in executing uprightneſs of judgments. Which Paul alſo plainly teacheth, Rom. xii. 8. when he reckoneth governments among the gifts of God, which being diverſly diſtributed according to the diverſity of grace, ought to be employed of the ſervants of Chriſt to the edification of the church. For although he there properly ſpeaketh of a council of grave men, who in the primitive church were appointed that they ſhould have the rule of ordering the public diſcipline (which office in the epiſtle to the Corinthians he calleth government, 1 Cor. xii. 28.) yet for as much as we ſee that the end of civil power cometh to the ſame point, it is no doubt but that he commendeth unto us all kind of juſt government. But he ſpeaketh more plainly, where he purpoſely maketh a full diſcourſe of that matter. For both he ſheweth that power is the ordinance of God, and that there are no powers, but they that are ordained of God: and that the princes themſelves are the miniſters of God, to the well doers unto praiſe: to the evil, revengers unto wrath. Rom. xiii. 1. Hereunto may be added alſo the examples of holy men: of which ſome have poſſeſſed kingdoms, as David, Joſias, Ezekias: otherſome lordſhips, as Joſeph and Daniel: otherſome, civil governments in a free people, as Moſes, Joſhuah, and the Judges: whoſe offices the Lord hath declared that he alloweth. Wherefore none ought now to doubt that the civil power is a vocation not only holy and lawful before God, but alſo the moſt holy, and the moſt honeſt of all other in the whole life of men.

The office of the civil magiſtrate no leſs allowable in the ſight of God and needful for men under Chriſt than it was before.

5 They who covet to bring in a ſtate without rulers, take exception and ſay that although in old time there were kings and judges over the rude people, yet at this day that ſervile kind of governing agreeth not with the perfection which Chriſt hath brought with his goſpel. Wherein they bewray not only their ignorance, but alſo their deviliſh pride, while they take upon themſelves perfection, of which not ſo much as the hundredeth part is ſeen in them. But what manner of men ſoever they be, it is eaſy to confute it: becauſe where David exhorteth all kings and rulers to kiſs the Son of God, he doth not bid them, giving over their authority, to take themſelves to a private life, but to ſubmit the power that they bear to Chriſt, that he alone may have pre-eminence above all. Likewiſe Iſaiah, when he promiſeth that kings ſhall be foſter-fathers of the church, and queens ſhall be nurſes, Iſa. xlix. 23. he doth not deſpoſe them from their honour: but rather doth by an honourable title make them defenders to the godly worſhippers of God. For, that prophecy pertaineth to the coming of Chriſt. I do purpoſely paſs over many teſtimonies which do each where offer themſelves, and eſpecially in the Pſalms wherein all governors have their right maintained. But moſt clear of all is the place of Paul, 1 Tim. ii. 2. where admoniſhing Timothy that in the common aſſembly, prayers muſt be made for kings, he by and by addeth a reaſon, that we may under them lead a quiet life with all godlineſs and honeſty: in which words he committeth the ſtate of the church to their defence and ſafe-guarding.

The benefit which magiſtrates themſelves may take by conſidering that they are appointed miniſters of the righteouſneſs of God.

6. Which conſideration ought continually to buſy the magiſtrates themſelves, for as much as it may put a great ſpur to them whereby they may be pricked forward to their duty, and bring them a ſingular comfort whereby they may mitigate the hardneſs of their office, which truly are both many and great. For with how great an endeavour of uprightneſs, wiſdom, mildneſs, continency and innocency, ought they to charge themſelves, who know themſelves to be appointed miniſters of the righteouſneſs of God? By what affiance ſhall they admit unjuſtice to their judgment ſeat, which they hear to be the throne of the living God? By what boldneſs ſhall they pronounce a wrongful ſentence with that mouth, which they underſtand to be appointed an inſtrument for the truth of God? With what conſcience ſhall they ſubſcribe to wicked decrees with the hand which they know to be ordained to write the acts of God? In a ſum, if they remember that they are the vicegerents of God, they muſt watch with all care, earneſtneſs, and diligence, that they may repreſent in themſelves unto men a certain image of the providence, preſervation, goodneſs, good will, and righteouſneſs of God. And they muſt continually ſet this before

before their eyes, that if all they be accurſed, that do execute in deceit the work of the vengeance of God, Jer. xlviii. 11. they are much more grievouſly accurſed, that uſe themſelves deceitfully in a rightful vocation. Therefore when Moſes and Jehoſhaphat minded to exhort their judges to their duty, they had nothing more effectual to move their minds withal, than that which we have before rehearſed, look what ye do. For ye ſit in judgment not for man but for God: namely, he which is near to you in the cauſe of judgment. Now therefore let the fear of the Lord be upon you. Look and be diligent: becauſe there is no perverſeneſs with the Lord our God. Deut. i. 16. 2 Chron. xix. 6. And in another place it is ſaid, God ſtood in the aſſembly of the gods, and ſitteth judge in the midſt of the gods, Pſal. lxxxii. 1. that they may be encouraged to their duty when they hear that they are the deputies of God, to whom they muſt one day yield account of the government of their charge. And worthily this admonition ought to be of great force with them. For if they make any default, they are not only wrong doers to men whom they wickedly vex, but alſo ſlanderers to God himſelf, whoſe holy judgments they defile. Again they have alſo whereupon they may ſingularly comfort themſelves, when they conſider with themſelves that they are not buſied in prophane affairs, and ſuch as are not fit for the ſervant of God, but in a moſt holy office, namely foraſmuch as they are the deputies of God.

Revilers of magiſtrates, are railers at God: the rule of kings not taken away becauſe the Apoſtles were by Chriſt forbidden to rule as kings.

7. As for them that are not moved with ſo many teſtimonies of ſcripture from being bold to rail at this holy miniſtry, as a thing diſagreeing with Chriſtian religion and godlineſs: what do they elſe but rail at God himſelf, the diſhonour of whom cannot but be joined with the reproach of his miniſtry? And verily they do not refuſe the magiſtrates, but do caſt away God, that he ſhould not reign over them. For if the Lord ſaid this truly of the people of Iſrael: becauſe they had refuſed the government of Samuel: why ſhall it be leſs truly ſaid at this day of them that give themſelves leave to rage againſt all governments ordained of God? But ſince the Lord ſaid to the diſciples, that the kings of nations bear rule over them, but that among them it is not ſo, where he that is the firſt muſt be made the leaſt: by this ſaying it is forbidden to all Chriſtians that they ſhould not take kingdoms or government upon them. O handſome expoſitors! There roſe a ſtrife among the diſciples which of them excelled other: the Lord, to ſuppreſs this vain ambition, taught them that their miniſtry is not like unto kingdoms, in which one man hath pre-eminence above the reſt. I beſeech you, what doth this compariſon make to the diſhonour of kingly dignity? yea what doth it prove at all, but that the miniſtry of an Apoſtle is not the office of a king? Moreover although among the magiſtrates themſelves there are divers forms, yet there is no difference in this behalf but that we ought to take them all for the ordinances of God. For Paul alſo doth comprehend them altogether, Rom. xiii. 1. when he ſaith, that there is no power but of God: and that which beſt liked him of all, is commended with notable teſtimony above the other, namely the power of one: which becauſe it bringeth with it a common bondage of all (except that one man to whoſe will it maketh all things ſubject) in old time could leſs be allowed of noble and the excellent ſort of natures. But the ſcripture to meet with their unjuſt judgments, expreſsly by name affirmeth, that it is the providence of God's wiſdom that kings do reign, and peculiarly commandeth the king to be honoured. Prov. viii. 15. 1 Pet. ii. 17.

Divers kinds of civil government, and the lawfulneſs of each kind.

8. And truly it were very vain that it ſhould be diſputed of private men which ſhould be the beſt ſtate of policy in the place where they live: for whom it is not lawful to conſult of the framing of any common weal. And alſo the ſame could not be ſimply determined without raſhneſs, foraſmuch as a great part of the order of this queſtion conſiſteth in circumſtances. And if thou compare alſo the ſtates themſelves together without circumſtances, it ſhall not be eaſy to diſcern, which of them overweigheth the other in profitableneſs, they match ſo equally together. There is an eaſy way to fall from kingdom into tyranny: but not much harder is it to fall from the rule of the chiefeſt men to the faction of a few: but moſt eaſy of all from the peoples government, to ſedition. Truly if thoſe three forms of governments which the philoſophers ſet out, to be conſidered in themſelves I will not deny that either the government of the chiefeſt men, or a ſtate tempered of it and common government far excelleth all other, not of it ſelf, but be-

cauſe it moſt ſeldom chanceth that kings ſo temper themſelves that their will never ſwerveth from that which is juſt and right: again, that they be furniſhed with ſo great ſharpneſs of judgment and wiſdom that every one of them ſeeth ſo much as is ſufficient. Therefore the fault or default of men maketh, that it is ſafer and more tolerable that many ſhould have the government, that they may mutually one help another, one teach and admoniſh another, and if any advance himſelf higher than is meet, there may be overſeers and maſters to reſtrain his wilfulneſs. This both hath always been approved by experience, and the Lord alſo hath confirmed it with his authority, when he ordained among the Iſraelites a government of the beſt men very near unto common government, at ſuch time as he minded to have them in beſt eſtate, till he brought forth an image of Chriſt in David. And as I willingly grant that no kind of government is more bleſſed than this, where liberty is framed to ſuch a moderation as it ought to be, and is orderly ſtabliſhed to continuance: ſo I count them alſo moſt bleſſed, that may enjoy this ſtate: and if they ſtoutly and conſtantly travel in preſerving and retaining it, I grant that they do nothing againſt their duty. Yea and the magiſtrates ought with moſt great diligence to bend themſelves hereunto, that they ſuffer not the liberty of the people, of which they are appointed governors, to be in any part miniſhed, much leſs to be diſſolved: if they be negligent and little careful therein, they are falſe faith-breakers in their office, and betrayers of their country. But if they would bring this kind to themſelves, to whom the Lord hath appointed another form of government, ſo that thereby they are moved to deſire a change, the very thinking thereof ſhall not only be fooliſh and ſuperfluous, but alſo hurtful. But as if thou bend not thine eyes only to one city, but look about or behold the whole world together, or at leaſt ſpread abroad thy light into farther diſtances of countries, without doubt thou ſhalt find that this is not unprofitably appointed by the providence of God, that divers countries ſhould be ruled by divers kinds of government. For the elements hang together but by an unequal temperature, ſo countries alſo are with their certain inequality very well kept in order. Howbeit all theſe things alſo are ſpoken in vain to them whom the will of the Lord ſhall ſatisfy. For if it be his pleaſure to ſet kings over kingdoms, ſenates, or officers over free cities, whomſoever he maketh rulers in the places where we are converſant, it is our duty to ſhew ourſelves yielding and obedient unto them.

The office of the magiſtrate reaching unto both the tables of the law.

9. Now the office of magiſtrates is in this place to be declared by the way, of what ſort it is deſcribed by the word of God, and in what things it conſiſteth. If the ſcripture did not teach, that it extendeth to both the tables of the law, we might learn it out of the prophane writers. For none hath treated of the duty of magiſtrates, of making of laws, and of public weal, that hath not begun at religion and the worſhipping of God. And ſo have they all confeſſed, that no policy can be happily framed, unleſs the firſt care be of godlineſs, and that thoſe laws are prepoſterous which neglecting the right of God, do provide only for men. Since therefore with all the philoſophers religion hath the firſt place, and ſince the ſame hath always been obſerved by the univerſal conſent of all nations, let Chriſtian princes and magiſtrates be aſhamed of their ſlothfulneſs, if they endeavour not themſelves to this care. And we have already ſhewed, that this duty is ſpecially enjoined them of God: as it is meet that they ſhould employ their labour to defend and maintain his honour, whoſe vicegerents they are, by whoſe benefit they govern. For this cauſe alſo chiefly are the holy kings praiſed in ſcripture, for that they reſtored the worſhip of God being corrupted or overthrown, or took care of religion, that it might flouriſh pure and ſafe under them. But contrariwiſe the holy hiſtory reckoneth ſtates without governors, among faults, ſaying, that there was no king in Iſrael, and that therefore every man did what pleaſed himſelf. Judges xxii. 25. Whereby their folly is confuted, who would have them neglecting the care of God, only to apply themſelves to be judges of law among men. As though God appointed governors in his name to decide controverſies, and omitted that which was of much weightier importance, that he himſelf ſhould be worſhipped according to the preſcribed rule of his law. But a deſire to innovate all things without puniſhment moveth troubleſome men to this point, that they wiſh all revengers of the breach of peace to be taken away. As for ſo much as pertaineth to the ſecond table, Jeremiah warneth kings, to do judgment and righteouſneſs, to deliver the forcibly oppreſſed from the hand of the falſe accuſer, not to grieve the ſtranger and widow, not to do wrong, and not to ſhed innocent blood. Jer. xxii. 1. To the ſame purpoſe maketh the exhortation which is read in the lxxxii. Pſalm,

Pſalm, that they ſhould render right to the poor and needy, acquit the poor and needy, deliver the poor and needy from the hand of the oppreſſor. And Moſes giveth charge to the princes whom he had ſent in his ſtead: Let them hear the cauſe of their brethren, and judge between a man and his brother and a ſtranger, and not know faces in judgment, let them hear as well the little as the great, and be not afraid of any man: becauſe it is the judgment of God. Deut. i. 16. and xvii. 16. But I ſpeak not of theſe things; that kings ſhould not get to themſelves multitudes of horſes, nor caſt their minds to covetouſneſs, not to be liſted up above their brethren: that they may be continually buſied in ſtudying upon the law of the Lord all the days of their life: that judges ſwerve not to the one ſide, nor receive gifts: becauſe in declaring here the office of magiſtrates, my purpoſe is not ſo much to inſtruct the magiſtrates themſelves, as to teach others what magiſtrates be, and to what end they are ſet of God. We ſee therefore that they are ordained, defenders and avengers of innocency, honeſty and quietneſs, whoſe only endeavour ſhould be to provide for the common ſafety and peace of all men. Of which virtues David profeſſeth that he will be an examplar, when he ſhall be advanced to the royal ſeat: Pſal. ci. that is, that he will not conſent to any evil doings, but abhor wicked men, ſlanderers, and proud men, and get to himſelf from each where honeſt and faithful men. But ſince they cannot perform this, unleſs they defend good men from the wrongs of the evil, let them help the good with ſuccour and defence, let them alſo be armed with power, whereby they may ſeverally ſuppreſs open and wicked men, by whoſe lewdneſs the common quiet is troubled or vexed. For we throughly find this by experience which Solon ſaid, that commonweals conſiſt of reward and puniſhment, and that when thoſe are taken away, the whole diſcipline of cities faileth and is diſſolved. For the care of equity and juſtice waxeth cold in the minds of many unleſs there be due honour ready for virtue: neither can the wilfulneſs of wicked men be reſtrained but by ſeverity and chaſtiſement of pains. And theſe two parts the prophet comprehendeth, when he biddeth kings and other governors to do judgment and righteouſneſs, Jer. xxi. 12. and xxii. 3. Righteouſneſs is, to take into charge of tuition, to embrace, to defend, to revenge, to deliver the innocent. Judgment is, to withſtand the boldneſs of wicked men, to repreſs their violence, to puniſh their offences.

10. But here as it ſeemeth, doth ariſe a high and hard queſtion. If by the law of God all Chriſtians are forbidden to kill, and the prophet propheſyeth of the holy mount of God, that is, the church, that in it they ſhall not afflict nor hurt: how many magiſtrates are together both godly and blood ſhedders? But if we underſtand, that the magiſtrate in executing of puniſhments, doth nothing of himſelf, but execute the very judgments of God, we ſhall not be cumbred with this doubt. Exod. xx. 13. Deut. v. 17. The law of the Lord forbiddeth to kill: Mat. v. 21. leſt manſlaughter ſhould be unpuniſhed, the Lawmaker himſelf giveth to the miniſters the ſword in their hand, which they ſhould draw forth againſt all man-ſlayers. Iſa. xi. 9. and xlv. 25. To afflict and to hurt is not the doing of the godly: but this is not to hurt nor to afflict, but the Lord's commandment to revenge the afflictions of the godly. I would to God that this were always preſent before our minds, that nothing is here done by the raſhneſs of man, but all things by the authority of God that commandeth, which going before us, we never ſwerve out of the right way. Unleſs perhaps there be a bridle put upon the righteouſneſs of God, that it may not puniſh wicked doings. But if it be not lawful to appoint any law to it, why ſhall we cavil againſt the miniſters of it? They bear not the ſword in vain, ſaith Paul: for they are the miniſters of God to wrath, revengers to evil doers. Rom. xiii. 4. Therefore if princes and other rulers know that nothing ſhall be more acceptable to God than their obedience, let them apply this miniſtry, if they deſire to ſhew their godlineſs, righteouſneſs, and uncorruptneſs allowable to God. With this affection was Moſes led, when knowing himſelf appointed by the power of the Lord to be the deliverer of his people, he laid his hands upon the Egyptian. Exod. ii. 12. Acts vii. 28. Again, when by ſlaying of three thouſand men in one day, he took vengeance of the ſacrilege of the people. Exod. xxxii. 27. David alſo when nigh to the end of his life he gave commandment to Solomon his ſon to ſlay Joab and Shemei. 1 King. xv. Whereupon he alſo rehearſeth this among the virtues of a king, to ſlay the wicked of the land, that all workers of wickedneſs may be driven out of the city of God. To which purpoſe alſo pertaineth the praiſe that is given to Solomon. Thou haſt loved righteouſneſs and haſt hated wickedneſs. How doth that mild and gentle nature of Moſes burn out into ſo great cruelty, that being

The uſe of the magiſtrate's ſword lawful.

ſprinkled and embrued with the blood of his brethren, he runneth throughout the camp to new ſlaughters? How doth David, a man of ſo great gentleneſs in all his life, among his laſt breathings make that bloody teſtament, that his ſon ſhould not bring the hoar hair of Joab and Shemei in peace to the grave? but they both, when they executed the vengeance committed to them of God, ſo ſanctified with cruel dealing their hands which they had defiled with ſparing. It is an abomination with kings, ſaith Solomon, to do iniquity, becauſe his throne is eſtabliſhed in righteouſneſs. Prov. xvi. 12. Again, The king who ſitteth in the throne of judgment ſpreadeth his eyes upon every evil man. Prov. xx. 8. Again, A wiſe king ſcattereth the wicked, and turneth them upon the wheel. Prov. xx. 26. Again, Take away the droſs from the ſilver, and there ſhall come forth a veſſel to the melter; take away the wicked man from the ſight of the king, and his throne ſhall be faſt ſet in righteouſneſs. Prov. xxv. 4. Again, He that juſtifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the righteous, both are abomination to the Lord. Prov. xvii. 2, 5. Again, A rebellious man purchaſeth evil to himſelf, and a cruel meſſenger is ſet unto him. Prov. xvii. 11. Again, Whoſo ſaith to the wicked man, thou art righteous, him peoples and nations do curſe. Prov. xiv. 24. Now if their true righteouſneſs be, with drawn ſword to purſue guilty and wicked men: let them put up their ſword and hold their hands pure from blood, while in the mean time deſperate men do reign with murders and ſlaughters: then they ſhall make themſelves guilty of moſt great wickedneſs, ſo much leſs ſhall they get thereby the praiſe of godlineſs and righteouſneſs. Only let there be no preciſe and cruel rigorouſneſs, and that judgment ſeat which may worthily be called the rock of accuſed men. For I am not he that either favour extreme cruelty, or do think, that righteous judgment can be pronounced, but while clemency, the beſt and ſureſt counſellor of kings, as Solomon affirmeth, the preſerver of the king's throne is aſſiſtant, which a certain man in old time truly ſaid to be the principal gift of princes. Yet a magiſtrate muſt take heed to both, that he do neither with rigorouſneſs of mind, wound rather than heal, or by ſuperſtitious affection of clemency fall into a moſt cruel gentleneſs, if with ſoft and looſe tenderneſs he be diſſolute to the deſtruction of many men. For this was in old time not without cauſe commonly ſpoken under the empire of Nero, that it is indeed evil to live under a prince under whom nothing is lawful, but much worſe under whom all things are lawful.

The lawfulneſs of wars juſtly taken in hand.

11. But ſince ſometimes kings and peoples muſt of neceſſity take ſword in hand to execute ſuch public vengeance, by this reaſon we may alſo judge that the wars are lawful which are ſo taken in hand. For if there be power delivered them, whereby they may maintain quiet to their dominion, whereby they may keep down the ſeditious ſtirs of unquiet men, whereby they may help the forceably oppreſſed, whereby they may puniſh evil doings: can they at fitter ſeaſons utter it, than to ſuppreſs his rage who troubleth both privately the reſt of every man, and the common qnlet of all men, who ſeditiouſly maketh uproars, who committeth violent oppreſſions and hainous evil doings? If they ought to be preſervers and defenders of the laws, they muſt alſo overthrow the enterprizes of all them by whoſe wicked doing the diſcipline of laws is corrupted. Yea if they worthily puniſh thoſe thieves whoſe injuries have extended only to a few: ſhall they ſuffer a whole country to be without puniſhment vexed and waſted with robberies? For it maketh no difference whether he be a king or one of the baſeſt of the commonalty, that invadeth anothers country into which he hath no right, and ſpoileth it like an enemy: all are alike to be taken and puniſhed for robbers. This therefore both natural equity, and the rule of duty teacheth that princes are armed not only to reſtrain private duties with judicial puniſhments, but alſo to defend with war the dominions committed to their charge, if at any time they are enemy-like aſſailed. And ſuch wars the holy Ghoſt by many teſtimonies of ſcripture declareth to be lawful.

War not forbidden Chriſtians in the goſpel.

12. If it be objected againſt me, that in the New Teſtament is neither witneſs nor example which teacheth that war is a thing lawful for Chriſtians: firſt I anſwer, that the ſame rule of making war which was in old time remaineth alſo at this day, and that on the contrary ſide there is no cauſe that may dabar magiſtrates from defending of their ſubjects. Secondly, that an expreſs declaration of theſe matters is not to be ſought in the writings of the Apoſtles, where their purpoſe is not to frame a civil ſtate but to eſtabliſh the ſpiritual kingdom of Chriſt. Laſt of all, I ſay that in them alſo is ſhewed by the way, that Chriſt hath by his coming changed nothing in this behalf. For if Chriſtian doctrine (that I may ſpeak in Auguſtine's own words

words (*August. Epist. 5. ad Marcel.*) condemned all wars, this should rather have been said to soldiers when they asked counsel of salvation, that they should cast away their weapons, and utterly withdraw themselves from the war. But it was said to them: strike no man, do no man wrong, let your wages suffice you. Whom he taught that their wages ought to suffice them, he did verily not forbid them to be warriors. But all magistrates ought here to take great heed, that they nothing at all follow their own desires: but rather, if they must punish let them not be born away with a headlong angriness, let them not be violently carried with hatred, let them not broil with unappeasable rigour, yea let them (as Augustine saith) pity common nature in him in whom they punish his private fault. Or if they must put on armour against the enemy, that is, the armed robber, let them not lightly seek occasion thereof, nor take it being offered unless they be driven to it by extreme necessity. For if we ought to perform much more than that heathen man required, which would have war to seem a seeking of peace: truly we ought first to attempt all things before we ought to try the matter by war. Finally, in both kinds let them not suffer themselves to be carried with any private affection, but be led only with common feeling. Otherwise they do very ill abuse their power, which is given them, not for their own commodity, but for others benefit and ministry. Moreover of the same rightful rule of making of war hangeth the order both of garrisons, and leagues, and other civil fortifications. Garrisons I call those that are placed in towns to defend the borders of the country: leagues, which are made with princes adjoining for this covenant that if any trouble happen in their hands they may mutually help them, and join their forces in common together to suppress the common enemies of mankind: civil fortification, whose use is in the art of war.

The lawfulness of tributes and taxes with the duty of princes in that respect.

13. This also I will last of all add, that tributes and taxes are the lawful revenues of princes, which they may chiefly employ to sustain the common charges of their office: which yet they may likewise use to their private royalty which is after a certain manner conjoined with honour of the princely state that they bear. As we see that David, Hezekias, Josias, Jehoshaphat, and other holy kings, and Joseph also and Daniel, according to the state of the person that they did bear, were without offence of godliness sumptuous of the common charge, and we read in Ezekiel that there was a very large portion of land assigned to the kings. Where although he paint out the spiritual kingdom of Christ, yet he fetcheth the examplar of his similitude from the lawful kingdom of men. But yet so that princes again on their behalfs should remember, that their treasure chambers are not so much their own private coffers, as the treasuries of the whole people (for so Paul testifieth) which they may not without manifest wrong prodigally waste or spoil: or rather that it is the very blood of the people, which not to spare, is most cruel unnaturalness: and let them think, that their impositions, and subsidies, and other kinds of tributes, are nothing but the supports of public necessity, wherewith to weary the poor commonality without cause is tyrannical extortion. These things do not encourage princes to wasteful expence and riot, (as verily there is no need to add a firebrand to their lusts that are of themselves too much already kindled) but since it much behoveth that they should with pure conscience before God be bold to do all that they are bound to do, least with wicked boldness they come into the despising of God, they must be taught how much is lawful for them. Neither is this doctrine superfluous for private men, that they should not rashly and stubbornly give themselves leave to grudge at any expences of princes, although they exceed common and civil measure.

A false and foolish opinion, that a state cannot be well ordered by the common laws of nations except the civil laws of Moses be observed.

14. Next to the magistrate in civil states are laws, the most strong sinews of commonwealths or (as Cicero calleth them according to Plato) the souls, without which the magistrate cannot stand, as they again without the magistrate have no lively force. Therefore nothing could be more truly said, than that the law is a dumb magistrate, and that the magistrate is a living law. But whereas I promised to speak, with what laws a Christian civil state ought to be ordered, there is no cause why any man should look for a long discourse of the best kind of laws, which both should be infinite and pertained not to this present purpose and place: yet in a few words, as it were by the way, I will touch what laws it may use godlily before God, and be rightfully governed by them among men. Which

thing I had rather to have utterly passed over with silence, if I did not understand that many do herein perilously err. For there are some that deny that a common weal is well ordered, which neglecting the civil laws of Moses, is governed by the common laws of nations. How dangerous and troublesome this sentence is, let other men consider, it shall be enough for me to have shewed that it is false and foolish. That common division is to be kept, which divideth the whole law of God published into moral, ceremonial, and judicial laws: and all the parts are to be severally considered, that we may know what of them pertaineth to us, and what not. Neither in the mean time let any man be cumbered with this doubt, that judicials and ceremonials also pertain to the moral laws. For although the old writers who have taught this division, were not ignorant that these two later parts had their use about manners, yet because they might be changed and abrogate, the morals remaining safe they did not call them moral. They called that first part peculiarly by that name, without which cannot stand the true holiness of manners, and the unchangeable rule of living rightly.

Men of all ages bound to the moral law of Moses, the ceremonial given for a time, judicial instituted of God for them not for all men to be governed by.

15. Therefore the moral law (that I may first begin thereat) since it is contained in two chief points, of which the one commandeth simply to worship God with pure faith and godliness, and the other to embrace men with unfeigned love, is the true and eternal rule of righteousness prescribed to the men of all ages and times that will be willing to frame their life to the will of God. For this is his eternal and unchangeable will, that he himself should be worshipped of us all, and that we should mutually love one another. The ceremonial law was the schooling of the Jews, wherewith it pleased the Lord to exercise the certain childhood of that people, till that time of fulness came, wherein he would to the full manifestly shew his wisdom to the earth, and deliver the truth of those things which then were shadowed with figures. The judicial law given to them for an order of civil state, gave certain rules of equity and righteousness, by which they might behave themselves harmlessly and quietly together, And as that exercise of ceremonies properly pertained indeed to the doctrine of godliness (namely which kept the church of the Jews in the worship and religion of God) yet it might be distinguished from godliness it self: so this form of judicial orders (although it tended to no other end, but how the self-same charity might best be kept which is commanded by the eternal law of God) yet had a certain thing differing from the very commandment of loving. As therefore the ceremonies might be abrogate, godliness remaining safe and undestroyed: so these judicial ordinances also being taken away, the perpetual duties and commandments of charity may continue. If this be true, verily there is liberty left to every nation to make such laws as they shall foresee to be profitable for them: which yet must be framed after the perpetual rule of charity, that they may indeed vary in form, but have the same reason. For I think that those barbarous and savage laws, as were those that gave honour to thieves, that allowed common copulations, and other both much more filthy and more against reason, are not to be taken for laws: for as much as they are not only against all righteousness, but also against natural gentleness and kindness of men.

The diversity of laws, and the necessity that they should be divers, as times and places and occasions differ.

16. This which I have said shall be plain, if in all laws we behold these two things as we ought, the making and the equity of the law, upon the reason whereof the making it self is founded and stayeth. Equity, because it is natural, can be but one of all laws: and therefore one law, according to the kind of matter, ought to be the propounded end to all laws. As for making of laws, because they have certain circumstances upon which they partly hang, if so that they tend all together to one mark of equity, tho' it be divers it maketh no matter. Now since it is certain that the law of God which we call moral is nothing else but a testimony of the natural law, and of that conscience which is engraven of God in the minds of men, the whole rule of this equity whereof we now speak is set forth therein. Therefore it alone also must be both the mark and rule and end of all laws. Whatsoever laws shall be framed after that rule, directed to that mark, and limited in that end, there is no cause why we should disallow them, howsoever they otherways differ from the Jewish law of one from another. The law of God forbiddeth to steal. What pain was appointed for thefts in the civil state of the Jews, is to be seen in Exodus xxii. 1. The most ancient laws of other nations punished theft with recompence of double: the laws that followed

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afterward, made difference between manifeſt theft and not manifeſt. Some proceeded to baniſhment, ſome to whipping, ſome at laſt to the puniſhment of death. Falſe witneſs was amongſt the Jews puniſhed with recompence of equal pain, in ſome places only with great ſhame, in ſome places with hanging, in other ſome with the croſs. Manſlaughter all laws univerſally do revenge with blood, yet with divers kinds of death. Againſt adulterers in ſome places were ordained ſeverer pains, in ſome places lighter. Yet we ſee how with ſuch diverſity all tend to the ſame end. For with one mouth they altogther pronounce puniſhment againſt all the offences which have been condemned by the eternal law of God, as manſlaughters, thefts, adultery, falſe witneſſings: but in the manner of puniſhment they agree not. Neither is the ſame needful, nor yet expedient. There is ſome country, which unleſs it ſhew rigour with horrible examples againſt manſlayers, ſhould immediately be deſtroyed with murders and robberies. There is ſometime that requireth the ſharpneſs of pains to be increaſed. If there ariſe any trouble in a common wealth, the evils that are wont to grow thereof muſt be amended with new ordinances. In time of war all humanity would in the noiſe of armour fall away, unleſs there were caſt into men an unwonted fear of puniſhments. In barrenneſs, in peſtilence, unleſs greater ſeverity be uſed, all things will come to ruin. Some nation is more bent to ſome certain vice, unleſs it be more ſharply ſuppreſſed. How malicious and envious ſhall it be againſt the public profit, that ſhall be offended with ſuch diverſity which is moſt fit to hold faſt the obſerving of the law of God? For, that which ſome ſay, that the law of God given by Moſes is diſhonoured, when it being abrogate, new are preferred above it, is moſt vain. For neither are other preferred above it, when they are more allowed, not in ſimple compariſon, but in reſpect of the ſtate of the times, place, and nation: neither is that abrogate which was never made for us. For the Lord gave not the law by the hand of Moſes, which ſhould be publiſhed unto all nations, and flouriſh every where: but when he had received the nation of the Jews into his faith, defence, aud protection, he willed to be a lawmaker peculiarly to them, and like a wiſe lawgiver, he had in making of his laws a certain ſingular conſideration of them.

What profit chriſtians receive by laws, judicial orders and magiſtrates.

17. Now remaineth that we conſider that which we have ſet in the laſt place, what profit of laws, judicial orders, and magiſtrates, cometh to the common fellowſhip of chriſtians. Where with alſo is coupled another queſtion, how much private men ought to yield to magiſtrates, and how far their obedience ought to proceed. Many thought the office of magiſtrates to be ſuperfluous among chriſtians, becauſe forſooth they cannot godlily crave their aid, namely ſince they are forbidden to revenge, to ſue in the law, and to have any controverſy. But whereas Paul contrariwiſe plainly teſtifieth, that he is the miniſter of God to us for good: we thereby underſtand, that he is ſo ordained of God, that we being defended by his hand and ſuccours againſt the maliciouſneſs and injuries of miſchievous men, may live a quiet and peaceable life. As he is in vain given us of the Lord for defence, unleſs it be lawful for us to uſe ſuch benefit: it ſufficiently appeareth that he may alſo without ungodlineſs be called upon and ſued unto. But here I muſt have to do with two kinds of men. For there be many men that boil with ſo great rage of quarrelling at the law, that they never have quiet with themſelves unleſs they have ſtrife with others. And their controverſies they exerciſe with deadly ſharpneſs of hatred, and with mad greedineſs to revenge and hurt, and do purſue them with unappeaſable ſtiffneſs even to the very deſtruction of their adverſary. In the mean time, that they may not be thought to do any thing but rightfully, they defend ſuch perverſeneſs with colour of law. But though it be granted thee to go to law with thy brother, yet thou mayſt not by and by hate him, nor be carried againſt him with furious deſire to hurt him, nor ſtubbornly to purſue him.

A rule according whereunto both plaintiffs and defendants may uſe the help of the magiſtrate in a queſtion of their right well and lawfully

18. Let this therefore be ſaid to ſuch men, that the uſe of laws is lawful, if a man do rightfully uſe it. And that the right uſe both for the plaintiff to ſue, and for the defendant to defend, as if the defendant being ſummoned do appear at an appointed day, and doth with ſuch exception as he can, defend his cauſe without bitterneſs, but only with this affection to defend that which is his own by law: and if the plaintiff being unworthily oppreſſed either in his perſon or his goods, do reſort to the defence of the magiſtrate, make his complaint, and require that which is equity and conſcience, but far from all greedy will to hurt or revenge, far from ſharpneſs and hatred, far from burning heat of contention, but rather rea-

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dy to yield of his own and to ſuffer any thing, than to be carried with an enemy like mind againſt his adverſary. Contrariwiſe when being filled with malice of mind, corrupted with envy, kindled with wrath, breathing out revenge, or finally ſo enflamed with the heat of the contention, they give over any part of charity, the whole proceeding even of a moſt juſt cauſe cannot but be wicked. For this ought to be a determined principle to all chriſtians, that a controverſy though it be never ſo righteous, can never be rightly purſued of any man, unleſs he bear as good will and love to his adverſary, as if the matter which is in the controverſy were already concluded and ended by compoſition. Some man will here peradventure ſay, that ſuch moderation is ſo never uſed in going to law, that it ſhould be like a miracle if any ſuch were found. I grant indeed, as the manners of theſe times be, that there is ſeldom ſeen an example of a good contender in law, yet the thing itſelf being defiled with addition of no evil, ceaſeth not to be good and pure. But when we hear that the help of the magiſtrate is a holy gift of God, we muſt ſo much the more diligently take heed, that it be not defiled by our fault.

All contending at law not preciſely to be condemned.

19. As for them that preciſely condemn all contendings at law, let them underſtand that they do therewithal deſpiſe the holy ordinance of God, and a gift of that kind of gifts which may be clean to the clean: unleſs peradventure they will accuſe Paul of wicked doing, who did both put away from himſelf the ſlanders of his accuſers with declaring alſo their deceit and maliciouſneſs, and in judgment claimed for himſelf the prerogative of the city of Rome, and when need was he appealed from an unrighteous governor to the emperor's judgment ſeat. Act. xxii. 1. and xxiv. 12. and xxv. 10. Neither withſtandeth it, that all chriſtians are forbidden to deſire revenge, Mat. v. 19. which we alſo do drive far away from chriſtian judgment ſeats. For, if the contention be about a common caſe, he goeth not the right way that doth not with innocent ſimplicity, commit his cauſe to the judge as to a common defender, thinking nothing leſs than to render mutual recompence of evil, which is the affection of revenge: or if any matter of life and death, or any greater criminal action be commenced, we require that the accuſer be ſuch a one, as cometh into the court being taken with no boiling heat of revenge, and touched with no diſpleaſure of private injury, but only having in mind to withſtand the enterpriſes of a miſchievous man, that they may not hurt the commonweal. But if thou take away a revenging mind, there is no offence done againſt that commandment whereby revenge is forbidden to chriſtians. But they are not only forbidden to deſire revenge, but they are alſo commanded to wait for the hand of the Lord, who promiſeth, that he will be a preſent revenger for the oppreſſed and afflicted: but they do prevent all revenge of the heavenly defender, who require help at the magiſtrate's hand either for themſelves or others. Not ſo. For we muſt think that the magiſtrate's revenge is not the revenge of man, but of God, which (as Paul ſaith) he extendeth and exerciſeth by the miniſtry of man for our good. Rom. xiii. 4.

The patience which Chriſtians are enjoined to uſe is not let but that they may alſo uſe the magiſtrates againſt the injuries of unjuſt men.

20. And no more do we diſagree with the words of Chriſt, by which he forbiddeth to reſiſt evil, and commandeth to turn the right cheek to him that hath given a blow on the left, and to ſuffer him to take away thy cloak that taketh away thy coat. He willeth indeed there that the minds of his ſhould ſo much abhore deſire of recompenſing like for like, that they ſhould ſooner ſuffer double injury to be done to themſelves, than to deſire to requite it: from which patience neither do we alſo lead them away. For Chriſtians truly ought to be a kind of men made to bear reproaches and injuries, open to the malice, deceits, and mockages, of naughty men: and not that only but alſo they muſt be bearers of all thoſe evils, that is to ſay, ſo framed with all their hearts, that having received one diſpleaſure they make themſelves ready for another, promiſing to themſelves, nothing in their whole life but the bearing of a continual croſs. In the mean time alſo they muſt do good to them that do them wrong, and wiſh well to thoſe that curſe them, and (which is their only victory) ſtrive to overcome evil with good. Being ſo minded they will not ſeek eye for eye, tooth for tooth, as the Phariſees taught their diſciples to deſire revenge, but (as we are taught of Chriſt) they will ſo ſuffer their body to be mangled, and their goods to be maliciouſly taken from them, that they will forgive, and of their own accord pardon thoſe evils ſo ſoon as they are done to them. Yet this evenneſs and moderation of minds ſhall not withſtand, but that the friendſhip toward their enemies remaining ſafe they may uſe the help of the magiſtrates

ſtrate to the preſerving of their goods, or for zeal of public intereſt may ſue a guilty and peſtilent man to be puniſhed, whom they know that he cannot be amended but by death. For Auguſtine truly expoundeth that all theſe commandments tend to this end, that a righteous and godly man ſhould be ready to bear patiently the malice of them whom he ſeeketh to have made good men, that rather the number of the good may increaſe, not that he ſhould with like malice add himſelf alſo to the number of the evil: then, that they more pertain to the preparation of the heart, which is inwardly, than to the work which is done openly: that in ſecret may be kept patience of mind with good will, but openly that may be done which we ſee may be profitable to them to whom we ought to bear good will.

All contendings at law not condemned by the Apoſtle.

21. But this which is wont to be objected, that contendings in law are altogether condemned of Paul, is alſo falſe: it may eaſily be perceived by his words, that there was an unmeaſurable rage of ſtriving at law in the church of the Corinthians: ſo far forth that they did make the goſpel of Chriſt and the whole religion which they profeſſed, open to the cavillations and evil ſpeakings of the wicked. This is the firſt thing that Paul blameth in them, that by their intemperance of contentions, they brought the goſpel in ſlander among the unbelievers. And then this point alſo, that in ſuch ſort they ſtrived among themſelves brethren with brethren. For they were ſo far from bearing of wrongs, that they greedily gaped one for another's goods, provoked one another, and being unprovoked did hurt. Therefore he inveigheth againſt that rage of contending, and not ſimply againſt all controverſies. But he pronounceth that it is a fault or a weakneſs, that they did not rather ſuffer loſs of their goods than to ſtrive even to contentions for the preſerving of them: namely when they were ſo eaſily moved with every damage, and for moſt ſmall cauſes did run to the court of law and to controverſies, he ſaith that this is a proof that they were of a mind too ready to anger, and not well framed to patience. Chriſtians verily ought to do this, that they had alway rather to yield of their own right than to go to law, from whence they can ſcarcely get out again but with a mind too much moved and kindled to hatred of their brother. But when a man ſeeth that without loſs of charity he may defend his own, the loſs whereof ſhould be a ſore hinderance unto him: if he do ſo he offendeth nothing againſt this ſaying of Paul. Finally (as we have taught in the beginning) charity ſhall give every man beſt counſel, without which whatſoever controverſies are taken in hand, and beyond which whatſoever do proceed, we hold it out of controverſy that they are unjuſt and wicked.

The reverend eſtimation which ſubjects ought to have of their magiſtrates.

22. The firſt duty of ſubjects toward their magiſtrates is, to think moſt honourably of their office, namely which they acknowlege to be a juriſdiction committed of God, and therefore to eſteem them and reverence them as the miniſters and deputies of God. For a man may find ſome, who yield themſelves very obedient to their magiſtrates, and would not that there were not ſome whom they ſhould obey, becauſe they ſo know it to be expedient for the common benefit: but of the magiſtrates themſelves they think no otherwiſe than of certain neceſſary evils. But Peter requireth ſomewhat more of us, when he commandeth that the king be honoured, 1 Pet. ii. 17. and Solomon, when he commandeth God and the king to be feared: Prov. xxiv. 21. for Peter under the word of honouring containeth a ſincere and well deeming eſtimation: and Solomon joining the king with God, ſheweth that he is full of a certain holy reverence and dignity. This is alſo a notable commendation in Paul, that we obey not only for wrath but for conſcience. Whereby he meaneth that ſubjects ought to be led not only with fear of princes and rulers to be holden in their ſubjection (as they are wont to yield to their armed enemy, who ſee that vengeance ſhall readily be taken upon them if they reſiſt) but becauſe the obediences that are ſhewed to them are ſhewed to God himſelf, for as much as their power is of God. I ſpeak not of the men, as if the viſor of dignity did cover fooliſhneſs, or ſluggiſhneſs, or cruelties, or wicked manners, and full of miſchievous doing: but I ſay that the decree it ſelf is worthy of honour and reverence: that whoſoever are rulers may be eſteemed with us, and have reverence, in reſpect of their being rulers.

The obedience which we owe unto magiſtrates in our outward actions.

23. Of this then alſo followeth another thing: that with minds bent to the honouring of them, they declare their obedience in proof to them: whether it be to obey their proclamations,

or to pay tribute, or to take in hand public offices and charges that serve for common defence, or to do any other of their commandments. Let every soul (saith Paul) be subject to the higher powers. For he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. The same Paul writeth to Titus: warn them that they be subject to rulers and powers, that they obey the magistrates, that they be ready to every good work. And Peter saith, be ye subject to every human creature (or, rather as I translate it, ordinance) for the Lord's sake, either to the king as supreme or to the rulers that are sent by him, to the punishment indeed of evil doers, but to the praise of well-doers. Moreover that they should testify that they do not feign subjection, but are sincerely and heartily subject, Paul addeth that they should commend to God the safety and prosperity of them under whom they live. I exhort (saith he) that there be made prayers, beseechings, intercessions, thanksgivings for all men, for kings and all that are set in superiority, that we may live a peaceable and quiet life with all godliness and honesty. Neither let any men here deceive himself. For since the magistrate cannot be resisted, but that God himself must also be resisted: although it may be thought that an unarmed magistrate may freely be despised, yet God is armed who will strongly take vengeance on the despising of himself. Moreover under this obedience I contain moderation, which private men ought to bind themselves to keep in cases touching the public state, that they do not of their own head intermedle in public business, or rashly break into the office of the magistrate, and enterprize nothing publicly. If any thing shall in a public ordinance be behoveful to be amended, let not themselves raise uproars, nor put their hands to the doing of it, which they all ought to have fast bound in this behalf: but let them commit it to the judgment of the magistrate, whose hand alone is herein at liberty. I mean, that they presume to do nothing uncommanded. For when the commandment of the ruler is adjoined, then are they also furnished with public authority. For as they are wont to call the counsellors of a king, his ears and eyes: so not unfitly a man may call them the hands of that prince, whom by his commandment he setteth in authority for the doing of things.

The evil dealings of magistrates the cause why men think they may withdraw both reverence and obedience from them.

24. Now for as much as we have hitherto described a magistrate such as is indeed thee same that he is called, namely, the father of the country, and (as the poet calleth him) the pastor of the people, the keeper of peace, the protector of righteousness, the revenger of innocency: he is worthily to be judged a mad man, that alloweth not such a government. But whereas this is in a manner the experience of all ages, that of princes some being careless of all things, to the foreseeing whereof they ought to have been heedfully bent, do without all care slothfully wallow in delights: othersome addicted to their gain, do set out to sale all laws, privileges, judgments, and grants: othersome spoil the poor commonalty of money which they may after waste upon mad prodigal expendings: othersome exercise mere robberies, in pillaging of houses, defiling of virgins and matrons, murdering of innocents: many cannot be persuaded that such should be acknowleged for princes, whose authority they ought to obey so far as they may. For in so great hainous unworthiness among actions so much contrary to the duty not only of a magistrate, but also of a man, they behold no form of the image of God, which ought to shine in a magistrate: when they see no token of that minister of God, who was given for praise to the good, and for vengeance to the evil: so neither do they also acknowlege such a governor, whose dignity and authority the scripture commendeth unto us. And truly this feeling of affection hath always been naturally planted in the minds of men, no less to hate and abhore tyrants, than to love and honour lawful kings.

Subjection due from us even to those magistrates who towards us neglect their duty and abuse their authority.

25. But if we look to the word of God, it will lead us further, that we be subject not only to the government of those princes who execute their office toward us well and with such faithfulness as they ought, but also of all them, who by what mean soever it be, have the dominion in possession although they perform nothing less than that which pertaineth to the duty of princes. For though the Lord testifieth that the magistracy is a special great gift of his liberality for preserving of the safety of men, and appointeth to magistrates themselves their bounds: yet he doth therewithal declare, that of what sort soever they be, they have not their authority but from him: that those indeed who rule for benefit o

the commonweal, are true examplars and patterns of his bountifulneſs: that they that rule unjuſtly and wilfully, are raiſed up by him to puniſh the wickedneſs of the people: that all equally have that majeſty wherewith he hath furniſhed a lawful power. I will proceed no further, till I have added ſome certain teſtimonies of that point. Yet we need not much to labour to prove that a wicked king is the wrath of God upon the earth, for as much as I think that no man will ſay the contrary, and otherwiſe there ſhould be no more ſaid of a king than of a common robber that violently taketh away thy goods, and of an adulterer that defileth thy bed, of a murderer that ſeeketh to kill thee, whereas the ſcripture reckoneth all ſuch calamities among the curſes of God. But let us rather tarry upon proving that which doth not ſo eaſily ſettle in the minds of men: that in a moſt naughty man, and moſt unworthy of all honour if ſo that he have the public power in poſſeſſion, remaineth that noble and divine power which the Lord hath by his word given to the miniſters of his righteouſneſs and judgment, and therefore that he ought of his ſubjects to be had in as great reverence and eſtimation, ſo much as pertaineth to public obedience, as they would have the beſt king if he were given them.

The providence of God in diſpoſing kingdoms and uſing the ſervice of wicked kings.

26. Firſt, I would have the readers to perceive and diligently to mark that providence and ſingular doings of God, which is in the ſcripture not without cauſe ſo oft rehearſed unto us, in diſtributing of kingdoms and making kings whom it pleaſeth him. In Daniel, it is ſaid: the Lord changeth times and courſes of times, he caſteth away and maketh kings. Again: that the living may know that the higheſt is mighty in the kingdom of men, and he ſhall give it to whom he will. With which manner of ſentences whereas the whole ſcripture aboundeth, yet that ſame prophecy of Daniel eſpecially ſwarmeth full. Now what manner of king was Nebuchadnezzar, he that conquered Jeruſalem, it is ſufficiently known, namely a ſtrong invader and deſtroyer of others. Yet in Ezekiel the Lord affirmeth that he gave him the land of Egypt for the ſervice that he had done to him in waſting of it. And Daniel ſaid to him. Thou king art king of kings, to whom the king of heavens hath given a mighty and ſtrong, and glorious kingdom: to thee, I ſay, he hath given it, and all the lands where dwell the children of men, and the beaſts of the wood and fowls of the air: he hath delivered them into thy hand, and hath made thee to bear rule over them. Again he ſaid to his ſon Belſhazzer: the higheſt God hath given to Nebuchadnezzar thy father kingdom and royalty, honour and glory: and by reaſon of the royalty that he gave him, all peoples, tribes, and languages were trembling and fearful at his ſight. When we hear that a king is ordained of God, let us therefore call to remembrance thoſe heavenly warnings concerning the honour and fearing of a king: then we ſhall not doubt to account, a moſt wicked tyrant in the ſame place wherein the Lord hath vouchſafed to ſet him: Samuel when he gave warning to the people of Iſrael, what manner of things they ſhould ſuffer at the hands of their kings, ſaid: this ſhall be the right of the king that ſhall reign over you; he ſhall take your ſons and put them to his chariot, to make them his horſemen, and to plow his land, and reap his crop, and to make inſtruments of war. He ſhall take your daughters, that they may be his dreſſers of ointments, his cooks and bakers. Your lands, your vineyards, and your beſt olive plants, he ſhall take away and give to his bond-ſervants. He ſhall take tythes of your ſeeds and vineyards, and ſhall give them to his eunuchs and bond-ſervants. He ſhall take away your bond-men, your bond-women and your aſſes, and ſet them to his work. Yea and he ſhall take tythes of your flocks, and ye ſhall be his bond-ſervants. Verily kings ſhould not have done this of right, whom the law did very well inſtruct to all continence: but it was called a right over the people which it behoved them of neceſſity to obey, and they might not reſiſt it: as if Samuel had ſaid. The wilfulneſs of kings ſhall run to ſuch licentiouſneſs, which it ſhall not be your part to reſiſt, to whom this only thing ſhall be left, to obey their commandments and hearken to their word.

The Jews commanded of God to yield honour unto a proud and cruel king.

27. But chiefly there is in Jeremiah a notable paſſage and worthy to be remembred, which although it be ſomewhat long, yet I will be content to rehearſe, becauſe it moſt plainly determineth this whole queſtion. I have made the earth and men, ſaith the Lord, and the living creatures that are one over the face of the earth in my great ſtrength and ſtretched out arm, and I will deliver it to him whom it pleaſeth in mine eyes. And now therefore I have given all theſe lands into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar my ſervant, and all na-

tions and great kings ſhall ſerve him, till the time ſhall come of that land. And it ſhall be as a nation and a kingdom that hath not ſerved the king of Babel. I will viſit that nation in ſword, famine, and peſtilence. Wherefore ſerve ye the king of Babel and live. Jer. xxvii. 5. We ſee with how great obedience the Lord willed that cruel and proud tyrant to be honoured, for no other reaſon but becauſe he poſſeſſed the kingdom. And the ſame was by the heavenly decree, that he was ſet in the throne of the kingdom, and taken up into kingly majeſty, which it was unlawful to violate. If we have this continually before our minds and eyes, that even the worſt of kings are ordained by the ſame decree by which the authority of kings is eſtabliſhed, theſe ſeditious thoughts ſhall never come into our mind, that a king is to be handled according to his deſervings, and that it is not meet that we ſhould ſhew ourſelves ſubjects to him that doth not on his behalf ſhew himſelf a king unto us.

The reaſons why the people of Iſrael were commanded to honour evil kings, do as effectually bind us to the like duty.

28. In vain ſhall any man object that this was a peculiar commandment to the Iſraelites For it is to be noted with what reaſon the Lord confirmeth it. I have given (ſaith he) the kingdom to Nebuchadnezzar: wherefore ſerve ye him and live. To whomſoever therefore it ſhall be certain that the kingdom is given, let us not doubt that he is to be obeyed. And ſo ſoon as the Lord advanceth any man to the royal eſtate, he therein declareth his will to us that he will have him reign. For thereof are general teſtimonies of the ſcripture. Solomon in Prov. xxviii. 2. Many princes are becauſe of the wickedneſs of the people. Again Job xii. 18. He taketh away ſubjection from kings, and girdeth them again with the girdle. But this being confeſſed, there remaineth nothing but that we muſt ſerve and live. There is alſo in Jeremiah the prophet another commandment of the Lord, wherein he commanded his people to ſeek the peace of Babylon, whether they had been led away captive, and to pray to him for it, becauſe in the peace of it ſhould be their peace. Jer. xxix. 7. Behold the Iſraelites being ſpoiled of all their goods, plucked out of their houſes, led away into exile, and caſt into miſerable bondage, are commanded to pray for the ſafety of the conqueror: not as in other places we are commanded to pray for our perſecutors: but that the kingdom may be preſerved to himſelf and quiet, that they themſelves may alſo live proſperouſly under him. So David being already appointed king by the ordinance of God, and anointed with his holy oil, when he was without any his deſerving unworthily perſecuted of Saul, yet the head of him that laid wait for his life, he eſteemed holy which the Lord hath hallowed with the honour of kingdom. Far be it from me (ſaith he) that I ſhould before the Lord do this thing to my lord the anointed of the Lord, that I ſhould lay my hand upon him: becauſe he is the anointed of the Lord. 1 Sam. xxiv. 7. Again, my ſoul hath ſpared thee, and I have ſaid, I will not lay my hand upon my lord, becauſe he is the anointed of the Lord. Again, who ſhall lay his hand upon the anointed of the Lord and ſhall be innocent? So ſure as the Lord liveth, unleſs the Lord ſtrike him, or his day be come that he die, or he go down into battle: far be it from me that I ſhould lay my hand upon the anointed of the Lord. 1 Sam. xxvi. 9.

If princes break their duties, we may not therefore tranſgreſs ours.

29. Finally we owe this affection of reverence yea and devotion to all our rulers, of what ſort ſoever they be, which I do therefore the oftener repeat, that we may learn not to ſearch what the men themſelves are, but take this for ſufficient, that by the will of the Lord they bear that perſonage in which the Lord himſelf hath imprinted and engraved an inviolable majeſty. But (thou wilt ſay) rulers owe mutual duties to their ſubjects. That I have already confeſſed. But if thou thereupon concludeſt, that obediences are to be rendered to none but to juſt governors, thou art a fooliſh reaſoner. For, huſbands alſo are bound to their wives, and parents to their children with mutual duties, Eph. vi. 1. Eph. v. 26. 1 Pet. iii. 7. Let parents and huſbands depart from their duty: let parents ſhew themſelves ſo harſh and ſurly to their children, whom they are forbidden to provoke to anger, that with their peeviſhneſs they do unmeaſurably weary them: let the huſbands moſt deſpitefully uſe their wives, whom they are commanded to love, and to ſpare them as weak veſſels: ſhall yet therefore either children be leſs obedient to their parents, or wives to their huſbands? but they are ſubject both to evil parents and huſbands and ſuch as do not their duty. Yea, whereas all ought rather to endeavour themſelves not to look behind them to the bag hanging at their back, that is, not to enquire one of anothers duties, but every man ſet before him

him that which is his own duty: this ought chiefly to have place among those that are under the power of other. Wherefore if we be unmercifully tormented of a cruel prince, if we be ravenously spoiled of a covetous or riotous prince, if we be neglected of a slothful prince, finally if we be vexed for ungodlinesses sake of a wicked and ungodly prince: let us first call to mind the remembrance of our sins, which undoubtedly are chastised with such scourges of the Lord. Thereby humility shall bridle our impatience. Let us then also call to mind this thought, that it pertaineth not to us to remedy such evils: but this only is left for us, that we crave the help of the Lord in whose hands are the hearts of kings, and the bowings of kingdoms. He is the God that shall stand in the assembly of gods, and shall in the midst judge the gods, Psal. lxxxii. 1. from whose face all kings shall fall, and be broken, and all the judges of the earth that shall have not kissed his anointed, Psal. ii. 10. that have written unjust laws to oppress the poor in judgment, and do violence to the cause of the humble, to make widows a prey, and rob the fatherless. Isa. x. 1.

The provident care of God to deliver his people from their rulers tyranny.

30. And here both his marvellous goodness, and power, and providence sheweth itself: for sometime of his servants he raiseth up open revengers, and furnisheth them with his commandment, to take vengeance of their unjust government, and to deliver his people many ways oppressed out of miserable distress: sometimes he directeth to the same end the rage of men that intend and go about another thing. So he delivered the people of Israel out of the tyranny of Pharaoh by Moses: Exod. iii. 7. and out of the violence of Chusam king of Syria, by Othoniel: and out of other thraldoms, by other kings or judges. Judg. iii. 9, &c. So he tamed the pride of Tyrus, by the Egyptians: the insolence of the Egyptians, by the Assyrians: the fierceness of the Assyrians by the Chaldees: the boldness of Babylon, by the Medians, and by the Persians when Cyrus had subdued the Medians. And the unthankfulness of the kings of Judah and Israel, and their wicked obstinacy toward his so many benefits, he did beat down and bring to distress sometimes by the Assyrians, sometimes by the Babylonians, although not all after one manner. For the first sort of men when they were by the lawful calling of God sent to do such acts: in taking armour against kings, they did not violate that majesty which is planted in kings by the ordinance of God: but being armed from heaven they subdued the lesser power with the greater: like as it is lawful for kings to punish their lords under them. But these latter sort, although they were directed by the hand of God whether it pleased him, and they unwittingly did work, yet purposed in their mind nothing but mischief.

The revenge of unbridled government belongeth not to private men.

31. But howsoever the very doings of men are judged, yet the Lord did as well execute his work by them, when he did break the bloody sceptres of proud kings, and overthrew their intollerable governments. Let princes hear and be afraid. But we in the mean time must take great heed, that we do not despise or offend that authority of magistrates full of reverend majesty, which God hath stablished with most weighty decrees, although it remain with most unworthy men, and which do with their wickedness, so much as in them is, defile it. For though the correcting of unbridled government be the revengement of the Lord, let us not by and by think that it is committed to us, to whom there is given no other commandment but to obey and suffer. I speak always of private men. For if there be at this time any magistrates for the behalf of the people, (such as in old time were the Ephori, that were set against the kings of Lacedemonia, or the tribunes of the people, against the Roman consuls: or the Demarchi, against the senate of Athens: and the same were also which peradventure, as things are now, the three estates have in every realm, when they hold their principal assemblies) I do not so forbid them according to their office to withstand the outraging licentiousness of kings: that I affirm that if they wink at kings wilfully raging over and treading down the poor commonalty, their dissembling is not without wicked breach of faith, because they deceitfully betray the liberty of the people, whereof they know themselves to be appointed protectors by the ordinance of God.

The duty which we owe unto kings must not lead us from our obedience to the King of kings.

32. But in that obedience which we have determined to be due to the authorities of governors, that is alway to be excepted, yea, chiefly to be observed, that it do not lead us away from obeying of him, to whose will the desires of all kings ought to be

ſubject, to whoſe decrees all their commandments ought to yield, to whoſe majeſty their ſcepters ought to be ſubmitted. And truly how diſorderly were it, for the ſatisfying of men to run into his diſpleaſure for whom men themſelves are obeyed? The Lord therefore is the King of kings, who when he hath opened his holy mouth, is to be heard alone for altogether and above all: next to him we are ſubject to thoſe men that are ſet over us: but no otherwiſe than in him. If they command any thing againſt him, let it have no place, and let no account be made of it: neither let us herein any thing ſtay upon all that dignity wherewith the magiſtrates excel, to which there is no wrong done, when it is brought into order of ſubjection in compariſon of that ſingular and truly ſovereign power of God. After this reaſon Daniel denieth that he had any thing offended againſt the king, when he obeyed not his wicked proclamation: becauſe the king had paſſed his bounds, and had not only been an evil doer to men, but in lifting up his horns againſt God he had taken away power from himſelf. Dan. vi. 22. On the other ſide the Iſraelites are condemned becauſe they were too much obedient to the wicked commandment of the king. For when Jeroboam had made golden calves, they forſaking the temple of God, did for his pleaſure turn to new ſuperſtitions. 1 King xii. 30. With like lightneſs their poſterity inclined themſelves to the ordinances of their kings. With this the prophet ſharply reproacheth them, that they embraced the commandments of the king: ſo far is it off, that the pretence of humility may deſerve praiſe wherewith the flatterers of the court do cover themſelves and deceive the ſimple, while they ſay that it is not lawful for them to refuſe any thing that is commanded them of their prince: as though God had reſigned his right to mortal men, giving them the rule of mankind: or as though the earthly power were diminiſhed when it is made ſubject to the author of it, before whom even the heavenly powers do humbly tremble for fear. I know how great and how preſent peril hangeth over this conſtancy, becauſe kings do moſt unpleaſantly ſuffer themſelves to be deſpiſed, whoſe diſpleaſure (ſaith Solomon) is the meſſenger of death. But ſince this decree is proclaimed by the heavenly herald Peter: that we ought to obey God rather than men, Acts v. 29. let us comfort ourſelves with this thought, that we then perform that obedience which the Lord requireth, when we ſuffer any thing rather whatſoever it be, than ſwerve from godlineſs. And that our courage ſhould not faint, Paul putteth alſo another ſpur to us: 1 Cor. vii. 13. That we were therefore redeemed of Chriſt with ſo great a price as our redemption coſt him, that we ſhould not yield ourſelves in thraldom to obey the perverſe deſires of men, but much leſs ſhould be bound to ungodlineſs.

THE END.

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A

TABLE

Of the matters treated of in this book, diſpoſed in form of common places, wherein is briefly rehearſed the ſum of the doctrine concerning every point taught in the book before at large, collected by the author.

The firſt number ſignifieth the book, the ſecond the chapter, the third the ſection.

A

Acoluthes.

AColuthes in the old church. Book 4. chap. 4. ſection 1. 9. and chap. 19. ſect. 22, 23.

Adam's fall.

The fall of Adam proceeded not of intemperance, of gluttony, but of infidelity: for he deſpiſing the word and truth of God, turned out of the way to the lies of Satan: which infidelity opened the gate to ambition and ride, whereunto was adjoined unthankſulneſs: and ambition was the mother of diſobedience. 2. 1. 4.

By the fall of Adam ſince other creatures have been after a ſort deformed, it is no more wonder, that all mankind was corrupted, that is to ſay, ſwerved out of kind from his firſt original, and made ſubject to curſe. This the old doctors called original ſin, but yet did not ſo plainly ſet forth this point of doctrine as was convenient. In the mean time it is proved by reaſons and teſtimonies of ſcripture, that Pelagius foully erred when he ſaid that by imitation only, not by propagation, ſin paſſed from the firſt man into all his poſterity. 2. 1. 5, 6.

And though the peſtilence of ſin do principally abide in the ſoul, yet it doth not therefore pertain to the diſcuſſing of this doctrine, to diſpute whether the ſoul of the child cometh of the engend'ring ſubſtance of the father: foraſmuch as the cauſe of the infection is not in the ſubſtance of the fleſh or of the ſoul, but becauſe it was ordained of God, that thoſe gifts which he at the firſt had given to man, man ſhould have and loſe them for him and his. Finally it maketh not againſt this doctrine, that the children of the faithful are ſanctified. 2. 1. 7.

That by the fall of Adam the natural gifts in man were corrupted and the ſupernatural were taken away, is a ſaying that many have uſed, but few have underſtood. 2. 2. 4, 16. which ſaying is expounded. 2. 2. 12. that is to ſay, that the ſupernatural gifts, faith, the love of God, charity toward our neighbours, deſirous endeavour of holineſs and righteouſneſs were taken away, but are reſtored by Chriſt: and that the natural gifts, namely the underſtanding mind, and the heart are corrupted, becauſe the ſoundneſs of underſtanding and the uprightneſs of heart were both taken away: alſo that reaſon in man was not utterly blotted out, but partly weakened and partly corrupted: and ſo will, becauſe it cannot be ſevered from the nature of man, was not utterly deſtroyed, but made ſubject to corrupt deſires. 2. 2. 12.

It is proved by the teſtimonies of Auguſtine and of the ſcripture, that God not only foreſaw or ſuffered, but alſo by his will diſpoſed the fall of the firſt man, and in him the whole of his poſterity. 3. 23. 7, 8.

Angels.

Angels are creatures of God although Moſes do not expreſs them in the hiſtory of the creation. 1. 14. 3.

Of the time or order wherein they were created, it is not expedient to enquire, foraſmuch as the ſcrip-

ture (which we ought to follow for our rule) declareth nothing thereof. 1. 14. 4.

Why the heavenly ſpirits are called angels, armies, virtues, principalities, powers, dominions, thrones, gods. 1. 14. 5.

Concerning angels the ſcripture teacheth ſo much as is available for our comfort and for the confirming of our faith, namely that they are diſtributers and miniſters of God's bountifulneſs toward us, and the ſame by divers ways. 1. 14. 6, 9.

Not only one angel hath ſeparate care of every one of us, but they all with one conſent do watch for our ſafety: and therefore it is ſuperfluous to enquire, whether every man have his ſeveral angel aſſigned to be his keeper. 1. 14. 7.

of the number and degrees of angels, it is curiouſneſs to enquire, and raſhneſs to determine: and why whereas they are ſpirits, the ſcripture painteth them with wings under cherubim and ſeraphim. 1. 14. 8.

Againſt the Sadducees and ſuch other fantaſtical men, it is proved by ſundry teſtimonies of the ſcripture, that angels are not qualities or inſpirations without ſubſtance, but very ſpirits indeed. 1. 14. 9.

That ſuperſtition is herein to be avoided, and that we give not to angels thoſe things that belong only to God and Chriſt. 1. 14. 10.

For avoiding of this peril, we muſt conſider that whereas God uſeth their ſervice, he doth it not of need, as though he could not be without them, but for the comfort of our weakneſs. 1. 14. 11. And therefore whatſoever is ſaid of the miniſtry of angels, ought to be referred to this end, that overcoming all diſtruſt, our truſt in God ſhould be thereby the more ſtrongly eſtabliſhed, and not that they ſhould lead us away from God. 1. 14. 12.

That the angels alſo were created after the likeneſs of God. 1. 15. 3.

Archiſhops and patriarchs.

See book 4, chap. 4. ſect. 4. and 7. 15.

Of the aſcending of Chriſt into heaven.

Although Chriſt in his riſing again began more fully to ſhew forth his glory and power: yet in his aſcending into heaven he firſt truly began his kingdom, becauſe he then poured out greater abundance of his ſpirit, more royally advanced his reign, and ſhewed greater power both in helping them that are his, and in overthrowing his enemies. And yet that he is ſo abſent according to the preſence of his fleſh, that he is always every where according to the preſence of his majeſty, and with the faithful according to his unſpeakable and inviſible grace. 2. 16. 14.

Of Chriſt's ſitting at the right hand of his Father, and of the manifold fruit which our faith gathereth thereof. 2. 16. 15, 16.

Auricular confeſſion.

See confeſſion auricular.

B

Baptiſm.

THe definition of baptiſm. The firſt end thereof is to ſerve our faith before God, the other end, to ſerve our confeſſion before men. It bringeth to our faith three things, firſt that it is a ſign of our cleanſing, aſſuring us that all our ſins are done away. 4. 15. 1. which is proved by teſtimonies of the ſcripture, and that it is not the water that cleanſeth us, by the blood of Chriſt. ſect. 2.

The efficacy of baptiſm is not reſtricted to the time paſt: but we are by it waſhed and cleanſed once for all our life: and yet that we may not hereof take a liberty to ſin from thence forward. 4. 15. 3.

The power of the keys (as they call it) that is to ſay, the miniſtery of the church, by which the forgiveneſs of ſins is daily preached unto us, is not to be ſevered from baptiſm. 4. 15. 4.

The ſecond fruit of faith by baptiſm, is that it ſheweth to us our mortifying in Chriſt, and a new life in him. 4. 15. 5.

The third fruit is, that it teſtifieth that we are ſo united to Chriſt, that we are partakers of all his good things. For which cauſe Chriſt is called the proper object of baptiſm, and the apoſtles baptiſed into the name of Chriſt, in whom we do ſo obtain the matter both of our cleanſing and of our regeneration, as we obtain the cauſe thereof in the Father, and the effect in the Holy Ghoſt. 4. 15. 6.

It is proved that the baptiſm was all one which was miniſtred of John and of the apoſtles, although ſome of the old doctors thought otherwiſe. 4. 15. 7. and that it maketh not to the contrary, that more abundant graces of the Spirit are poured out, ſince the reſurrection of Chriſt. But yet there is in baptiſm a difference to be made of the perſon of Chriſt from John, and from the apoſtles and other miniſters. 4. 15. 8.

Both our mortifying and our cleanſing were as by a ſhaddow ſignified among the people of Iſrael, by the paſſage through the ſea, and the comfortable calling of the cloud. 4. 15. 9.

It is falſe which ſome have taught, that by baptiſm we are reſtored to the ſame righteouſneſs and pureneſs of nature which Adam had at the beginning. And there is ſhewed that in the children of God do remain yet ſome remains of ſin, although the ſame reign not in them: which doth whet their endeavours, and doth not give them occaſion to flatter themſelves. 4. 15. 10, 11. the ſame is proved by Paul. ſect. 12.

How baptiſm ſerveth our confeſſion before men. 4. 15. 13.

What is the order to uſe baptiſm, both for confirmation of our faith, and for a confeſſion before men. Where it is ſhewed that the graces of God are not incloſed in the

the ſacrament, ſo as they are given to us by the virtue thereof. 4. 15. 14, 15.

Baptiſm is nothing increaſed by the worthineſs of him that doth miniſter it, nor diminiſhed by his unworthineſs againſt the Donatiſts, and our Catabaptiſts who require a rebaptiſing, becauſe we have been baptiſed in the kingdom of the pope. 4. 15. 16. their arguments are confuted. ſect. 17, 18.

Baptiſm is a continual ſacrament of repentance for all our life, ſo that we need no other ſacrament of penance. 4. 19. 17.

Of the conjuring of the water, the wax candle, the chreſme the blowing, the ſpittle and many ſuch other trifles added to the ſimple ceremony of Chriſt: and the order of purely miniſtring it in the church is ſhewed. 4. 15. 19.

It is ſhewed that to miniſter baptiſm pertaineth to the miniſters of the church and not to private men, much leſs to women: and the contrary objections are confuted. 4. 15. 20, 21, 22.

Baptiſm of infants.

The baptiſing of infants doth very well agree with Chriſt's inſtitution, and with the nature of the ſign. 4. 16. &c.

Baptiſm ſucceeded in the place of circumciſion, wherein they agree, and wherein they differ. 4. 16. 3, 4.

Infants are not to be debarred from baptiſm, ſince the Lord doth make them partakers of the thing ſignified in baptiſm. 4. 16. 5. and that the Lord doth regenerate infants. ſect. 17, 18, 19.

Since it is certain that the ſame covenant, which it pleaſed God to make with Abraham is ſealed in infants with the outward ſacrament, therefore ought baptiſm alſo to have place among them. 4. 16. 6.

Baptiſing of infants is well proved by this that Chriſt embraced children and laid his hands upon them. 4. 16. 17.

A confutation of certain arguments of the enemies of infants baptiſm. 4. 16. 8, 22, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29.

There cometh great fruit by the baptiſing of infants, both to the faithful parents and to the children. 4. 16. 9. Which fruit Satan laboureth by the Anabaptiſts to take from us. 4. 16. 32.

A confutation of the adverſaries arguments ſaying, that there are other things ſignified in baptiſm than there are in circumciſion: that our covenant differeth from the old covenant that others are called children at this day than were at that time. 4 16. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.

A confutaition of their other feigned differences between circumciſion and baptiſm. ſect. 16. Alſo of this objection, that baptiſm is a ſacrament of repentance and of faith: neither of which can be in tender infancy. 4. 16. 20, 21.

In them of ripe age, faith and underſtanding ought to go before baptiſm: but in infants the baptiſm of the faithful goeth before underſtanding. 4, 16. 24.

A confutation of their error, who condemn to eternal death all that are not baptiſed. 4. 16. 26.

This, that Chriſt was not baptiſed till his age of 30. years, was for a good cauſe, and maketh nothing for the enemies of infants baptiſm. 4. 16. 29.

Why the ſupper is not to be miniſtred to the infants of the faithful, and baptiſm not to be denied them. 4. 16. 30.

A long rehearſal of the arguments wherewith wicked Servetus did fight againſt the baptiſm of infants, and a confutation of the ſame arguments. 4. 16. 31.

Of baptiſing of infants. 4, 8. 16.

Bearing of the croſs.

It behoveth that we deny our ſelves, that we may bear the croſs, becauſe it is God's will to exerciſe all his under the croſs, beginning at Chriſt his firſt begotten Son. Which fellowſhip with Chriſt doth already give us great ground of patience and comfort. 3. 8. 1.

It is for many cauſes neceſſary for us to lead our life under a continual croſs: firſt to beat down our arrogancy and truſt of our own ſtrength. And this remedy even the moſt holy do need, as is proved by the example of David. 3. 8. 2. Hereby our truſt in God is confirmed, and our hope increaſed. ſect. 3.

Secondly, that our patience may be tried, and we may be framed to obedience. 3. 8. 4. Which is moſt needful for us, ſince the wantonneſs of our fleſh is ſo great to make us ſhake off the yoke of God when he doth once handle us gently. ſect. 5.

Sometimes alſo to puniſh our offences committed: wherein they acknowlege that he doth the office of a good father toward us, but contrarywiſe the unfaithful are oftentimes made more obſtinate. 3. 8. 6.

A ſingular comfort when we ſuffer either ſhame or loſs, or any other calamity for righteouſneſs: which croſs moſt properly belong to the faithful. 3. 8. 7.

How neceſſary it is for the faithful, in the bitterneſs of afflictions, to be furniſhed with this thought, that God loveth them, but is angry with their faults. 3. 4. 34.

Biſhops.

The name of biſhop in the old church was given to ſome one in every ſeparate company of miniſters, for politic order and not that they ſhould bear a lordly rule over one another. 4. 4. 2.

It was the office as well of the biſhop as of other [illegible] to preach and miniſter the ſacraments. [illegible]

The old church did commonly obſerve [illegible] appointed by the apoſtles in calling of [illegible] 4. 4. 10, 11, [illegible]

With what form the miniſters of the old church [illegible] conſecrate after their election. 4. 4. 14, 15.

Of the ceremony of ordering of true prieſts. 4. 19. 28.

Oftentimes the order of prieſts: prophets, and paſtors, hath been moſt corrupt in the church. 4. 9. 3, 4, 5.

Men are not bound without exception to obey the paſtors of churches, but in the Lord and his word. 4. 9. 12.

What biſhops, and of what qualities, are made in the papacy. 4. 5. 1.

The right of the people in election is taken away, and the old canons broken. 4. 5. 2 3.

What prieſts are made in the papacy, and to what end. 4. 5. 4, 5.

Of the gifts of benefices in the papacy, 4. 5. 6, 7.

How faithfully all prieſts in the papacy do execute their office, whether they are monks, or ſecular, as canons, deans, parſons of pariſhes, biſhops, &c. 4. 5. 8, 9, 10, 11.

The negligence of them that governed churches in the time of Gregory and Bernard. 4. 5. 12.

The whole manner of eccleſiaſtical government as it is at this day in the papacy, is nothing elſe but a place of ſpoil, wherein thieves do rob without law and meaſure. 4, 5. 13.

Of the diſſolute licentiouſneſs in all parts of their life, which prieſts and biſhops, &c. uſe in the papacy. 4. 5. 14.

C

Calling.

OF the effectual or inward calling, which is a ſure teſtimony of election, and dependeth upon the free mercy of God only. 3. 24. 1, 2.

Againſt them who in predeſtination do make man a worker with God. Alſo againſt them that hang election upon that which followeth election. 3. 24. 3.

The certainty of our election is to be known by the word and calling of God, and we ought not to pierce into the eternal counſel of God. 3. 24. 4.

The Father hath choſen us only in Chriſt, in him therefore let us hold the ſtedfaſt ground of our election. 3. 24. 5. and ſo, that thereof alſo we may conceive a ſure confidence of perſeverance to the end. 3.24.6,7,8,9.

Two kinds of calling univerſal, and ſpecial. 3.24.8.

It is proved by divers examples and teſtimonies of ſcripture, that the elect before their calling do differ nothing from other men, and that it is falſe which ſome men do dream, that there is a certain ſeed of election planted in their hearts even from their nativity. 3. 24. 10, 11.

It is ſhewed at large that as God doth by the effects of his calling toward the elect, make perfect the [illegible] to which he had by his eternal counſel appointed them: ſo he hath his judgments againſt the reprobate, whereby he putteth his purpoſe concerning them in execution, and maketh way for his predeſtination. 3. 24. 12, 13, 14, &c.

Cardinals.

When the name of Cardinals firſt began and how they have ſo ſuddenly ſtarted up to ſo great honour. 4.7.30.

Ceremonies.

The old ceremonies are taken away, as touching their uſe only, but not as touching their effect, for we have the ſame effect at this day moſt evidently and effectually in Chriſt. And this doth nothing diminiſh their holineſs, as it is proved. 2. 7. 16. and being weighed by themſelves and without Chriſt, they are worthily called of Paul handwritings againſt us. 2 7. 17.

The ordinances concerning ceremonies in the pope's law, do command obſervation for the moſt part unprofitable, and ſometimes alſo fooliſh although they have a great ſhew of wiſdom; moreover they oppreſs conſciences with their infinite multitude. 4. 10. 11. 12, 13.

The popiſh ceremonies cannot be executed by this colour, that they are ordained for the inſtruction of the ignorant as the ceremonies of the law were; becauſe there appeareth in this point a manifeſt difference between us and the people before Chriſt. 4. 10. 14.

The popiſh ceremonies are believed to be ſacrifices cleanſing ſins, and deſerving eternal life; they are without doctrine, and are ſnares to catch money. 4.10.15.

Charity toward our neighbour.

It is proved againſt the Sorboniſts that charity is the love of our neighbour and not of ourſelves. 2.8 54.

Under the name of neighbour is contained every man, be he never ſo much a ſtranger to us, and our enemy, 2. 8. 55. and therefore the ſchoolmen are condemned of ignorance who of the commandments of God, not to deſire revenge, and to love our enemies, have made counſels, to the neceſſary keeping whereof monks alone do bind themſelves; and it is proved that the old doctors of the church, yea, and Gregory himſelf thought otherwiſe. 2. 8. 56, 57.

We have need of patience, that we be not weary of doing good to one another. And we ought not to have reſpect to the unworthineſs or other qualities of men which might withdraw us, but to God who ſo commandeth us. 3. 7. 6.

To the fulfilling of all the parts of charity, it is not enough if we perform all the dutiful deeds of charity, but we muſt do it with a ſincere affection of heart. Wherein the chief point is, that we take upon ourſelves the perſon of him whom we ſee to need our help. So ſhall we avoid diſdainful pride and other corruptings of charity. 3. 7. 7.

Chriſt and the apoſtles in rehearſing the ſum of the law do ſometimes leave out the firſt table: not for that it more availeth to the ſum of righteouſneſs to live innocently with men, than to honour God with godlineſs; but becauſe unfeigned charity is the proof of true godlineſs. 2. 8. 52, 53.

A confutation of the Phariſees of our time, who hold that we are juſtified by charity, becauſe Paul ſaith, that charity is greater than faith and hope. 3. 18. 8.

An expoſition of the tenth commandment, wherein (as in the former commandments) is forbidden not only all purpoſe to hurt our neighbour, but alſo all luſt or deſire againſt charity. 2. 8. 49, 58.

God doth for good cauſe and worthily require of us ſo great ferventneſs and uprightneſs of love. 2. 8. 50.

An expoſition of the ſixth commandment, wherein not only the ſlaughter or hatred of our neighbour is forbidden us, but alſo the preſerving of his life is commanded us, becauſe man is both our fleſh and the image of God. 2. 7. 39. 40.

Children.

See obedience of children to parents,

Church.

The church the mother of the faithful. 4. 1. 1, 4, 5.

An expoſition of this article of the creed, I believe the holy church. 4. 1. 2, 3.

The holineſs of the church is not yet perfected. 4. 8. 12.

Of the inviſible church; and of the viſible church, the ſigns whereof are the pure preaching of the word and miniſtration of ſacraments. 4. 8. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

Whereſoever thoſe ſigns are, we ought not to depart from that fellowſhip. 4. 8. 12.

There may ſome fault creep in, either in doctrine or in miniſtration of ſacraments, for the which yet we ought not to caſt off the communion of that church, and much leſs for the imperfection of life and corruptneſs of manners. And herein the Anabaptiſts are reproved. 4. 1. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.

The church is no otherwiſe holy, but that it always hath many faults, and yet it ceaſeth not to be the church, as it is proved by teſtimonies of ſcripture and the experience of all ages. 4. 1. 17, 18, 19.

See miniſtry of the church.

Churches power as touching articles of faith.

It is proved by the example of the apoſtles and prophets, and of Chriſt himſelf, that whatſoever authority the church hath, is properly not given to men, but to the word, the miniſtration whereof is committed to them; and therefore it was never lawful for the church to teach any other thing, than that which ſhe received of the Lord. 4. 8. 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9.

Chriſt hath ever taught his church; yet he hath uſed divers manners of teaching according to the diverſity of times, ere the law was written, in the time of the law and the prophets, and laſt of all ſince that he himſelf was openly ſhewed in the fleſh. 4. 8. 5, 6, 7.

Falſe Church.

Where lying and falſhood hath gotten the upper hand and reigneth, there is not the church. And this is proved to be in the papacy, although they there boaſt of a perpetual ſucceſſion of biſhops. 4. 2. 1, 2, 3, 4.

They are not heretics or ſchiſmatics that depart from the papacy. 4. 2. 5, 6.

How much ſoever a man make the beſt of the faults of the popiſh church, yet the ſtate thereof is no better than was in the kingdom of Iſrael under Jeroboam. 4. 2. 7, 8, 9, 10.

Yet by the goodneſs of God there remain in the papacy certain footſteps of the church; and ſo is that fulfilled which hath been written, that Antichriſt ſhould ſit in the temple of God. 4. 2. 11, 12.

A compariſon of the power which the true church hath in teaching, with the tyranny of the pope and his miniſters in forging new articles of faith. 4. 8. 10. Of the Papiſts principle, that the church cannot err. 4. 8. 13.

It is falſe to ſay that it behoved that the church ſhould add to the writings of the apoſtles. 4. 1. 14. 15, 19.

A confutation of the arguments which the papiſts uſe to reprove that there is power given to the church to make new articles of faith. 4. 8, 11, 12.

Chriſt.

The Godhead of the Son is proved. 1. 13. 7.

Againſt certain dogs who do privily ſteal away from the Son of God his eternity, affirming that he then firſt began to be, when God ſpake at the creation of the world. 1. 13. 17.

Divers teſtimonies of ſcripture, which affirm Chriſt to be God, and firſt out of the old Teſtament. 1. 13. 9, 10. and then out of the mouth of the new Teſtament. ſect. 11.

A proof of the ſame Godhead, by the works that are in the ſcriptures aſcribed unto him. 1. 13. 12. alſo by his miracles and certain other things. ſect. 13.

A difference between Chriſt's working of miracles, and the prophets or apoſtles doing of the like. 1. 13. 13.

It is proved by many and moſt ſtrong teſtimonies of ſcripture, that Chriſt took upon him a true ſubſtance of man's fleſh, and not a ghoſt or counterfeit ſhape of man, as the Marcionites feigned, nor yet a heavenly body as the Manichees lyingly affirmed. 2, 13. 1.

An expoſition of the places of ſcripture, which Maricon wrote to the confirmation of his error, and alſo of thoſe which Manicheus wreſted, and many of their diſciples do wreſt at this day. 2. 13. 2, 3. where alſo are confuted the new Marcionites, who to prove that Chriſt took his body of nothing do hold women have no ſeed; there are alſo certain other things confuted, which are objected as abſurdities. 2. 13. 4.

See aſcending of Chriſt into heaven.

See death of Chriſt.

See deſcending of Chriſt into hell.

See mediator Chriſt.

See merit of Chriſt.

See prieſthood, &c. of Chriſt.

See redeemer Chriſt.

See reſurrection of Chriſt.

Chriſtian liberty.

How neceſſary is the knowlege thereof. 3. 19. 1.

Chriſtian liberty conſiſteth in three parts: the firſt is treated of. 3. 19. 2, 3. The ſecond, ſect. 4, 5, 6. third.

Chriſtian liberty is a ſpiritual thing and wrongfully expound it, who either mak for their luſts, or do abuſe it with offen weak brethren. 3.

Civil government.

See public government.

Clerks or clergy.

Of clerks in the old church. 4. 4. 9.

Concupiſcence or luſt.

The difference between concupiſcence and conſent. 2. 8. 49.

That all the concupiſcences of men are evil and guilty of ſin, not inſomuch as they are natural, but becauſe they are all inordinate by reaſon of the corruption of nature. And ſo did Auguſtine think, if he be diligently

ly weighed. 3. 3. 12. and this is proved by many places of his writings. sect. 13.

Confession auricular.

Concerning confession, the school divines do fight against the canonists, affirming that it is not by the commandment of God. A confutation of the arguments whereupon the first sort do stand, first because the Lord in the gospel did send the leperous whom he had cleansed to the priests; and there is shewed the true meaning of the action. 3. 4. 4.

A confutation of their second argument, for that the Lord commanded his disciples to loose and unbind Lazarus when he was raised from death. 3. 4. 5.

A true exposition of two places by which they labour to uphold their confession; that is to say, that they who came to the baptism of John did confess their sins, and James willeth us to confess our sins one to another. 4 4.6.

The use of confessing to a priest was very ancient, but yet free as a politic order, not as a law set by Christ or his apostles; and afterward the same was abrogate by Nectarius bishop of the church of Constantinople because of a deacon who had under that pretence abused a woman. This tyrannous law was not laid upon churches before the time of Innocent the third, about three hundred years past, and the foolishness and barbarousness of that ordinance is declared. 3. 4. 7.

Witnesses of the said abrogation, out of Chrysostom bishop of Constantinople. 3. 4. 8.

An exposition of Innocent's law concerning the confession of all sins, where are rehearsed the divers opinions of the Romish divines concerning the number and use of keys, and the power of binding and loosing. 3.4.15.

The lewdness of all the particular articles of the law of confessing, and especially of that concerning the rehearsing of all sins. 3. 4. 16. and a plain description of the cruelty wherewith poor consciences were by diverse circumstances tormented therein. 3. 4. 17.

By a similitude is described how a great part of the world hath hitherto obeyed such illusions. That it is an impossible law, and maketh men hypocrites. And then it is shewed a most certain rule of confession according to the example of the publican. 3.4. 18.

The confutation of this article, that sins are not forgiven and that the gate of paradise is shut, &c. unless be first firmly conceived a vow of confessing, and their objection is confuted that judgment cannot be pronounced till the cause be heard, that is to say, that absolution cannot be given till all the sins are rehearsed. 3. 4. 18.

It is no wonder that we condemn and abolish auricular confession, and our adversaries do falsly assign so great profit unto it, for so much as on the other side it armeth men to boldness of sinning. 3. 4. 19.

They do falsly pretend that they have the power of the keys, since they are not successors of the apostles, nor have the Holy Ghost, forasmuch as they do daily without consideration loose those things which the Lord hath commanded to be bound and bind what he hath commanded to be loosed. 3. 4. 20.

It is proved false that they say that the power of the keys may sometimes be used without knowlege, forasmuch as by that means the absolution should be uncertain. Where also is spoken of the absolution or condemnation which the ministers of the gospel or the church do pronounce according to the word, and of the certainty thereof. 3. 4. 22.

The absolution of the priests in the papacy is uncertain, as well on the behalf of him that assoileth as of him that confesseth; but contrarywise it is in the absolution of the gospel which dependeth only upon this condition, if the sinner seek his purging only in the sacrifice of Christ, and do yield to the grace offered unto him. 3.4.22.

The popish doctors, when they allege for themselves the power of loosing given to the apostles, do wrongfully wrest to auricular confession those sayings which Christ spake partly of preaching of the gospel, and partly of excommunication. The error of Lombard and such others in this matter; and concerning the manner of remission with enjoying of penance and satisfaction. 3.4.23.

A sum of all before spoken; and what the faithful ought to think of auricular confession. 3. 4. 24.

True confession.

What kind of confession is taught us by the word of God, namely to confess to God the knower of our hearts and of all our thoughts. 3. 4. 9.

Out of this secret confession made to God, followeth a voluntary confession before men, so oft as it is needful for the glory of God or the humbling of our selves And of this second kind there was an ordinary use in the old church, and is also in the church at this day. But yet extraordinarily it ought after a special manner to be used, whensoever it shall happen that the people are guilty in any general offence, or to be plagued with any calamity. Of the profit of such confession. 3. 4.10, 11.

Of two other sorts of private confession; of which the first is used for our own cause, when we require comfort of our brethren, because the feeling of sins doth vex and trouble us; in which case we must chiefly resort to our pastors; and this remedy is warily and moderately to be used, that no bondage be brought in. The other sort is to appease and reconcile our neighbour, if he be in any thing offended by our fault, under which kind is contained their confession who have sinned so far as to offend the whole church. 3. 4. 12, 13.

The power of the keys hath place in the three kinds of confession. Of the fruit which they that confess do receive thereby, because they know that forgiveness of sins is declared to them by the messenger of Christ. 3. 4.14.

Of confession of sins one sort is general another special. 3. 20. 9.

Confirmation popish.

The ceremony of laying on of hands, when the children of the faithful, who were baptised in their infancy

cy, did yield an account of their faith. 4. 19. 4.
Of the popiſh ſacrament of confirmation foiſted in place of that holy inſtitution. 4. 19. 4.
That the example of the apoſtles is wrongfully alleged for defence thereof. 4. 19. 6.
It is blaſphemy when they call it the oil of ſalvation, 4. 19. 7, 8. and when they ſay that none are made full Chriſtians till they are anointed with the biſhop's confirmation. ſect. 9. and when they ſay that this anointing is to be had in greater reverence than baptiſm. ſect. 10, 11.
It is to be wiſhed, that the manner of the old church were brought in uſe again, to call children to give account of their faith. 4. 19. 13.

Conſcience.

Conſciences, when they ſeek affiance of their juſtification before God ought to forget all the righteouſneſs of the law. 3. 19. 2, 3.
The conſciences of the faithful do not follow the law as conſtrained by neceſſity of the law, but being free from the yoke of the law, do voluntarily obey the will of God. 3. 19. 4, 5. 6.
Of the freedom of conſcience in outward and indifferent things. 3. 19. 7, 8.
The conſciences of the faithful being ſet at liberty by the grace of Chriſt, are made free from the power of all men; and how this is to be underſtood, where alſo is ſpoken of the ſpiritual and civil government, and what difference is to be put between them. 31. 91. 4, 15.
What is conſcience; and in what ſenſe Paul ſaith, that the magiſtrate muſt be obeyed for conſcience. 3. 19, 15, 16.
What is conſcience: and of the common difference between the temporal court, and the court of conſcience. 4. 10. 3, 5.

Of councils.

We muſt keep a mean in honouring of councils, that we take nothing away from Chriſt, and our doctrine for the moſt part is confirmed by ancient councils 4. 9. 1.
By the ſcripture the councils have no authority, unleſs they be aſſembled in the name of Chriſt; and what that is. 4. 9. 2.
It is falſe which the papiſts affirm, that truth remaineth not in the church unleſs it be among the paſtors, and that the church itſelf is not unleſs, it remain to be ſeen in general councils. 4. 9. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.
What things are to be weighed in ſearching the authority of any council; and that Auguſtine preſcribeth a very good way therein. 4. 9. 8.
Councils one againſt another. 4. 9. 9. and even in thoſe former and ancient councils are found faults and errors 4. 9. 10, 11.

Creation of the world.

Although God ought to be known by the creation of things, yet leſt the faithful ſhould fall away to the feigned inventions of the heathen, his will was that the hiſtory of the creation ſhould remain written, and the time thereof expreſſed in ſcripture. 1. 14. 1. where their ungodly ſcoffing is confuted, who aſk why it came no ſooner in God's mind to create heaven and earth. 1. 14. 1.
For the ſame purpoſe it is rehearſed that God ended his work, not in a moment, but in ſix days: and likewiſe the order is ſet forth, namely that Adam was not created till God had firſt furniſhed the world with all plenty of good things. 1. 14. 2, 22.
A confutation of the error of Manicheus concerning two original beginnings. 1. 14. 3.
It is proved by the ſcriptures that the knowlege of God which appeareth in the workmanſhip of the world cannot by itſelf alone bring us into the right way. 1. 5. 13. and yet are we rightfuly without all excuſe. ſect. 14.
Although the beholding of heaven and earth, and the conſideration of the ordering of things pertaining to men, do move us to worſhip God yet all theſe things paſſed away without profit, even from the wiſeſt philoſophers. 1. 5. 10.
Hereupon came the infinite number of gods, and, the contrarities of opinion among the ſects of philoſophers concerning God. 1. 5. 11.
The ſubſtance of God is incomprehenſible; but in his works, by engraving certain points of his glory therein he hath after a certain manner preſented himſelf to be ſeen. 1. 5. 1.
The wiſdom of God is teſtified, not only by thoſe things which philoſophers and learned men do find by ſpeculation in heaven and earth, but alſo which common men do perceive by the help of their eyes only. 1. 5. 2.
That we may with true faith conceive ſo much as behoveth us to know concerning God, it is good to learn the hiſtory of the creation of the world, in ſuch ſort as Moſes hath ſet it forth, the chief points whereof are briefly rehearſed. 1. 14. 20.
The conſideration of the works of God, that is to ſay, of the creation of all things, ought to be applied to two principal ends, firſt that we do not with unthankful neglecting or forgetfulneſs paſs over his perfections which he preſenteth apparently to be ſeen in his creatures: 1. 14. 21. Secondly, that we may learn to apply them to ourſelves whereby we may ſtir up ourſelves to the truſt, invocation, praiſe, and love of him. 2. 14. 22.

Croſs.

See bearing of the croſs.

D

Deacons.

OF deacons and the two ſorts of them. 4. 3. 9.
In the old church the office of deacon was the ſame that it was in the apoſtle's time. Of ſubdeacons and archdeacons, and when they firſt began. 4. 4. 5.
How the church goods were uſed and beſtowed in the old church. 4. 4. 6, 7.

Of

Of popiſh deacons, their office, and the ceremony of their ordering. 4. 9. 32.

Of popiſh ſubdeacons, and their trifling office, and the fond manner of their ordering. 4. 19. 33.

Of popiſh deacons and their inſtitution. 4. 5. 15.

The papiſts have no true deaconry left, foraſmuch as all the diſpoſition of church goods among them is openly turned to ſacrilege and robbery. 4.5.16,18,19.

A confutation of the ſhameleſneſs of certain papiſts, who ſay that the riotous exceſs of prieſts and of all the popiſh church, is the glorioufneſs of the kingdom of Chriſt which the holy prophets ſpake of before. 4.5.17.

Death of Chriſt.

Although Chriſt hath by the whole courſe of his obedience, that is to ſay, by his whole life and all the parts thereof, redeemed us, yet the ſcripture, to ſet forth more plainly the manner of our ſalvation, doth aſcribe the ſame as peculiar and proper to the death of Chriſt. In which the voluntary yielding of Chriſt hath the firſt place which yet was ſo voluntary as he gave over his own affection not without ſtrife, Alſo his condemnation is to be conſidered: wherein two things are to be noted, namely that Chriſt was reputed among the wicked, and yet that his innocency was oftentimes teſtified even by the judges own mouth. 2. 1. 5.

The manner of his death is to be marked, that is to ſay, the accurſed croſs. And it is declared by many teſtimonies of Iſaiah and the apoſtles, that this behoved ſo to be, that the curſe which was due to us being caſt upon him and ſo overcome and taken away, we ſhould be delivered. And this was figuratively repreſented in the ſacrifices of Moſes law, which at the laſt was performed in Chriſt the original truth of all figures. 2. 1. 6.

Both in the death and burial of Chriſt a double benefit is ſet before us, that is to ſay, deliverance from death whereunto we were in bondage and the mortifying of our fleſh. 2. 1. 6.

Deſcending of Chriſt to hell.

The deſcending of Chriſt to hell containeth the myſtery of a great thing, and is of no ſmall importance to the effect of our redemption. 2. 16. 8, 9.

A true, godly, holy, and comfortable expoſition thereof out of the word of God, which is alſo confirmed by the teſtimony of the old doctors, that Chriſt did not only ſuffer a bodily death, but alſo did feel the rigour ſo God's vengeance, whereby he might both appeaſe his wrath and ſatisfy his juſt judgment: and therefore it behoved that he ſhould, as it were hand to hand wreſtle with the power of hell, and with the horror of everlaſting death, yet was God not at any time either his enemy, or angry with him. But he did ſuffer the grievouſneſs of God's ſeverity, in reſpect that he being ſtriken and beaten with the hand of God, did feel all the tokens of God's wrath and puniſhment. 2.16.10,11.

A confutation of certain wicked and unlearned men, who at this day do find fault with this expoſition crying out that the Son of God hath wrong done to him, and that he is charged with deſperation, which is contrary to faith. Therefore it is proved againſt them with manifeſt teſtimonies, that theſe two things do very well ſtand together, that Chriſt feared, was troubled in ſpirit, was afraid, was tempted in every point as we are, and yet that he is without ſin. 2. 16. 12.

Devils.

Thoſe things that the ſcripture teacheth concerning devils, tend commonly to this end, that we ſhould be careful to beware of their deceits, and furniſh our ſelves with thoſe weapons which may be able to beat back the moſt mighty enemies. 1. 14. 13.

That we ſhould be the more ſtirred up to do ſo, it ſheweth us that there is not one or two devils, but great armies of evil ſpirits that make war againſt us: and in what ſenſe it ſometimes ſpeaketh of the devil in the ſingular number. 1. 14. 14.

This ought to inflame us to a continual war with the the devil, for that he is every where called enemy to God and us. 1. 14. 15.

The devil is naturally wicked, a murderer, a liar, and forger of all maliciouſneſs. 1. 14. 15. But this evilneſs of nature is not by creation, but by corruption. 1. 14. 16.

It is curioſity to enquire of the cauſe, manner, time and faſhion of the fall of the evil angels, foraſmuch as the ſcripture leaveth it unſpoken. 1. 14. 16.

This the devil hath of himſelf and of his own naughtineſs, wilfully and purpoſely to ſtrive againſt God, but he can do and perform nothing unleſs God be willing and grant it. 1. 14. 17.

God ſo tempereth this government, that he giveth Satan to reign over the ſouls of the faithful, foraſmuch as in the end they ever obtain the victory, although in ſome particular doings they are wounded and beaten down: but he only giveth the wicked to him to govern, and to uſe his power upon their ſouls and bodies. 1. 14. 18.

A confutation of them who ſay that devils are nothing elſe but evil affections or perturbations: and it is proved by teſtimonies of ſcripture, that they are minds or ſpirits endued with ſenſe and underſtanding. 1. 14. 19.

Diſcipline.

Diſcipline is a thing moſt neceſſary in the church. 4. 12. 1.

Of private admoniſhings, which is the firſt foundation of diſcipline of the church. 4. 12. 2.

Of the eccleſiaſtical ſenate, that is to ſay, the ſeniors or elders, who together with the biſhops have the overſight of manners. 4. 3. 8.

Princes as well as the common people ought to be ſubject to the diſcipline of the church, and ſo was it wont to be in the old time. 4. 12. 7.

Of the old diſcipline of the clergy, and the yearly aſſembling of provincial ſynods; and how this order is buried in the papacy, ſaving that they keep certain ſhadows thereof. 4. 12. 22.

Excom-

E

Excommunication.

WHat is the power of the jurisdiction of the church and how necessary and ancient it is. 4. 11. 1. 4.

Of the power of binding and loosing so much as pertaineth to discipline, wherein there is spoken of excommunication. 4. 11. 2.

This power of the church is distinct from the civil power, and the one is a help to the other. Therefore the opinion of some men is false who think that it ought to have no place where are christian magistrates. 4. 11. 1, 3, 8.

There is a stayed and continual order in the church, and not enduring only for a time. 4. 11. 4.

of the right use of this jurisdiction in the old church; and how this power belonged not to one man alone, but to the assembly of elders. 4. 11. 5, 6. and chap. 12. sect. 7.

Of the excommunication of the church, and the authority thereof. 4. 12. 4.

The ends which the church hath regard unto in corrections and excommunication. 4. 12. 5.

Of exercising the discipline of the church according to the proportion of sins, forasmuch as some are private and some are public, some are negligent defaults, some are hanious offences. 4. 12. 3, 4, 6.

In excommunication severity ought to be tempered. And in this behalf is noted in the extreme rigorousness of them in old time. 4. 12. 8.

Every private man ought to esteem them that are excommunicate as strangers from the church, but not to account them past hope, but to endeavour to the uttermost of their power to bring them into the way again. 4. 12. 9, 10.

If the bench of elders do not so diligently correct faults as they ought, or if the pastors cannot amend all things as they would, yet private men ought not to depart from the church neither ought the pastors to shake off their ministery. 4. 12. 11.

Against the preciseness of the old Donatists and of the Anabaptists of our days, who do acknowlege no congregation of Christ, but where there is in every point an angelic perfection, 4. 12. 12.

If the corruption of any sin hath infected the whole multitude, the rigorousness of discipline must be tempered with mercy, lest the whole body be destroyed. 4. 12. 13.

F

Faith.

THe name of faith otherwise taken among holy writers than it is among the prophane. 4. 12. 13.

How it is to be understood that God is the object of faith. 2. 6. 4.

Of faith. And here the sophisters are reproved, who understanding nothing else by this word faith, but a common assent to the history of the gospel, and do simply call God the object of faith, in the mean time leaving out Christ, without whom there is no faith, nor any access to God. 3. 2. 1.

A confutation of the school mens doctrine concerning unexpresed faith, whereas faith requireth an expres acknowleging of the goodness of God, in which standeth our righteousness. 3. 2. 2.

Our faith so long as we are wavering in the world is inwrapped with many remnants of ignorance, and in all things infidelity is ever mingled with faith, whereof many examples are seen in the disciples of Christ before that they came to perfect light, yet this is still most true, that understanding is ever joined with faith. 3. 2. 3. 4.

There is a certain obedience to Christ, and aptness to learn, with a desire to profit, which is called by the name of faith, whereas it is but preparations to faith, and that same may be called an unexpressed faith: yet it far differeth from the papists invention. 3. 2. 5.

The true faith or knowlege of Christ, is when we conceive him in such sort as he is offered of the Father, that is to say, clothed with his gospel. And faith hath a mutual relation to the word, and the word to faith, because the word is the fountain of faith, the ground of faith, and the mirror in which faith beholdeth God. 3. 2. 6.

Faith, although it assent to all the parts of the word of God, yet most properly it hath regard therein to the good will and mercy of God, that is to say, the promises of grace grounded upon Christ, for the understanding and certainty whereof, the Holy Ghost lightneth our minds and strengthneth our hearts; hereupon is gathered the definition of faith. 3. 2. 7.

A confutation of the sophisters distinction of faith, formed and formless; whereby it appeareth that they never thought of the singular gift of the Holy Ghost, forasmuch as faith can in no wise be separated from a godly affection. 3. 2. 8.

This word (faith) hath diverse significations and is sometimes taken for the power to do miracles, with which gift of God, sometimes the wicked are endued; sometimes it is figuratively taken for that knowlege of God which is in some wicked men, which is rather a shadow and image of faith, of which faith there are divers sorts in them. 3. 2. 9, 10.

The reprobate have also sometimes such a like feeling as the elect have, yet they do not fully conceive the efficacy of spiritual grace, but only confusedly. Nevertheless the same is a certain inferior working of the holy Ghost. But this feeling differeth far from the peculiar testimony which he giveth to the elect. 3. 2. 11.

Yet is not the Spirit deceitful, which lightly sprinkleth the reprobate sometimes with such a knowlege of the gospel, and feeling of the love of God as afterward doth vanish away. Sometimes also there is stirred up in their hearts a certain desire of mutual love

toward God, but such a love as is mercinary and not a hearty love. At length it is concluded, that there are some who do not feign a faith, and yet do lack the true faith. Which is also proved by testimonies. 3. 2. 12.

and such a feeling is in the scripture called faith, although it be improperly so called. 3. 2. 13.

Faith is sometimes taken for the sound doctrine of religion, and the whole sum thereof; contrarywise sometime it is restrained to some particular object, and some times it signifieth the ministry of the church. 3. 2. 13.

Faith is most rightfully called knowlege and science, and yet is such a knowlege as rather consisteth of certain persuasion than of understanding, forasmuch as that which our mind conceiveth by faith is most infinite. 3. 2. 14.

Faith is not content with a doubtful opinion or a dark conceiving, but requireth a full and settled assuredness; and hereunto are to be referred all those titles of commendation wherewith the Holy Ghost setteth forth the authority of the word of God. 3. 2. 15.

Many do so conceive the mercy of God, that they receive very little comfort thereof, because they doubt whether he will be merciful to themselves or no; but there is far other feeling of the abundant store of faith, the chief ground whereof is that we do not think the promises to be true without ourselves only, but rather that by inwardly imbracing them we may make them our own. Hereupon is gathered, who may truly be called faithful. 3. 2. 15. 16.

Though the faithful in acknowleging the goodness of God toward them are not only oftentimes tempted with unquietness, but also are sometimes shaken with grievous terrors; yet this withstandeth not but that faith bringeth assuredness with it because howsoever they are troubled, yet they never fail and depart from that sure affiance which they have conceived of the mercy of God, but striving with their own weakness they always get the upper hand at last which is proved by many examples in David. 3. 2. 17.

A description of the battle of the flesh and the spirit within a faithful soul. 3. 2. 18.

The assuredness of God's goodwill. 3. 2. 18.

A confutation of the most pestilent subtil reasoning of certain half papists, who although they confess that so oft as we look upon Christ, we find plentiful matter to hope well, yet will needs have us to waver and doubt in consideration of our own unworthiness. And it is proved that we ought nevertheless to look for assured salvation, forasmuch as Christ by a certain wondrous communion doth daily grow together more and more into one body with us. 3. 2. 24.

So soon as we have any one drop of faith we begin to behold God merciful unto us, altho' afar off indeed, yet with so assured sight, as we know we are not deceived; both these points are proved by testimonies of Paul. 3. 2. 19, 20.

It is shewed by examples, how faith armeth and fortifieth itself with the word of God to bear the violent assaults of temptations, and how the ungodly mind never suffereth the affiance of God's mercy to be plucked away from it, although it be assailed with many remnants of unbelief and distrust. 3. 2. 21.

In the good will of God; which faith is said to have respect unto, although faith do chiefly look unto the assured expectation of eternal life, yet there are also contained promises of this present life and a perfect surety of all good things, but the same such as may be gathered of the word; both of these points are confirmed by testimonies of scripture. 3. 2. 28.

Faith although it embrace the word of God in every point, that is to say, in the commandments also and in the prohibition and threatnings, yet hath her foundation and proper mark whereunto it is directed, in the free promise of mercy, and for this reason the gospel is called the work of faith, and is set as contrary to the law. 3. 2. 29.

Yet do we not by this distinction tear faith in sunder as Pighius shamefully cavileth. 3. 2. 30.

Faith doth no less need the word of God, than the fruit doth need the lively root of the tree, and with the word must be joined a consideration of the power of God, without the which mens ears will either not willingly hear the word, or not esteem it worthily. His power is to be considered; in that it is effectual, that is to say, by the works of God, and by his benefits either particular or ancient, and such as he hath bestowed upon the whole church. 3. 2. 31.

The faithful oftentimes so behave themselves, that some errors are mingled with their faith, and they seem to pass the bounds of the word, but yet so that faith hath always the upper hand; this is proved by the examples of Sarah and Rebekah, whom in the crooked turnings of their mind, God did by a secret bridle hold fast in the obedience of his word. 3. 2. 31.

By reason of our blindness and stiffneckedness, the word sufficeth not to make us have faith, unless the spirit of God do inlighten our mind, and strengthen our hearts with his power; and the same spirit is not only the beginner of our faith, but also doth increase it by degrees. 3. 2. 33.

Although it seem to the most part of men a most strange doctrine, that no man can believe in Christ, but he to whom it is given, yet it is proved to be most true by reasons, testimonies of scripture, and examples. 3. 2. 34.

Therefore faith is called the Spirit of faith the work and good pleasure of God; and it is a singular gift, which he giveth by singular privilege to whom he will, as it is proved by notable sentences taken out of Augustine. 3. 2. 35.

It is not enough that the mind be inlightened with understanding of the word, unless also the assuredness of the word be poured into the very heart, both which things the Spirit worketh, which is therefore

fore called the ſeal, the pledge, and the Spirit of promiſe 3. 2. 36.

Although faith be toſſed with divers doubtings, yet it always at the leaſt, eſcapeth out of the gulf of temptations, and receiveth moſt ſweet quietneſs. 3. 2. 37.

A confutation of the damnable doctrine of the ſchoolmen, who ſay that we can no otherwiſe determine of the grace of God toward us than by moral conjecture. 3. 2. 38.

They are proved to be miſerably blind, in ſaying that it is raſhneſs for us to conceive an undoubted knowlege of the will of God: A good compariſon of them and Paul in this point of doctrine. 3. 1. 39.

A confutation of their trifling ſhift that although we may take upon us to judge of the grace of God according to the preſent ſtate of righteouſneſs, yet the knowlege of perſevering to the end abideth inſuſpence. 3. 2. 40.

It is proved that the definition of faith taught in this chapter, Sect. 7. agreeth with the apoſtle's definition: Heb. cap. 11. and the error of the ſchoolmen, that charity is before faith and hope is confuted by the teſtimony of Bernard. 3. 2. 41.

Hope is always engendered of faith, and is the undivided companion of faith, ſo that whoſoever lacketh hope, is proved alſo to have no faith. Alſo faith is nouriſhed and ſtrengthened by hope and how neceſſary are the helps of hope to eſtabliſh faith which is aſſailed with ſo many ſorts of temptations 3. 2. 42

By reaſon of this conjoining and alliance of faith and hope, the ſcripture doth may times uſe thoſe two words without difference, and ſometimes joineth them together A confutation of the error of Peter Lombard, who maketh two foundations of faith, that is to ſay, the grace of God, and the merit of works. 3. 2. 43.

Of the imperfection of faith and the confirming and encreaſe thereof. 4. 14. 7, 8.

Of the ſum of our faith, which we call the creed, or ſymbol of the apoſtles. 2. 16. 18.

The concluſion of the 16. chapter wherein are briefly contained the benefits that came to us by thoſe things that are ſpoken. concerning Chriſt in the ſymbols of the apoſtles. 2. 16. 19.

See juſtification of faith.

Faſting.

Of that part of diſcipline of the church, which concerneth the appointing of faſtings, or extraordinary prayers: and how paſtors ought to uſe it. 4. 12. 14, 16, 17.

It is to be provided that no ſuperſtition creep in in faſting. 4. 12. 19.

The holy and rightful faſting hath three ends. 4. 12. 15.

The definition of faſting. 4. 12. 18.

Of the ſuperſtition of Lent, and the diverſity of obſerving the ſame faſting. 4. 12. 20, 21.

Fear.

The faithful are oftentimes troubled with fear and diſtruſt by reaſon of the feeling of their own weakneſs. 3. 2. 17.

Another kind of fear conceived in a godly heart, either by examples of God's vengeance againſt the wicked, or by conſideration of his own miſery: ſuch fear is ſo much not contrary to faith, that the faithful are much exhorted to have it. Neither is it any marvel, if there be in a faithful ſoul both fear and faith ſince on the other ſide in the wicked there are both dull negligence and carefulneſs. 3. 2. 22, 23.

The fear of God proceedeth out of a double feeling, namely when we honour God as our father, and fear him as our Lord: Neither is it any wonder if one mind have both theſe affections.

This fear differeth from the fear of the unfaithful, which they commonly call a ſervile fear. 3. 2. 27.

Of forſaking of ourſelves.

The firſt beginning of framing our life after the rule ſet forth in the law, is to conſider that we are not at our own liberty, but hallowed and dedicate to God. And therefore we ought to forſake our ſelves, and our own reaſon (which as the Philoſophers think, ought alone to be obeyed) to the end that we may be governed by the word and ſpirit of the Lord. 3. 7. 1.

Alſo that we ought not to ſeek thoſe things that are our own, but thoſe things that are according to the will of the Lord, and do ſerve to advance his glory. And that this is the forſaking of our ſelves, without the which there is a world of vices encloſed in the ſoul of man, and if there be any ſeeming of virtue at all, the ſame is corrupted with wicked deſire of glory. 3. 7. 2.

The forſaking or mortifying of ourſelves, is partly in reſpect of men, and partly, yea, and chiefly in reſpect of God. Toward other men, the ſcripture commandeth us to do two things: namely to prefer them in honour before ourſelves, and with unfeigned truth to employ ourſelves wholly to procure their intereſt. How the firſt of theſe points is to be performed is taught in the, 3. 4. 7. and alſo how the ſcripture leadeth us by the hand to the ſecond point is ſhewed in the. 3. 7. 5.

See certain things pertaining to this purpoſe. 3. 20.

Free-will.

Man was endued with free will in the firſt eſtate of his creation. 1. 15. 8. which he loſt by his fall. Of this the philoſophers were ignorant. and ſo all ſuch, as follow them, giving freewill to man, are utterly deceived. 1. 15. 8.

The pliableneſs or weak power of freewill which was in the firſt man, doth not excuſe his fall. 1. 15. 8.

It is as well for our profit, as for th' glory of God, to acknowlege all our ſtrength to be but ſtaff made of a reed, yea, but a ſmoak. In the maen time we muſt beware, that while we take all uprightneſs from man, we do not thereof take occaſion of ſlothfulneſs. But rather we ought thereby to be ſtirred up to ſeek in God all the goodneſs whereof we ourſelves are void. The defend

ers of freewill do rather throw it down headlong than eſtabliſh it. 2. 2. 1.

The philoſophers determine three powers of the ſoul. Underſtanding, ſenſe, and will or appetite: and they think that the reaſon of man's underſtanding ſufficeth for his good government; that will is by ſenſe moved to evil, ſo that it doth hardly yield it ſelf to reaſon, and ſometimes is diverſly drawn from the one to the other, but yet that it hath a free election and cannot be ſtopped, that it may follow reaſon her guide in all things: finally that virtues and vices are in our powers. 2. 2. 23.

The eccleſiaſtical writers, although they acknowleged the ſoundneſs of underſtanding and the freedom of will to have been ſore wounded by ſin, yet have ſpoken too much philoſophically of this matter. The old writers did it for this purpoſe, firſt becauſe they were loth to teach a thing that ſhould be an abſurdity in the common judgement of men, and alſo ſpecially leſt they ſhould give a new occaſion of ſlothfulneſs to the fleſh being already too much dull to godlineſs, as appeareth by many ſayings of Chryſoſtom and Jerom. The Greek doctors above all others, and eſpecially Chryſoſtom, do exceed meaſure in advancing free-will. But all the old writers generally, except Auguſtine, do ſo vary and waver in this point of doctrine, that there can almoſt no certainty be gathered of their writings. They who came after them, fell one after another to worſe and worſe. The definitions of free-will out of Origen, Auguſtine, Bernard, Anſelm, Peter Lombard and Thomas. 2. 2. 4.

In what things they do commonly give free-will to man, and of the three ſorts of man's will. 2. 2. 5.

Alſo of the common diſtinction of the three ſorts of liberty. 2. 2. 5.

Whether man be wholly deprived of power to do good, or whether he have yet ſome power though it be weak: where it is ſpoken of the common diſtinction of grace working and grace working together, and what is amiſs in the ſame diſtinction. 2. 2. 6.

Foraſmuch as it cannot otherwiſe be ſaid that man hath freewill, but becauſe he doth evil of his own will, and not by compulſion, it had been very good for the church that this word freewill had never been uſed, which had raiſed up men to a damnable truſt of themſelves. The old writers alſo do oft declare what they mean by that word, eſpecially Auguſtine, out of whom there are many places alleged, where he weakneth and mocketh the ſtrength thereof, both when he calleth it bond-will, and when he expoundeth the thing itſelf as it is at large. 2. 2. 7, 8.

Although the old eccleſiaſtical writers do ſometime too much advance freewill, and have ſpoken doubtfully and diverſly in that matter: yet it appeareth by very many of their ſayings, that they little or nothing eſteeming man's power, gave the whole praiſe of all goodneſs to the holy Ghoſt. Many ſuch ſentences are rehearſed out of Cyprian, Auguſtine, Eucherius, Chryſoſtom. 2. 2. 9.

The power of man's will is not to be weighed by the ſucceſs of things, but by the choiſe of judgment and the affection of will. 2. 4. 8.

It is proved againſt the defenders of freewill that ſin is of neceſſity, and yet nevertheleſs ought to be imputed: alſo that it is voluntary, and yet cannot be avoided. 2. 5 1.

A ſolution of another objection of theirs, where they ſay that unleſs both virtues and vices proceed of free election of will, it were no reaſon that man ſhould either be puniſhed or rewarded. 2. 5. 2.

Alſo another objection, where they ſay that if this were not the power of our will, to chooſe good or evil, then of neceſſity either all men ſhould be good, or all men evil. 2. 5. 3.

Againſt the ſame men alſo it is proved that exhortations, admonitions, and rebukings are not in vain, although it be not in the power of the ſinner to obey: and there is ſhewed what effect the ſame do work both in the wicked and in the faithful. 2. 5. 4. 5.

It is not to be gathered by the commandments and law of God, that man hath freewill and ſtrength to perform them, for God doth not only command what ought to be done, but alſo promiſeth grace to obey. 2. 5. 6, 7. 9.

This is proved as well in the commandments which require the firſt converſion to God, as alſo in thoſe which ſpeak ſimply of the obſerving of the law, and thoſe which command men to continue in the received grace of God. For the ſame God who requireth thoſe things, doth teſtify that the converſion of a ſinner, holineſs of life, ſtedfaſtneſs of continuance, are his free gifts, and the praiſe thereof is not to be parted between God and man. 2. 5. 8, 9, 11.

The conditional promiſes, as, if ye will, if ye hear, and ſuch like, do not prove that there is in man a free power of willing or hearing: yet it is proved that God doth not mock men in ſo bargaining with them, alſo what is the uſe of ſuch proteſtations, both toward the godly and toward the ungodly. 2. 5. 10.

The reproachings, wherein God ſaith to his people that they were the cauſe that they received not all kind of good things at his hand, do not prove that it was in man's power to eſcape the evils wherewith they were afflicted. And there is ſpoken of the uſe of ſuch reproachings as well toward them that obſtinately go forward in their faults, as toward the conformable that are converted to repentance. Alſo whereas the ſcripture doth ſometime give to us the office of doing, it doth ſo for no other reaſon but to awaken the ſlothfulneſs of the fleſh. 2. 5. 11.

The ſaying of Moſes, the commandment is near to thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, &c. maketh nothing for the defenders of free-will, foraſmuch as he there

there ſpeaketh not of the bare commandments, but of the evangelical promiſes of the law. 1. 5. 12.

No more do thoſe places make for them, where it is ſaid that the Lord looketh and watcheth to ſee what men will do. 2 5. 13.

All thoſe places where good works are called ours: and we are ſaid to do that which is holy and pleaſing to the Lord. And here is ſhewed that the ſpirit of God only worketh all good motions in us, but yet not as in ſtocks. 2. 5. 14, 15.

An expoſition of certain other places of ſcripture, which the enemies of the grace of God do abuſe, to eſtabliſh free-will. 2. 5. 16, 17, 18, 19.

G

God.

THE ſcripture teaching the immeaſurable and ſpiritual ſubſtance of God, doth overthrow not only the follies of the common people, but alſo the ſubtile inventions of prophane philoſophy, and the error of the Manichees concerning two original beginnings, and the falſe opinion of the Anthropomorphites concerning a bodily God. 1. 13. 1.

In what ſenſe it is ſaid that God is in heaven, and what doctrine is to be gathered thereof. 3. 20. 40.

How is the name of God to be ſanctified. 3. 20. 41.

Of the kingdom of God among men, and of the increaſing and fulneſs thereof. 3. 2. 42.

See knowleg of God.

See image of God in man.

Goſpel.

Chriſt, although he was known to the Jews in the time of the law, was yet ſhewed in deed only by the goſpel: and the holy fathers taſted of that grace, which is now offered to us with full abundance: they ſaw the day of Chriſt albeit with a dim ſight, the glory whereof now ſhineth in the goſpel, without any vail between us and it. 2. 9. 1, 2.

In the ſame place alſo is ſhewed, that the goſpel is properly and ſpecially called the publiſhing of the grace given in Chriſt, and not the promiſes that are written by the prophets concerning the remiſſion of ſins. Againſt the doctrine of Servetus, who taketh away the promiſes under this pretence, that by the faith of the goſpel we have the fulfilling of all the promiſes it is proved that though Chriſt offer to us in the goſpel a preſent fulneſs of ſpiritual good things yet the enjoying thereof lyeth hidden under the cuſtody of hope ſo long as we live in this world, and thereof we muſt yet reſt upon the promiſes. 2. 9. 3.

A confutation of their error, who compare the law with the goſpel, no otherwiſe than the deſervings of works with the imputation of free righteouſneſs. 2. 9. 4.

John the baptiſt had an office in a medium between the prophets expoſitors of the law, and the apoſtles publiſhers of the goſpel. 2. 9. 5.

Government.

See politic government.

H

Hands.

SEE laying on of hands.

Holy water of papiſts

See book 4 chap. 10. ſect. 20.

Holy Ghoſt.

Teſtimonies whereby the Godhead of the Holy Ghoſt is proved 1. 13. 14, 15.

The Holy Ghoſt is the bond wherewith Chriſt doth effectually bind us to him, and without it, all that Chriſt hath ſuffered and done for the ſalvation of mankind, doth nothing profit us. 3. 1. 1, 3.

Chriſt came after a ſingular manner furniſhed with the Holy Ghoſt, to ſeperate us from the world, and therefore he is called the Spirit of ſanctification. Why he is ſometimes called the Spirit of the Father and ſometimes the Spirit of the Son. He is called the Spirit of Chriſt, not only in reſpect that Chriſt is the eternal word, but alſo according to his perſon of mediator. 3. 1. 2.

An expoſition of the titles wherewith the ſcripture ſetteth forth the Holy Ghoſt: and there is treated of the beginning and whole reſtoring of our ſalvation: the titles are theſe, the Spirit of adoption, the earneſt and ſeal of our inheritance, life, water, oil, ointment, fire, a fountain, the hand of God, &c. 3. 1. 3.

Faith is the chief work of the Holy Ghoſt, and therefore to it for the moſt part are all thoſe things referred which are commonly found in the ſcripture to expreſs the force and effectual power of the Holy Ghoſt. 3. 1. 4.

Humility.

It is not the true humilty which God requireth of us unleſs we acknowlege ourſelves utterly void of all goodneſs and righteouſneſs. 3. 12. 6.

Of this humility there is an example ſhewed in the publican. 3. 12. 7.

That we may give place to the calling of Chriſt, both preſumption and careleſneſs muſt be far away from us. 3. 12. 8.

There is no danger leaſt man ſhould take too much from himſelf, ſo that he learn that which wanteth in himſelf is to be recovered in God. It is a deviliſh word, although it be ſweet to us, that liſteth up man in himſelf: for repulſing whereof, there are recited out of the ſcripture many weighty ſentences, which do rigorouſly throw down man: and alſo there are recited certain promiſes, which do promiſe grace to none but to them that do pine away with a ſenſe of their own poverty. 2. 2. 10.

Certain notable ſayings of Chryſoſtom and Auguſtine concerning true humility, 2. 2. 11.

I

Idols.

THE ſcripture ſetteth out God by certain titles of addition and marks, not to the intent to bind him to one place or to one people, but to put difference between his holy majeſty and idols. 2. 8. 15.

An expoſition of the firſt commandment: where is ſhewed that worſhipping, truſt, invocation, and thankſgiving, belongs wholly to God, and no whit thereof may be conveyed any otherwhere without great injury to him to whoſe eyes all things are open. 2. 8. 16.

An expoſition of the ſecond commandment: where is ſpoken of idols and images. 2. 8. 17.

The ſcripture to the intent to bring us to the true God, doth expreſly exclude all the gods of the Gentiles, 1. 10 3. and eſpecially all idols and images. 1. 11. 1.

God is ſeparate from idols, not only that he alone ſhould have the name of God, but that he ſhould be wholly worſhipped, and nothing that belongeth to the Godhead ſhould be conveyed to any other. 1. 12. 1.

The glory of God is corrupted with falſe lying, when any form is appointed to it. 1. 11. 1.

It is proved by texts and reaſons, that God generallymiſliketh all portraitures and images that are made to expreſs a figure of him and this prohibition pertained not to the Jews only. 1. 11. 2.

God did in old time ſo ſhew his preſence by viſible ſigns either to the whole people or to certain choſen men, that the ſame ſigns admoniſhed them of the incomprehenſible ſubſtance of God. 1. 11. 3.

It is proved even of Juvenal's teſtimony that the papiſts are mad, who defend the images of God and of ſaints with the example of the cherubs covering the propitiatory. 1. 11. 3.

The ſtuff itſelf and alſo the workmanſhip which is done with the hands of men, do ſhew that images are not gods. 1. 11. 4.

Againſt the Grecians, who make no graven image of God, but do give themſelves leave to paint him. 1. 11. 4.

The ſaying of Gregory, upon which the papiſts ſay that they ſtand, that images are unlearned mens books, is confuted by the teſtimony of Jerom, Habakuk, Lanctantius, Euſebius, Auguſtine, Varro, and the decree of the Elebertine council. 1. 11. 5, 6, 7.

The papiſts protraitures or images whereby they repreſent the holy martyrs and virgins, are paterns of moſt wicked riotous exceſs and unchaſtneſs. 1. 11. 7, 12.

The people ſhall learn much more by the preaching of the word and miniſtration of ſacraments, than by a thouſand wooden croſſes. 1. 11. 7.

The antiquity and beginning of idolatry, for that men thinking God not to be near them, unleſs he did ſhew himſelf carnally preſent, raiſed up ſigns in which they believed that he was carnally converſant before their eyes. 1. 11. 8.

After ſuch an invention by and by followeth the worſhipping of the image, like as of God or of any other creature in the image: both which the law of God forbiddeth. 1. 11. 8, 9.

Againſt them, who for defence of abominable idolatry, do pretend that they do not take the images for gods, it is proved that neither the Jews did think their calf to be God, nor the heathen when they made to themſelves images did ever think the ſame to be God, whom yet no man excuſe. 1. 11. 9.

The papiſts are ſo perſuaded as the heathen and the idolatrous Jews were, that they worſhip God himſelf under images. 1. 11. 10. Neither can they eſcape away with their diſtinction of ſervice and worſhip. 1. 11. 11, 16. and 1. 12. 2.

When idolatry is condemned graving and painting are not utterly reproved, but there is required a true and right uſe of them both, that God may not be counterfeited with bodily ſhape but only thoſe things which our eyes may behold. 1. 11. 12.

Of images in the temples of Chriſtians. 4. 9. 9.

Even the idolaters themſelves in all ages, naturally underſtood that there is one only God: but this underſtanding availed no further than to make them to be unexcuſable. 1. 10. 3.

Idolatry is an evident proof that the knowlege of God is naturally planted in the minds of all men. 1. 3. 1.

Image of God in man.

How it is, that man was created after the image of God: and here are confuted the fooliſh expoſitions of Oſiander and of others: and here is declared that tho' the image of God do appear alſo in the outward man, and do extend to the whole excellency wherewith the nature of man paſſeth all kind of living creatures, yet the principal ſeat thereof is in the mind and in the heart, or in the ſoul and in the powers thereof. 1. 15. 3. and 2. 2. 1.

The image of God at the beginning appeared in Adam, in light of mind, uprightneſs of heart, and the ſoundneſs of all his parts which is proved by the repairing of corrupted nature, wherein Chriſt newly faſhoneth us after the image of God, and by other arguments. 1. 15. 4.

Indulgences.

See pardons.

Infants.

See baptiſing of infants.

Laſt judgment.

Of the viſible preſence of Chriſt when he ſhall appear at the laſt day. Of the judgment of the quick and dead, and that our faith is well and rightfully directed to the thinking upon that day: and of the notable comforting that thereby ariſeth in our conſciences. 3. 25. 7, 8.

Of the incomprehenſible grievouſneſs of God's vengeance againſt the reprobate. 5. 25. 12.

Judi-

Judicial proceedings in law.

Of the uſe of judicial proceedings, magiſtrates, and laws, among Chriſtians. It is lawful for Chriſtians to ſue for their right before a magiſtrate, ſo that the ſame be done without hurting of piety and of the love of our neighbour. 4. 20. 17, 18.

Deſire of revenge, is always to be avoided, whether it be a common or criminal action wherein men ſtrive before a judge. 4. 20. 19.

The commandment of Chriſt, to give thy cloak to him that taketh away thy coat, and ſuch like prove not but that a Chriſtian may ſue before a magiſtrate, and uſe his help for the preſerving of his goods. 4. 20. 20.

Paul doth not utterly condemn ſutes, but reproveth the unmeaſurable rage of ſueing at law among the Corinthians. 4. 20. 21.

Juſtification of faith.

Of the juſtification of faith, and firſt of the definition of the name, and of the thing itſelf. 3. 11.

The article of doctrine concerning the juſtification of faith is of great importance. 3 11. 1.

It is ſhewed by the ſcripture what is it to be juſtified by works, and what it is to be juſtified by faith. 3. 11. 2, 3, 4.

A confutation of the error of Oſiander, concerning eſſential righteouſneſs, which taketh from men, the earneſt feeling of the true grace of Chriſt. 3. 11. 5, 6, 7, &c. to the 13.

A confutation of Oſiander's invention, that whereas Chriſt is both God and man, he was made righteouſneſs to us in reſpect of his nature of godhead and not of his manhood. 3. 11. 8, 9.

Againſt them who imagine a righteouſneſs compounded of faith and works, it is proved that when the one is eſtabliſhed, the other muſt needs be overthrown. 3. 11. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

It is proved by the ſcripture againſt the ſophiſters, that this is a ſure principle, that we are juſtified by faith only. 3. 11. 19, 20.

It is proved by teſtimonies of ſcripture, that the righteouſneſs of faith is reconciliation with God, which conſiſteth only upon the remiſſion of ſins. 3. 11. 21, 22.

By the only interceſſion or mean of the righteouſneſs of Chriſt, we obtain to be juſtified before God. 3. 11. 23.

That we may be throughly perſuaded of the free juſtification, we muſt liſt up our minds to the judgment ſeat of God: before which, nothing is acceptable but that which is whole and perfect in every behalf, the dreadful majeſty whereof is deſcribed by many places of ſcripture. 3. 1. 2, 12.

All godly writers do ſhew that when men have to do with God, the only place of refuge for conſciences is in the free mercy of God, excluding all truſt of works and this proved by teſtimonies of Auguſtine and Bernard. 3. 12. 3.

Two things are to be obſerved in free juſtification. The firſt, that the Lord keep faſt his glory undiminiſhed: which is done when he alone is acknowleg d to be righteous, for they glory againſt God, who glory in themſelves. 3. 13. 1, 2. The ſecond that our conſciences may have quietneſs in the ſight of his judgment. 3. 13. 3, 4, 5.

What manner of beginning is of juſtification, and what continual proceedings. 3. 1. 4.

A briefſum of the foundation of Chriſtian doctrine, taken out of Paul. 3. 15. 5.

This foundation being laid, wiſe builders do well and orderly build upon, whether it be to ſet forth doctrine and exhortation, or to give comfort. 3. 15. 8.

Good works are not deſtroyed by the doctrine of juſtification of faith. 3. 16. 1.

It is moſt falſe that men's minds are drawn away from affection of well doing, when we take from them the opinion of merit. 3. 16. 2, 3.

It is a moſt vain ſlander, that men are provoked to ſin, when we affirm a free forgiveneſs of ſins, in which we ſay that righteouſneſs conſiſteth. 3. 16. 4.

In what ſenſe the ſcripture oftentimes ſaith that the faithful are juſtified by works. 3. 17. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.

The doers of the law are juſtified. 3. 17. 13.

He that walketh in uprightneſs is righteous. 3. 17. 15.

An expoſition of certain places, wherein the faithful do boldly offer their righteouſneſs to the judgment of God to be examined, and pray to be judged according to the ſame, and it is proved that this diſagreeth not with the free juſtification of faith. 3. 7. 14.

The ſaying of Chriſt, If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments, diſagreeth not with the free juſtification of faith. 3. 18. 5.

K

Kingdom of Chriſt.

SEE prieſthood.

Knowlege of God.

To know God, is not only to conceive that there is ſome God, but to underſtand ſo much as behoveth us to know of him, and ſo much as availeth for his glory and is expedient. 1. 2. 1.

The knowlege of God ought to tend to this end firſt to frame us to fear and reverence: and then that by it guiding and teaching us we may learn to aſk all good things of him, and to account the ſame received at his hand. 1. 2. 2. and 1. 5. 8.

The philoſophers had no other knowlege of God than that which made them inexcuſable, but did not bring them to the truth. 2. 2. 18.

This perſuaſion is naturally planted in all men, that there is ſome God. 1. 2. 3. and that to this end, that they who do not worſhip him, may be condemned by their own judgment. 1. 3. 1.

Though all men know by nature that there is a God, yet ſome become vain in their ſuperſtitions, and other

other ſome of ſet purpoſe do maliciouſly depart from God. 1. 4. 1.

See certain things pertaining to this matter, in the title of the creation of the world.

L

Laying on of hands.

OF laying on of hands in ordaining of miniſters. 4. 14. 20.

Of the laying on of hands in making of popiſh prieſts 4. 19 31.

Law.

The law, that is to ſay, the form of religion ſet forth by Moſes, was not given to hold the old people ſtill in it, but to nouriſh in their hearts the hope of ſalvation in Chriſt until his coming: which is proved by this, that Moſes repeateth the mention of the covenant: and by the order of the ceremonies appointed as well in ſacrifices as in waſhings, alſo by the office of prieſthood of the tribe of Levi and the honour of the kingdom in David and his poſterity. The law alſo of the ten commandments was given to prepare men to ſeek Chriſt. 2. 7. 1, 2. and that is done, when it maketh us inexcuſable being on every ſide convicted of our ſins, to move us to ſeek for pardon of our guiltineſs. 2. 7. 3, 4.

It is proved by the ſcripture and declared that the obſerving of the law is impoſſible. 2. 7. 5.

There are three uſes and offices of the moral law: the firſt is, that ſhewing unto us the righteouſneſs which only is acceptable unto God, it may be as a glaſs for us, wherein we may behold our weakneſs, and by it our wickedneſs and finally by them both our accurſedneſs: neither turneth this to any diſhonour of the law, but maketh for the glory of the bountifulneſs of God, who both with help of grace aideth us to do that which we are commanded, and by mercy putteth away our offences. Neither yet doth this office altogether ceaſe in the reprobate. 2. 7. 6, 7, 8, 9.

The ſecond office, is to reſtrain the reprobate with fear of puniſhment, leaſt they unbridledly commit the wickedneſs which inwardly they always nouriſh and love: and alſo to draw back the children of God before the regeneration from outwardlicentiouſneſs. 2. 7. 10. 11.

The third office, concerneth the faithful: for the law although it be already written with the finger of God in their hearts, yet profiteth them two ways: For by ſtudying upon it they are more confirmed in the underſtanding of the will of the Lord, and are ſtirred up and ſtrengthned to obedience, that they go not out of kind by the ſluggiſhneſs of the fleſh. 2. 7. 12, 13. For as touching the curſe of the law, it is taken away from the faithful, that it, can no more extend itſelf againſt them in damning and deſtroying them. 2. 7. 14.

By the ten commandments of the law we learn the ſame things which we but ſlenderly taſte by inſtruction of the law of nature; firſt that we owe to God reverence, love, and fear, that righteouſneſs pleaſeth him, and wickedneſs diſpleaſeth him; finally that examining our life by the rule of the law, we are unworthy to be accounted among the creatures of God, and that our power is inſufficient, yea, no power at at all to perform the law. Both theſe points engender in us humility and abaſing of ourſelves, which teacheth us to flee to the mercy of God, and to crave the help of his grace. 2. 8. 1, 2, 3.

Forasmuch as God the law-maker is ſpiritual, that is to ſay, ſpeaketh as well to the ſoul as to the body, therefore the law likewiſe requireth not only an outward honeſty, but alſo an inward and ſpiritual righteouſneſs and a very angelic pureneſs. 2. 8. 6. which is proved by Chriſt's own expoſition, when he confuted the Phariſees wrong interpretation, which required only a certain outward obſervation of the law. 2. 8. 7.

There is always more in the commandments and prohibitions of the law, than is expreſſed. Therefore for the right and true expounding of them it behoveth us to weigh what is the intent or end of every one of them; then from that which is commanded or forbidden, we muſt draw an argument to the contrary, that we may underſtand, that not only an evil is forbidden, but alſo the good is commanded which is contrary to that evil. 2. 8. 8, 9.

Why God ſpake by way of implied comprehending, in ſetting forth the form of his commandments. 2. 8. 10.

Of the dividing of the law into two tables; and how therein we are taught that the firſt foundation and the very ſoul of righteouſneſs is the worſhipping of God. 2. 8. 11.

Of the diviſion of the ten commandments, and how many commandments are to be appointed to the firſt table, and how many to the ſecond. 2. 8. 12. 50.

An expoſition of the commandments of God; where is declared that the Lord is the beginning of the law, to eſtabliſh his own majeſty, uſeth three arguments; firſt by challenging to himſelf the ſovereign power and right of dominion over us, he doth as it were by neceſſity draw us to obey him; ſecondly, he allureth us with the ſweetneſs of the promiſe of grace; thirdly, he moveth us to obedience with rehearſal of the benefit that we have received. 2. 8. 13, 14, 15.

The law teacheth not only certain introductions and principles of righteouſneſs, but the very accompliſhment thereof, the expreſſing of the image of God, and the perfection of holineſs; which law is all contained in two points, that is to ſay, the love of God and of our neighbour, 2. 8. 51.

The law of nature. 2. 2. 22.

Laws politic.

Neither can laws be without the magiſtrates, nor the magiſtrate without laws. A confutation of them who ſay that a commonweal is not well ordered, unleſs it be governed by the politic laws of Moſes. For this purpoſe is rehearſed a diviſion of the laws of Moſes into mortal laws, ceremonies, judicial laws, and the

the end of every one of them being discussed, it is proved that it is lawful for every seperate nation to make politic laws. 4. 20. 14, 15. so that they agree with that natural equity, the reason whereof is set forth in the moral law of Moses. Therefore it is shewed by examples that they may alter the ordinances of penalties according to the diversity of the country, time, and other circumstances. 4. 20. 16.

Liberty.

See Christian liberty.

Lying.

An exposition of the ninth commandment, wherein the Lord forbideth falsehood, wherewith we by lying or backbiting, do hurt any man's good name, or hinder his interest. 2. 8. 47.

We many times sin against this commandment, although we do not lie. But in this point there must be a difference wisely made between the slandering which is here condemned, and judicial accusation or rebuking, which is used upon desire to bring to amendment. 2. 8. 48.

Life of a Christian man.

The Law containeth a rule how to frame a man's life, and divers places also of the scripture doth here and there declare it, and not without an orderly manner of teaching, although not so exquisite and curious as the philosophers do. 3. 6. 1.

Herein the scriptures doth two things; it stirreth us up to the love of righteousness and teacheth a rule how to follow the same. The first point it worketh by divers arguments and reasons. 3 6. 2 and herein the scripture layeth much better foundations, than can be found in all the books of the philosophers. 3. 6. 3.

Against them that pretend a knowlege of Christ, when their life and manners retemble not the doctrine of Christ. 3 6. 4.

Though perfection were to be wished in all men, yet we must also acknowlege for Christians the most part of men who have not yet proceeded so far. We must always endeavour forward, and not despair for the smalness of our profiting. 3. 6. 5.

Out of a place of Paul these are gathered to be the parts of a well framed life; consideration of the grace of God, forsaking of wickedness and of worldly lusts, soberness, righteousness, godliness (which signifieth true holiness) and the blessed hope of immortality. 3. 7. 3.

Life present and the helps thereof.

The scripture teacheth the best way how to use the goods of this life. 3. 10. 4, 5.

Two faults must be avoided; that we do neither bind our consciences with too much rigorousness nor give loose reins to the intemperance of men. 3. 10. 1,3.

God both in clothing and in food provided not only for our necessity, but also for our delight. 3. 10. 2.

It is most necessary, that every one of us in all doings of his life do look upon his vocation, that we attempt nothing rashly with doubtful conscience. 3. 10. 6.

God disdaineth not to provide also for the necessities of our earthly body, and in what sense we ask of him our daily bread. 2. 20. 44.

Life to come.

God doth by divers mysteries teach us the contempt of this present life, that we may earnestly desire life to come. 3. 9. 1, 2, 4.

Such a contempt of this life is required of us, that we neither hate it nor be unthankful to God, of whose clemency it is a testimony to the faithful 3. 9. 3.

An admonition to them who are holden with too much fear of death, that Christians ought rather to desire that day which shall make an end of their continual miseries, and fill them with true joy. 3. 9, 5, 6.

Of the incomprehensible excellency of the eternal felicity (which is the end of the resurrection) the taste of the sweetness whereof we ought here continually to take, but yet to avoid curiosity whereupon do arise trifling and noisom questions, yea and hurtfull speculations. And there shal be an equal measure of glory to all the children of God in heaven, 3. 25 10, 11. In which place also is an answer to the questions which some men do move concerning the state of the children of God, after the resurrection.

In what sense eternal life is sometimes called the reward of works. 3. 18. 2, 4.

M

Magistrates

THe office of magistrates is not only holy and lawful before God, but also the most holy and honourable degree in all the life of men, and this is proved by diverse titles wherewith the scripture setteth it forth, and by the examples of holy men who have born civil power. 4. 20. 4.

This consideration is a prick to godly magistrates to move them to the doing of their duty and also it is a comfort to ease the hard labour of their office. 4. 20. 6.

A confutation of them, who say that though in old time under the law kings and judges ruled over God's people, yet this servile kind of government doth not agree with the perfection which Christ hath brought with his gospel. 4. 20. 5. 7.

They err who exclude the magistrates from the charge of religion, forasmuch as their office extendeth to both the tables of the law. It is proved by scripture, that they are ordained protectors and defenders as well of the worshipping of God as of common peace and honesty, which they cannot throughly perform without the power of the sword. 4. 20. 9.

A declaration of this question by scripture, how the magistrates may be godly and also draw their sword, and shed the blood of men, and it is proved, that they

are ſo far from ſinning in puniſhing offenders, that this is one of the virtues of a king, and a proof of their godlineſs. Herein the magiſtrates muſt beware of two faults namely extreme rigorouſneſs, and ſuperſtitious deſire of pity. 4. 20. 10.

It is the duty of ſubjects towards magiſtrates to think honourably of them as of the miniſters and deputies of God, foraſmuch as concerneth their degree, but not that they ſhould eſteem the vices of men for virtues. 4 20. 22.

It is alſo their duty with minds heartily bent to the honouring of them to declare their obedience toward them, whether it be in following their decrees or in paying of tributes, &c. to pray to God for their ſafety and proſperity, to raiſe no tumults and not to thruſt themſelves into the office of the magiſtrate. 4. 20. 23.

Even wicked princes of evil life, and who rule tyrannouſly, (forſomuch as pertaineth to public obedience) ought to be had in as great reverence and honour as we would give to the beſt king that might be, 4. 20. 24, 25. becauſe even they alſo have the public power not without the providence and ſingular power of God. Which is proved by diverſe teſtimonies and examples of ſcripture: and there is ſhewed with what conſiderations thoſe ſubjects ought to bridle their own impatience who live under ſuch ungodly and wicked tyrants. 4. 20. 26, 27, 28, 29, 31.

It is not lawful for private men to riſe up againſt tyrants, but only for them which by the laws of the kingdom or of the country, are the defenders of the liberty of the people. 4. 20. 31.

The Lord by his marvellous goodneſs and provipence, doth ſometimes raiſe up ſome of his ſervants to puniih tyrants, and ſometimes alſo he directeth thereunto the rage of wicked men while they intend another thing. 4. 20. 30.

In the obedience which is due to the commandments of kings and rulers this is always to be excepted, that it draw us not away from the obedience of God. Neither is any wrong done to them when we refuſe to obey them in ſuch things as they command againſt God: and this is our duty, how great and preſent peril ſoever do depend upon ſuch conſtancy. 4. 20. 32.

Man.

Man is by knowlege of himſelf not only moved to ſeek God, but alſo led as it were by the hand to find him. 1. 1. 1.

The creation of man is a notable ſhew of the power, wiſdom, and goodneſs of God: wherefore man is by ſome of the philoſophers called a little world. 1. 5. 3.

The unthankfulneſs of men who feeling tokens of the providence of God both in their ſoul and body, yet do not give God praiſe. 1. 5. 4.

Two ſorts of knowlege of ourſelves, the one in our firſt original eſtate, the other after Adam's fall, and the latter is not to be received without conſidering the firſt, leſt we ſhould ſeem to impute corruption to God the author of nature. 1. 15.

The knowlege of himſelf is moſt neceſſary for it which conſiſteth in this (as the truth of God preſcribeth) that firſt conſidering to what end he is created and endued with excellent gifts, he ſhould depend altogether upon God, of whom he hath all things by gift: then, that weighing his own miſerable eſtate after the fall of Adam, he ſhould truly lothe himſelf and conceive a new deſire to ſeek God, that in him he may recover theſe good things, of which he himſelf is found utterly void and empty. Wherefore we muſt beware that in this point we hearken not to the judgment of the fleſh and to the books of philoſophers, who while they withhold us in conſideration only of our good things, would carry us away into a moſt wicked ignorance of ourſelves. 2. 1. 1, 2, 3.

Man can never come to the true knowlege of himſelf, unleſs he have firſt beholden the face of God, that is to ſay, till he have began to know and weigh by the word of God what and how exact is the perfection of his righteouſneſs, wiſdom, and power. to the which we ought to be made of like form. 1. 1. 2.

Even the moſt holy men were ſtricken with fear and aſtoniſhment, when God did extraordinarily ſhew his preſence and glory unto them. 1. 1. 3.

That whole man is corrupted in both parts of him (that is to ſay both in underſtanding, mind, and in heart or will) is proved by divers titles wherewith the ſcripture deſcribeth him, eſpecially when it ſaith, that he is fleſh; and there is declared that this word (fleſh) is not referred only to the ſenſual part but alſo to the ſuperior part of the ſoul. 2. 3.

That men do in vain, ſeek for any good thing in their own nature, is proved by Paul, who treating of the univerſal kindred of the children of Adam, and not rebuking the corrupted manners of ſome one age alone but accuſing the perpetual corruption of nature, taketh from mens righteouſneſs, that is to ſay, uprightneſs and pureneſs, and then underſtanding, and laſt of all the fear of God. 2. 3. 2.

A confutation of the objection concerning certain heathen men, who foraſmuch as they were all their life long by the guiding of nature bent to the endeavour of virtue and honeſty, do ſeem to warn us, that we ſhould not eſteem the nature of man, altogether corrupt. Therefore it is declared that in the unbelievers God doth not inwardly cleanſe the corruption of nature wherewith man is in each part defiled, (as he doth in the elect) but by this providence ſometimes he bridleth it in them, that it break not forth into deeds, and reſtraineth it by divers ways, ſo much as he knoweth to be expedient for preſerving of the univerſal ſtate of things. 2. 3. 3.

Thoſe virtues which we read to have been in heathen men, are not ſufficient proofs of the pureneſs of nature, foraſmuch as their mind was inwardly not upright, being corrupted with ambition or ſome other poiſon,

poiſon, and not directed with deſire to ſet forth the glory of God: and alſo foraſmuch as thoſe virtues are not the common gifts of nature, but the ſpecial graces of God, which he diverſly and by a certain meaſure giveth to prophane men, as oftentimes to kings, and ſometimes to private men. 2. 3. 4.

See image of God in man.

Marriage.

An expoſition of the ſeventh commandment, wherein the Lord forbiddeth fornication and requireth chaſtity and cleanneſs, which we ought to keep and preſerve both in our mind, and in our eyes, and in the apparel of our body, and in our tongue, and in the moderate uſe of meat and drink. 2. 8. 41, 44.

Continence is a ſingular gift of God, which he giveth not to all men, but to ſome, yea and that ſometime for a ſeaſon: as for them to whom it is not granted, let them always flee to marriage, which is ordained of the Lord for the remedy of man's neceſſity. 2. 8. 41, 42, 42.

Married perſons muſt beware that they commit nothing unbeſeeming the honeſty and temperance of marriage: otherwiſe they ſeem to be adulterers of their own wives, and not huſbands. 2. 8. 44.

The Papiſts do wrongfully call marriage a ſacrament: and their reaſons are confuted. 4. 19. 34. It is proved that the place of Paul, wherewith they ſeek to cloak themſelves, maketh nothing for them. 4. 19. 35.

In the mean time they diſagree with themſelves when they exclude prieſts from this ſacrament, and do ſay that it is uncleanneſs and defiling of the fleſh. 4. 19. 36.

By this falſe colour of ſacrament, the Pope with his clergy have drawn to themſelves the hearing of cauſes of matrimony, and have made laws of marriage, which partly are manifeſtly wicked againſt God, and partly moſt unjuſt toward men, which laws are rehearſed. 4. 19. 37.

Mediator Chriſt.

It behoved that Chriſt, to the end that he might perform the office of mediator, ſhould be made man, foraſmuch as God had ſo ordained, becauſe it was beſt for us, ſince no other could be the mean for reſtoring of peace between God and us, no other could make us the children of God, no other could aſſure unto us the inheritance of the heavenly kingdom, no other could for remedy ſet man's obedience againſt man's diſobedience. 2. 12. 1, 2, 3.

A confutation of their phantaſtical conceit, who affirm that Chriſt ſhould have become man, although there had needed no remedy for the redeeming of mankind. And it is proved by many reaſons and texts, that foraſmuch as the whole ſcripture crieth out that he was clothed with fleſh, to the end that he might be the Redeemer, therefore it is too great raſhneſs to imagine any other cauſe or purpoſe. 2. 12. 4.

Neither is it lawful to ſearch further concerning Chriſt: and thoſe that do ſearch further, do with wicked boldneſs run forward to the feigning of a new Chriſt: and herein Oſiander is reproved, who hath at this time renewed this queſtion, and affirmeth that this error is confuted by no teſtimony of ſcripture. 2. 12. 5.

And the principle is overthrown which he buildeth on, that man was created after the image of God, becauſe he was formed after the likeneſs of Chriſt to come, that he might reſemble him whom the Father had already decreed to cloath with fleſh: and there is ſhewed that the image of God in Adam, was the marks of excellency wherewith God had garniſhed him, which doth alſo ſhine in the angels. 2. 12. 6, 7.

A ſolution of other objections or abſurdities which the ſame Oſiander feareth: namely, that then Chriſt was born and created after the image of Adam but as it were by chance: and that the angels ſhould have lacked their head, and men ſhould have lacked Chriſt their king. 2. 12. 6, 7.

How the two natures do make one perſon of the mediator in Chriſt: which is ſhewed by a ſimilitude taken from the joining of the ſoul and body in one man: and then it is proved by divers places that the ſcripture doth many times give unto Chriſt thoſe things which properly belongeth to the Godhead, and ſometimes thoſe things which muſt be referred only to the manhood, and ſometimes giveth to the one nature that which is proper to the other: which figurative manner of ſpeech is called communicating of properties. 2. 14. 1, 2. and ſometimes alſo aſcribeth to Chriſt thoſe things which do comprehend both natures together, but do ſeverally well agree with neither of them. Which laſt point the moſt part of the old writers have not ſufficiently marked: yet it is good to be noted, for the diſſolving of many doubts, and for avoiding of the errors of Neſtorius and Eutyches. 2. 14. 3. 4.

A confutation of the error of Servetus, who had put in the ſtead of the ſon of God, an imagined thing made of the ſubſtance of God's ſpirit, fleſh, and three uncreated elements: his ſubtilty is diſcloſed, and there is proved (which thing he denieth) that Chriſt was the Son of God, even before that he was born in the fleſh, becauſe he is that Word begotten of the Father before all worlds. 2. 14. 5.

Alſo it is proved that he is truly and properly the Son of God in the fleſh, that is to ſay in the nature of man, but yet in reſpect of his Godhead, and not of his fleſh, as Servetus bableth. 2. 14. 6.

An expoſition of certain places which Servetus and his diſciples do enforce for defence of their error: there is alſo another cavil of his diſcloſed, that Chriſt before that he appeared in the fleſh, is in no place called the ſon of God but under a figure. 2. 14. 7.

Alſo there is opened the error of all them who do not acknowlege Chriſt the ſon of God but in the fleſh: and there are briefly rehearſed the groſs ſubtilties of Servetus, wherewith he hath bewitched himſelf and others, overthrowing that which pure faith believeth concerning the perſon of the ſon of God: and thereupon is gathered that with the crafty ſubtilties of that filthy dog, the hope of ſalvation is utterly extinguiſhed. 2. 14. 8.

Merit of Christ.

It is truly and properly said that Christ merited for us the grace of God and salvation. Where it is proved that Christ was not only the instrument or minister of salvation, but also the author and principal doer thereof: and in so saying, the grace of God is not defaced, because the merit of Christ is not set against mercy, but dependeth upon it. And those things which are subalterna, fight not as contraries. 2 17. 1.

The distinction of the merit of Christ and of the grace of God is proved by many places of scripture. 2. 17. 2.

There are alledged many testimonies of scripture, out of which it is certainly and soundly gathered, that Christ by his obedience hath truly purchased and deserved favour for us with his father. 2. 17. 3, 4, 5.

It is a foolish curiosity to enquire whether Christ hath deserved any thing for himself: and it is rashness to affirm it. 2. 17. 6.

Merits of works.

The boastings that are made of the Merits of works do overthrow as well the praise of God in giving righteousness, as also the certainty of salvation. 3. 15. 1.

Whosoever first applied the name of merit to good works in the sight of God's judgment, he did against the pureness of faith. And though the old fathers used that name, yet they so used it that they have in many places shewed that they attribute nothing to works. 3. 15. 2.

An exposition of certain places, wherewith the sophisters go about to prove that the name of merit toward God is found in the scripture. 3. 15. 4.

It is proved by authority of the apostles and Augustine, that the rewards of righteousness do depend upon the meer liberality of God. 2. 5. 2.

It is proved that this is a false saying, that Christ merited for us only the first grace, and that afterward we do merit by our own works. 3. 15. 6, 7.

There are certain things touching merits in the article of justification by faith.

Ministry of the church

Of the ministry of the church, and of them who despise this manner of learning. 4. 1. 5.

Of the efficacy of the ministry. 4. 5. 6.

God, who might teach the church either himself alone or by angels, yet doth it by the ministry of men for three causes. 4. 3. 1.

The ministry of the church is garnished with many notables titles of commendation in the scripture 4. 3. 2, 3.

Of apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers; and what is the several office of every of them. 4. 3. 45.

The chief parts of the office of apostles and pastors are to preach the gospel, and minister the sacraments. 4. 3. 6.

Pastors are so bound to their churches that they may not remove to any other place without public authority. 4. 3. 7.

They are called in scripture, bishops, priests, pastors and ministers who govern churches. 4. 3. 8.

No man ought to thrust in himself in the church to teach or govern; but there is a calling required. 4. 3. 10.

The preaching of the word of God is compared to seed which is scattered in the ground: whereby we understand that the whole encrease proceedeth of the blessing of God and the effectual working of the holy Ghost. 4. 14. 11.

What manner of men ought to be chosen bishops, and in what sort and of whom they are to be chosen, and with what form or ceremony they are to be ordered. 4. 3. 11. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.

The old church before the papacy, divided all their ministers into three degrees, pastors, elders, and deacons. 4. 4. 1.

Of the commission to remit and retain sins, or to bind and loose, which is a part of the power of the keys, and pertaineth to the ministry of the word. 4. 11. 1.

Monkery.

Monastries in old time were the seed-plots of ecclesiastical orders: and there is described out of Augustine the form of the old monkery, and how they were wont at that time to get their living with the labour of their hands. Whereby appeareth that at this day the manner of Popish monkery is far otherwise. 4. 13. 8, 9, 10.

Of the proud title of perfection wherewith the monks do set out their kind of life. 4. 13. 11. because they bind themselves to keep the counsels of the gospel (as they call them) whereunto other christian men are not bound. sect. 12. and because they have forsaken all their possessions. sect. 14.

As many as go into monastries, do depart from the church, since they openly affirm that their monkery is a form of second baptism. 4. 13, 14.

The Popish monks do in manners much differ from the old monks. 4. 13. 15.

Some things are to be misliked even in the profession of the old monkery, and they that were the authors thereof brought a perillous example into the church. 4. 13. 16.

Monks with their vows do consecrate themselves not to God but to the devil. 4. 13. 17.

As all vows unlawful and not rightly made, are of no value before God, so they ought to be void to us 4. 13. 20.

Therefore they who depart from monkery to some honest trade of life, are wrongfully accused of faith breaking and perjury. 4. 13. 2.

Of mortification.

See forsaking of ourselves.

O.

Obedience of children to parents.

AN exposition of the fifth commandment: the end and sum thereof. 2. 8. 35.

How

how far this word *honouring* extendeth, and there are three parts thereof, reverence, obedience, and thanksgiving. 2. 8. 36.

Of the promise adjoined to the fifth commandment, concerning long continuance of life, and how far the same pertaineth to us at this day. 2. 8. 37.

How and by what diverse means, God sheweth his vengeance upon the disobedient: yet obedience is not due to parents and others, but saving the law of God. 2. 8. 38.

Offences.

What offences are to be avoided, and what to be neglected: what is an offence given, and what an offence taken. 3. 19. 11.

It is declared by the doctrine and example of Paul who are weak, to whom we must beware that we give no offence. 3. 19. 12.

Whereas we are commanded to beware that we offend not the weak, the same is meant only in things indifferent: therefore they do wrongfully abuse this doctrine who say that they hear mass for the weak's sake. 3. 19. 13.

Officials.

Of Popish bishops officials, as they call them. 4. 11. 7. 8.

Orders Papistical.

The sacrament of order breadeth to the papists seven other petty sacraments, of whose names and differences they themselves are not yet agreed. 4. 19. 22.

Their fond and ungodly foolishness, forasmuch as they make Christ fellow officer with them in every one of them. 4. 19. 23.

Of acoluthes, door-keepers and readers, whom the Papists do make orders of the church and sacraments, 3. 19. 24. and with what ceremonies they consecrate them. sect. 27.

Of exorcists or conjurers an order of the popish church. 4. 19. 24.

The orders of psalmists, door-keepers and acoluthes, are vain names among the Papists, forasmuch as they themselves do not execute the offices, but some boy, or any lay-man. 4. 19. 24.

Of the shaving of the clergy, and the signification thereof by the doctrine of the Papists. 4. 19. 25.

They do wrongfully apply it to Paul's example, who shaved his head when he took a vow, or to the old Nazarites. 4. 19. 26.

It is shewed out of Augustine whence it first began. 4. 19. 27.

Of the three higher orders: and first of priesthood or sacrificership: where is shewed that the papists have most wickedly perverted the order appointed by God, and do wrong to Christ the only and eternal sacrificing priest. 4. 19. 28.

Of their blowing at the making of the popish priests, and how in that ceremony they do wrongfully counterfeit Christ; where is declared that the Lord did many things which he would not have to be examples for us to follow. 4. 19. 29.

Of the indelible character or indefaceable mark of the oil wherewith popish priests are anointed at their creation. And how the same is wrongfully applied to the children of Aaron. But these priests in coveting to be like the Levites, are apostates from Christ. 4 19. 30, 31.

Original sin.

A definition and expounding of original sin. 4. 15. 10, 11, 12.

A true definition of original and a declaration of the same definition: wherein is shewed, that not only punishment came from Adam upon us, but also that the infection derived from him remaineth in us, and how it is the sin of another and also our own sin: finally, that such infection pierced not only into the inferior desire, but also into the very understanding mind and bottom of the heart, so that there is no part of the soul free from corruption. 2. 1. 8. 9.

A confutation of them that dare charge God with their faults, because we say that men are naturally faulty: and there is proved, that man is corrupt by natural viciousness: (to the end that no man should think it to be gotten by evil custom) but yet such as proceeded not from nature, but it is an accidental quality, and not a substantial property from the beginning 2. 1, 10, 11.

Oath.

See swearing.

P.

Patience.

A Part of the forsaking of ourselves, in respect of God, is contentment of mind and sufference: which we shall perform, if in seeking the advantage or quietness of this present life we yield ourselves wholly to the Lord, and do not desire, hope for, or think upon any other mean of prospering than by his blessing. 3. 7. 8.

So it shall come to pass that we shall never seek our own interest by unlawful means or with wronging of our neighbours; also that we shall not burn with unmeasurable desire of riches or of honours; finally if things prosper well with us, we shall not be holden from pride, and if they happen ill, we shall yet be restrained from impatience. 3. 7. 9. Which extendeth to all chances whereunto our present life is subject, whereof the faithful do always acknowlege the hand of God their Father, and not fortune, to be the governor. 3. 7. 10.

The patience of the faithful is not such as is without all feeling of sorrow, but such as being upholden by godly comfort, fighteth against the natural feeling of sorrow. Therefore the patience of the stoics is to be rejected; neither is it in itself any fault to weep or fear. 3. 8. 8, 9.

A description of that striving which is ingendred in the hearts of the faithful by the feeling of nature, which feeling cannot be clean done away, and by the affecti-

affection of godlineſs wherewith that ſame feeling muſt be ſubdued and tamed. 3. 8. 10.

There is a great difference between philoſophical and chriſtian patience. Foraſmuch as the philoſophers do teach us to obey becauſe we muſt ſo of neceſſity; but Chriſt teacheth it, becauſe it is righteous, and alſo becauſe it is profitable for us. 3. 8. 11.

Pardons.

The ſo long continuing of pardons declareth in how deep darkneſs of errors men have been drowned theſe certain ages paſt. 3. 5. 1.

What pardons are by the papiſts doctrine; whereby it is proved that they are a diſhonouring of the blood of Chriſt; a compariſon of Chriſt and popiſh pardons. 3. 5. 1.

A confutation of the wicked doctrine of pardons, by the notable ſaying of Leo biſhop of Rome, and of Auguſtine. And there is ſhewed that the blood of martyrs is not unlawful, although it have no place in forgiveneſs of ſins. 3. 5. 3, 4.

Either the goſpel of God muſt lye, or pardons muſt be lying deceits. And there is ſhewed what ſeemeth to have been the beginning of them. 3. 5. 5.

Penance, the popiſh ſacrament.

Of the uſage of the old church in public penance; and of the laying on of hands at reconciliation. Alſo how in proceſs of time the laying on of hands was uſed in private abſolutions. 4. 19. 14.

The divers opinions of the ſchoolmen how penance is a ſacrament; and there is ſhewed that the definition of a ſacrament doth not agree with it. 4. 19. 15, 16.

It is a lie, and a deceitful error which they have invented concerning the ſacrament of penance: and it is a wicked and blaſphemous title wherewith they have garniſhed it, a ſecond board after a ſhip-wreck from baptiſm. 4. 19. 17.

Perſeverance.

See book 2. chap. 5. ſect. 3.

A confutation of the moſt wicked error that perſeverance is given of God according to the merit of men, ſo as every man hath ſhewed himſelf not unthankful for the firſt grace: and this opinion is ſhewed a double error. Of the common diſtinction of grace working, and working together: and how Auguſtine uſed it, qualifying it with an apt definition. 2. 3. 11.

Politic government.

There is a difference to be made between policy, and the inward government of the ſoul. Their doctrine is to be rejected who go about to overthrow policy as a thing not neceſſary for Chriſtians, or as a thing that overthroweth the ſpiritual liberty of the ſoul. Alſo thoſe flatterers are to be rejected, who do give too much unto it, and do ſet it in compariſon againſt the authority of God. 4 20. 1; 2, 3.

Policy is the gift of God, which bringeth great advantages to mankind and no ſmall help to the defence of the ſtate of religion. Polite government hath three parts, the magiſtrate, the laws and the people. 4. 20. 3.

Of the three forms of civil government, ariſtocracy the government of the beſt choiſeſt men. Democracy the government of the people, monarchy the government of one: it cannot ſimply be determined which of theſe is the beſt: yet it cometh to paſs by the fault of men, that it is ſafer and more tolerable to have many to govern than one to reign. But all theſe forms are of God, and diverſly diſpoſed by him, therefore it is the duty of private men to obey, and not to make innovation of ſtates after their own will. 4. 20. 8.

Of the immunity that the Romiſh clergy take to themſelves, which was altogether unknown to the biſhops of the old church. 4. 11. 15.

In matters of faith, the judgment in the old time pertained to the church and not to the princes, altho' ſometimes princes intermeddled their authority in eccleſiaſtical matters, but the ſame was done to preſerve and not to trouble the order of the church. 4. 11. 15, 16.

Of the authority of the ſword uſurped by the biſhops in the papacy: and how they have by little and little from ſo ſmall beginnings grown to ſo great increaſe. 4. 11. 9, 10.

Pope.

It is proved that the ſupremacy of the ſee of Rome is not by the inſtitution of Chriſt. 4. 6. 1, 2, 3, 4.

Neither had Peter any principality in the church or among the apoſtles. 4. 6. 5, 6, 7.

Neither is it profitable nor may be, that one man ſhould bear rule over the whole church. 4. 6. 8, 9, 10.

Although Peter had had a ſupremacy in the church, yet it followeth not that the ſeat of that ſupremacy ought to be at Rome. 4. 6. 11, 12, 13.

It is proved by many arguments that Peter was not biſhop of Rome. 4. 6. 14, 15.

The ſupremacy of the ſee of Rome is according to the uſe of the old church. 4. 6. 16, 17.

Of the beginning and increaſing of the Roman papacy, until it advanced itſelf to that height, whereby both the liberty of the church is oppreſſed and all moderate government hath been overthrown. 4. 7.

In the moſt part of the councils, the biſhop of Rome nor his legates had not the chief place, but ſome other of the biſhop had it at the council of Chalcedon: but yet without order. 4. 7. 1, 2.

Of the title of ſupremacy and other titles of pride wherewith the pope boaſteth himſelf, and when and how they crept in. 4. 7. 3.

Gregory pronounceth that the title of univerſal biſhop was deviſed by the devil, and publiſhed by the crier of Antichriſt. 4. 7. 4.

It is proved by the uſe of the old church, that it is falſe which the biſhop of Rome, boaſteth that he hath

hath jurisdiction over all churches. 4. 7. 5. Whether ye consider the ordering of bishops, sect. 6. or ecclesiastical admonitions and censures, sect. 7. or summoning of councils, sect. 8. or authority of higher appeals. sect. 9, 10.

The old bishops of Rome in the most part of their epistles did ambitiously set forth the glory of their see, but those epistles at that time had no credit. Also they did thrust in certain forged things as though they had been written in the old time by holy men. 4. 7. 11, 20.

Although in the time of Gregory, the authority of the bishop of Rome was greatly increased, yet it is proved by his writings that it was then far from unbridled dominion and tyranny. 4. 7. 12, 13, 22.

There was strife for the supremacy between the bishop of Constantinople and the bishop of Rom . 4. 7 . 14, 15, 16. until Phocas granted to Boniface the third, that Rome should be the head of all churches; which afterward Pipine confirmed, when he gave to the see of Rome jurisdiction over the churches of France. 4. 7. 17.

From thenceforth the tyranny of the see of Rome increased more and more, partly by ignorance and partly by negligence of bishops; which destruction of the whole order of the church Bernard lamenteth and layeth to the pope's charge. 4. 7. 18. 22.

The insolence and shamelessness of the bishops of Rome in setting forth their own supreme authority. 4. 7. 19, 20. which is reproved by sayings of Cyprian and Gregory. sect. 21.

Rome cannot be the mother of all churches, forasmuch as it is in no church Neither can the bishop of Rome be head of bishops, since he is no bishop. 4. 7. 23, 24,

It is proved by Paul, that the pope is antichrist. 4. 7. 25.

Although the church of Rome in old time had had the honour of supremacy, yet the same is not to be bound to a place. 4. 7. 26, 29.

Of the manners of the city of Rome, of the pope, and of the cardinals and their divinity. 4. 7. 27, 28.

The bishop of Rome first laid hands upon kingdoms, and then upon the empire: which is proved by most sharp reprehensions of Bernard to be unmeet for him that boasteth himself the successor of the apostles. 4. 11. 11.

Of the gift of Constantine, wherewith he laboureth to hide his robbery. 4. 11. 12. and how there are not yet five hundred years past, since the popes were in subjection to princes, and by what occasion they have shaken it off. sect. 13. and how they brought the city of Rome into their power, but about a hundred and thirty years ago. sect. 14.

Prayer.

True faith cannot be idle from calling upon God. 3. 20.

How necessary and how many ways profitable is the exercise of praying. 3. 20. 2. although the Lord will not cease while we crave not, nor needeth any to put him in mind. sect. 3.

The first rule of well framing our prayer, is that we be no otherwise disposed in heart and mind than becometh them that enter into talk with God. 3. 20. 4. 5.

The second rule is, that in praying we always feel our own neediness, and that earnestly considering that we want all these things that we ask, we join with our prayer an earnest and fervent desire to obtain. 3. 20. 6.

We ought to pray at all times, and in the greatest quietness of our estates, the only remembrance of our sin only ought to be no small provocation to move us to that exercise. 3. 20. 7.

The third rule of praying well, is that we forsake all confidence of our own glory, lest if we presumtuously take any thing, be it never so little, unto ourselves, we with our vain pride, fall down from his face. 3. 20. 8.

The beginning of praying well, is the obtaining of pardon, with an humble and plain confession of offence. 3. 20. 9.

In what sense the prayers of certain holy men are to be taken, in which to intreat God, they seem to allege their own righteousness. 3. 20. 10.

The fourth rule of praying well, is that being so overthrown and beaten down with true humility: we are nevertheless encouraged to pray with an assured hope to obtain: so in our prayers, faith and repentance doth meet together. 3. 20. 11.

Of the certainty of faith, whereby the faithful do determine that God is favourable unto them. And how necessary the same is in prayer: neither is that certainty weakened, when it is joined with acknowleging of our own misery. 3. 20. 12.

God commandeth us to call upon him: he promiseth that we shall be heard both these things are necessary, that we pray in faith. 3. 20. 13.

There are rehearsed divers promises of God with the sweetness whereof they that are not stirred up to prayer, are altogether unexcusable. 3. 20. 14.

An exposition of certain places wherein God seemeth to have assented to some mens prayers which yet were grounded upon no promise. 3. 20. 15.

These four rules praying well, are not examined with so extreme rigour, but that God herein doth bear with many infirmities, yea many irregularities in them that are his, which is proved by many examples. 3. 20. 16.

We must always pray in the name of Christ only, 3. 20. 17. neither were the faithful never heard any otherwise. sect. 18.

They who pray otherwise, have nothing left for them at the throne of God, but wrath and terror. 3. 20. 19.

It is not against Christ's office of mediator: that we are

are commanded to pray one for another. 3. 20 19.

A confutation of the ſophiſters device, who ſay that Chriſt is the mediator of redemption, and the faithful are mediators of interceſſion. 3. 20. 20.

Againſt them, who make dead ſaints interceſſors to God for them, or do mingle the interceſſion of Chriſt with the prayers and merits of dead men. 3. 20. 21.

This fooliſhneſs hath proceeded in the papacy to groſs monſtrouſneſs of ungodlineſs, and to horrible ſacrileges. 3. 20. 22.

A confutation of the arguments wherewith the papiſts labour to confirm the interceſſion of dead ſaints. 3. 20. 23, 24, 25, 26.

It is unlawful to direct our prayers to dead ſaints, foraſmuch as this kind of worſhipping doth moſt properly belong to God alone. 3. 20. 27.

Of the kinds of prayer, and chiefly of thankſgiving: alſo of the continual exerciſe of the faithful in prayer and thankſgiving. 3. 20. 28, 29.

Of the babbling of the papiſts, and of avoiding all boaſtings in prayers, or departing into ſecret places, and of public prayers. 3. 28. 29.

Public prayers muſt be made in the common and native ſpeech of the land. And there is treated of kneeling and uncovering of the head at prayer. 3. 20. 33.

Of the infinite goodneſs of Chriſt who hath alſo appointed us a form of prayer. And how great comfort cometh unto us thereby, 3. 20. 24.

A diviſion of the Lord's prayer. 3. 20. 25.

An expoſition of the ſame prayer. 3. 20. 26.

The ſame in every point is a perfect and upright prayer. 3. 20. 48. whereunto nothing ought to be added although we may uſe other words in making our prayers. ſect. 49.

Of the confidence which the name of the children of God doth bring unto us, which even the conſcience of our ſins ought not to overthrow. 3. 20. 36, 37.

Although we ought to pray for all men, and eſpecially for them of the houſhold of faith, yet this withſtandeth not, but that we may pray eſpecially both for ourſelves and certain others. 3. 20 38, 39, 47.

Of the boldneſs of aſking which the Lord granteth to his, and the truſt of obtaining. 3. 20. 47.

It is good that every one of us for exerciſe, appoint to himſelf certain peculiar hours to pray, ſo that it be done without ſuperſtitious obſervation. 3. 20. 50.

In all our prayers we ought diligently to beware that we go not about to bind God to certain circumſtances. 3. 20. 50.

Of perſeverance and patience in the exerciſe of prayer. 3. 20 51, 52.

Predeſtination.

It is proved that the doctrine of predeſtination is a doctrine of moſt ſweet fruit. There are rehearſed three principal profits thereof: and they are admoniſhed who being moved with a certain curioſity do beyond the bounds of ſcripture break into the ſecrets of the wiſdom of God. 3. 1. 1, 2. and alſo they who would have all mention of predeſtination to be buried. ſect. 3, 4.

What is predeſtination, and what is the foreknowlege of God and how the one of them is wrongfully ſet after the other. The example of predeſtination in all the offſpring of Abraham in reſpect of other nations, is confirmed by many teſtimonies of ſcripture. 3, 21. 5.

Alſo there is ſhewed a ſpecial predeſtination, whereby even among the children themſelves he hath made a difference betw en ſome and other ſome. ſect. 6, 7.

A confirmation of the doctrine of predeſtination taken from teſtimonies of ſcripture. 3. 22.

Of them that make a foreknowlege of merits the cauſe of predeſtination. Alſo of other men that blame God, becauſe he electeth ſome and paſſeth over others. 3. 22. 1.

God as well in election as in reprobation hath no reſpect of works neither paſſed nor to come, but his good pleaſure is the cauſe of both. 3. 22. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11.

This is proved by Auguſtine, ſect. 8. and the trifling ſubtle device of Thomas to the contrary is confuted. ſect. 9.

The promiſe of ſalvation are not directed to all, but peculiarly to the elect. 3. 22. 10.

Theſe two ſayings do not diſagree that God by the outward preaching of the word calleth many, and yet he giveth the gift of faith to few. 3. 22. 10.

Againſt them who ſo confeſs election, that yet they deny any to be reprobate of God. 3. 23. 1.

The reprobate do in vain contend with God, foraſmuch as God oweth them nothing, and willeth nothing otherwiſe than righteouſly, and they themſelves may find juſt cauſes of their damnation in themſelves. 3. 23. 2, 3, 4, 5.

An anſwer to the wicked queſtion of certain men, why God ſhould become men for theſe things whereof he hath laid a neceſſity upon them by his predeſtination. 3. 23. 6, 8, 9.

A definition of predeſtination. 3. 23. 8.

A confutation of them who gather of the doctrine of predeſtination, that God hath reſpect of perſons. 3. 23. 10, 11.

Againſt thoſe hogs who under colour of predeſtination do go careleſly forward in their ſins: and againſt all them who ſay that if this doctrine take place, all endeavour of well doing decayeth 3. 23. 12.

Againſt them who ſay, that this doctrine overthroweth all exhortations to godly life, it is proved by Auguſtine that preaching hath its courſe, and yet the knowlege of predeſtination is not hindred thereby. 3. 23. 13.

In this point of doctrine we muſt ſo temper our manner of teaching the truth, that ſo far as we may, we wiſely beware of offence. 3. 23, 14.

Where-

Whereas ſome obey the preaching of the word of God, and other ſome deſpiſe it, or are more blinded and hardened thereby, although this come to paſs by their own malice and unthankfulneſs, yet we muſt therewith alſo know, that this diverſity dependeth upon the ſecret counſel of God, than which it is unlawful for to ſearch for any further cauſe. 3. 24. 12, 13, 14.

An expoſition of certain places, wherein God ſeemeth to deny that it cometh to paſs by his ordinance that the wicked periſh, but in aſmuch as againſt his will they wilfully bring deſtruction upon themſelves. And there is ſhewed that thoſe places make nothing againſt the doctrine of predeſtination. 3. 24. 15, 16.

The univerſalneſs of the promiſes of ſalvation, maketh nothing againſt the doctrine of the predeſtination of the reprobate: and yet not without cauſe are they framed univerſally. 3. 24. 16.

Here alſo are confuted certain objections of them who deny this point of doctrine.

Prieſthood, kingdom and prophetical office of Chriſt.

That we may know to what end Chriſt was ſent of his Father, and what he brought unto us, three things are chiefly to be conſidered in him, his prophetical office, his kingdom, and his prieſthood: and therefore is given to him the title of Chriſt (or Meſſias which ſignifieth Anointed) although he be eſpecially ſo called in reſpect of his kingdom. Although that God always gave prophets and teachers to his church, yet it is proved that all the godly looked for full light of underſtanding, only at the coming of Meſſias: and that he when he appeared was anointed a prophet, not only for himſelf, but alſo for all his body. 2. 15. 1, 2.

As touching his kingdom, firſt we muſt note the ſpiritual nature thereof, whereupon alſo is gathered the eternal continuance of it, which is of two ſorts; the one pertaineth to the whole body of the church, the other is proper to every member; both ſorts are declared and plainly ſet forth by teſtimonies of ſcripture. 3 15. 3.

It is declared that the profit of the kingdom of Chriſt cannot otherwiſe be perceived of us, but when we acknowlege it to be ſpiritual; and the ſame profit conſiſteth in two things, namely that it inricheth us with all good things neceſſary to eternal ſalvation, ſecondly, that it fortifieth us with ſtrength and virtue againſt the devil and all his aſſaults. And ſo Chriſt reigneth for us rather than for himſelf, whereupon we are rightfully called Chriſtians; where it is ſaid that at the laſt day he ſhall yield up his kingdom to God and his Father, and ſuch like ſayings, the ſame maketh nothing againſt the eternity of his kingdom. 4. 15. 4, 5.

As touching his prieſthood, that the efficacy and profit thereof may come to us, it is ſhewed that we muſt begin at the death of Chriſt. Hereupon it followeth that he is an everlaſting interceſſor, by whoſe mediationwe obtain favour, whereby ariſeth to godly conſciences both boldneſs to pray, and quietneſs: finally that he is ſo a prieſt, that he joineth us in the fellowſhip of ſo great an honour, to the end that the ſacrifices of prayers and praiſe which come from us, may be acceptable to God. 2. 15 6.

Promiſes.

Not without cauſe all the promiſes are concluded in Chriſt; foraſmuch as every promiſe is a teſtifying of the love of God toward us, and none of us is beloved of God without Chriſt. Neither was Naaman the Syrian, Cornelius the captain, nor the eunuch to whom Philip was carried, without knowlege of Chriſt, although they had but a very ſmall taſte of him, and a faith in ſome part unexpreſſed. 3. 2 32.

The Lord, to the end to fill our hearts with love of righteouſneſs and hatred of wickedneſs, was not content to ſet forth bare commandments only, but addeth promiſes of bleſſings both of this preſent life and of eternal bleſſedneſs, and alſo threatnings both of preſent miſeries, and of eternal death; the threatnings declare the great pureneſs of God, The promiſes do ſhew his great love to righteouſneſs, and his wonderful goodneſs toward men. 2. 8. 4

Of the promiſe of God's mercy to be extended to a thouſand generations. 2. 8 21

Although the promiſes of the law are conditional, yet they are not given in vain. 2. 7. 4.

Prophetical office of Chriſt.

See prieſthood.

Providence of God.

Prophane men, by fleſhly underſtanding do confeſs God the creator, otherwiſe than we do by faith; foraſmuch as faith doth teach that he is alſo the governor of all thing not by a certain univerſal motion but by a ſingular providence which extendeth even to the leaſt ſparrow. 1. 16. 1.

They who give any thing to fortune, do bury the providence of God, by whoſe ſecret council all ſucceſſes are governed. 1. 16. 2.

Things without life, although each of them have their property naturally planted in them, yet do not put forth their force, but ſo far as they are directed by the preſent hand of God; which is proved by the ſun, before which he would both light to be, and the earth to abound with all kind of good things; which alſo we read to have ſtood ſtill by the ſpace of two days, and gone back two degrees at the commandment of God. 1. 16. 2. alſo by the ſtars and ſigns of the heaven, which the unbelievers do fear. ſect. 3.

The almightineſs of God is buſied in continual doing, ſo that it extendeth to every particular act, and nothing happeneth but by his counſel; which whoſo do not acknowlege they defraud God of his glory and do extenuate his goodneſs; but we on the other ſide do receive double fruit thereof. 1. 16. 3.

It is proved that the providence of God doth not behold things that are done, but governeth all ſucceſſes;

whereby is overthrown the feigned invention of bare foreknowlege and of universal providence only: also the error of the Epicures is confuted, and of them who give to God a government only above the middle region of the air. Yet there may a certain universal providence be granted, but so, that the special providence be not darkened, which doth govern not only certain but all particular actions. 1. 16. 4, 5.

That not only the beginning of motion is in the disposing of God, is proved by the plentifulness of one year and the barrenness of another, for whereas God calleth the one his blessing, and the other his curse and vengeance. 1. 16. 5.

The providence of God in governing the world, is chiefly to be considered in mankind, and in the diverse estate of all men, and diverse disposing of successes. 1. 16, 6. 7.

Against them who cavil, that this doctrine of the providence of God, is the stoics doctrine of fate or destiny. 1. 16. 8.

Whether any thing happen by fortune or chance: where is rehearsed the saying of Basilius Magnus, that chance and fortune are words of heathen men: also the saying of Augustine, that he repented that he had used the name of fortune. Yet those things may be said to happen by fortune in respect of us, which being considered in their nature, or weighed according to our knowlege do seem so, although in the secret counsel of God they are necessary: also all things that are to come, may be said to be happening, inasmuch as they are uncertain to us. 1. 16. 8, 9.

What things are to be considered, that the doctrine of the providence of God, may be referred to a right hand, that we have the profit thereof: and where the causes of those things that happen, appear not unto us, we must beware that we do not think, that things are rolled by the sway of fortune: but we must so reverence his secret judgements, that we esteem his will the most just cause of all things. 1. 17. 1.

Against certain dogs who at this day do bark against the providence of God, it is proved by the scripture that whereas God hath so revealed his will in the law, and the gospel that he illuminateth the minds of them that are his with the spirit of understanding, to perceive the mysteries therein contained, which otherwise are incomprehensible, yet the order of governing the world is called a bottomless depth, because when we know not the causes thereof, yet we ought reverently to honour it. 1. 17. 2.

Such prophane men do foolishly cumber themselves, when they alledge that if the doctrine of the providence of God be true, then the prayers of the faithful in which they ask any thing for time to come are vain, no counsel is to be taken for things to come, and then men who do any thing against the law of God, do not sin: these dangerous errors they shall avoid, who in considering the providence of God, shall frame themselves to true modesty. 1. 17. 3.

As concerning things to come, it is proved that the scripture doth well join the advisements of men with the providence of God: because we are not hindred by his eternal decrees, but that under his will, we may both foresee for our selves, and order our own things: for the knowlege of consulting and taking heed, are inspired into men by the Lord, whereby we may serve his providence, in the preserving of our own life. 1. 17 4.

In all successes of time past the will of God doth govern; and yet the doers of wicked deeds are not excused, because they are accused by their own conscience, and do not obey the will of God, but their own lust. They are indeed the instruments of God's providence, but so, that they find the whole evil in themselves, and in God is found nothing but a lawful use of their evilness. 1. 17. 5. and 1. 18. 4. Where also the same thing is shewed in the election of king Jeroboam, the ten tribes forsaking the house of David, the slaughter of the sons of Achab, and in the betraying of the Son of God.

A godly and holy meditation of the providence of God, which is taught by the rule of godliness first that being certainly persuaded that nothing happeneth by fortune, we always cast our eyes to God the chief cause of all things: then that we doubt not his singular providence watcheth for us, whether we have to do with men as well evil as good, or with his other creatures; to which use we must apply the promises of God in the scripture which testify the same, the examples whereof are rehearsed. 1. 17. 6.

We must also adjoin those testimonies of scripture which teach that all men are under the power of God, whether we need to get their good wills to restrain the malice of our enemies: which last point God worketh divers ways, sometimes by taking away their wit, and sometimes by granting it, he aweth them that they dare not go about that which they have conceived: and sometimes also when he suffereth them to go about it, he breaketh their enterprises: upon which knowlege necessarily followeth a thankfulness of mind in so prosperous successes of things. 1. 17. 7.

In adversity when we are hurt by men, is required patience and quiet moderation of mind: which is shewed in the examples of Joseph being afflicted of his brethren, Job persecuted of the Chaldees, and David railed upon by Shemei. If we happen to be distressed with any misery without the work of men, this self same doctrine is the best remedy against impatience because the scripture testifieth, that even adversities also do come from God. 1. 17 8.

A godly man principally regarding the providence of God, yet will not live inferior causes unmarked. Therefore if he have received a benefit of any man, he will heartily know and confess himself to be bound unto him. If he have taken harm or done harm to any other by his negligence or want of heed, he will impute it unto himself, much less will he excuse his own offences In things to come chiefly he will have consideration of inferior causes, but yet so that in determining

ing he will not be carried away with his own judgmnet but commit himself to the wisdom of God; neither shall his trust so stay upon outwards helps, that he will carelesly rest upon them if he have them, nor be dismayed for fear if he want them. 1. 17. 9.

A large description of the inestimable felicity of a godly mind which resteth upon the providence of God: and on the otherside the miserable carefulness wherewith we must needs be distressed when the weakness of this earthly cottage maketh us subject to so many diseases, since our life and safety is besieged with infinite dangers at home, abroad, upon the land, in the water, by men, and by devils. 1. 17. 10, 11.

Those places of scripture, where it is said that God repented him: maketh nothing against the doctrine of providence, forasmuch as therein (like as also when he is said to be angry) the scripture applying it self to our capacity describeth him, not such as he is, but such as we feel him to be. Likewise, where he spared the Ninivites. to whom he had threatned destruction within forty days: whereas he prolonged the life of Hezekiah for many years, to whom he had declared present death: because such threatnings contain an unexpressed condition. Which is well proved by a like example in king Abimelech, who was rebuked for Abraham's wife. 1. 17. 12, 13, 14.

A confutation of them who coveting to get a praise of modesty, go about to maintain the righteousness of God with a lying defence, when they say: that those things which Satan and all the the reprobates do naughtily, are done by the sufferance of God, and not by his providence and will. And it is proved by the affliction of Job, the deceiving of Achab, the killing of Christ, the incestous adultery of Absalom, and many other examples, that men do work nothing but that which he hath already decreed with himself, and doth appoint so to be by his secret direction. 1. 18. 1.

And this hath place, not only in outward doings, but also in secret motions. For it is proved by the hardning of Pharaoh, and other testimonies, that God worketh even in the minds also and hearts of the wicked. Neither maketh it any thing to the contrary, that oftentimes the work of Satan is used therein: for God worketh nevertheless, but after his own manner, using a just revenge 1. 18. 2. therefore God is not the author of sins. sect. 4.

They are proved guilty of intollerable pride, who refuse this doctrine under pretence of modesty. A confutation of their objection when they say that if nothing happen but with the will of God, then hath he in himself two contrary wills, forasmuch as he doth appoint those things to be done by his secret counsel, which he hath openly forbidden by his laws. And there is shewed, that God doth not disagree with himself, that the will of God is not changed, that he doth not feign himself to disallow that which he willeth: but whereas there is in God, but one simple will, the same to us appeareth diverse, because for the weakness of our understanding, we conceive not how he diversly both willethn ot and willeth the self same thing to be done. Finally it is, proved by Augustine, that man sometimes with good will willeth something which God willeth not: and sometimes willeth that thing with evil will, which God willeth with good will. 1. 18. 3.

The consideration of God's power in governing this frame of heaven and earth, and all parts that are in them 1. 5. 5.

The fellowship of men is so governed by the providence of God, that he sheweth himself liberal, merciful, righteous, and severe. 1. 5. 6.

Those things which in the life of men are counted chances, as well of prosperity as adversity are so many tokens of the heavenly providence, 1. 5. 7. and ought to awaken us to the hope of the life to come. sect. 9.

How God worketh in the hearts of them that are his, and Satan in them that are his, but yet so, that they are not excused. 2. 4. 1.

God worketh also in the wicked, and even in the same work wherein worketh, and yet is not God so said to be the author of sin, neither is Satan or the wicked excused, but there is difference between the one and the other, both in the end and manner of doing. 2. 4. 2, 5.

The old writers oftentimes referred these things, not to the working of God, but to his foreknowlege or sufferance, lest the wicked should thereby take occasion to speak irreverently of the works of God. But the scripture when it saith that God blindeth, hardeneth, and such like, declareth somewhat more than a sufferance: although God do work two ways in the reprobate, namely of forsaking them, and taking his spirit from them, and also by delivering them to Satan the minister of his wrath. 2. 4. 3, 4.

The ministry of Satan is used to stir forward the reprobate, whensoever the Lord by his providence directeth them hither or thither. 2. 4. 5.

Purgatory.

We ought not to wink at the doctrine of purgatory, forasmuch as it is a damnable invention of Satan which maketh void the cross of Christ, &c. 3. 5. 6.

An exposition of certain places of scripture which the Papist do wrongfully wrest to the confirmation of their purgatory. 3. 5. 7, 8, 9.

An answer to the objection of the Papists that it hath been an ancient usage of the church that prayers should be made for the dead. Where is shewed that this was done by them in the old time, without the word of God, by a certain wrongful imitation, lest Christians if they were slow in having care of funerals and the dead, should seem worse than heathen men. Yet herein was a great difference between this slipping of these old men, and the obstinate error of the Papists. 3. 5. 10.

R.

Redeemer Christ.

THE knowlege of God the creator is unprofitable unto us, unless faith do also follow, setting him

forth in Chriſt a father and redeemer to us, and this doctrine from the beginning of the world in all ages hath been holden among the children of God. 2. 6. 1.

It is proved by divers arguments, and teſtimonies of ſcripture, that the happy ſtate of the church hath always been grounded upon the perſon of Chriſt. For both the firſt adoption of the choſen people, and the preſerving of the church, the deliverance of them in perils, and the reſtoring after their diſſipation did always depend upon the grace of the mediator. And the hope of all the godly was never repoſed any other where than in Chriſt. 2. 6. 2, 3, 4.

It is to be diligently conſidered how Chriſt hath fulfilled the office of Redeemer, that we may find in him all things neceſſary for us, ſince (as Bernard ſaith) he is to us light, meat, oil, ſalt, &c. 2, 16. 1.

An expoſition how we ſhould ſay that God was our enemy until he was reconciled to us by Chriſt, whereas to give Chriſt to us, and to prevent us with mercy, were ſigns of the love wherewith he before embraced us. And there is ſhewed that the ſcripture uſeth this ſpeech and ſuch other, to apply it ſelf to our capacity; and yet it doth not the ſame falſely. And all this is proved by the authority of ſcripture, and the teſtimony of Auguſtine. 2. 16. 2, 3.

Regeneration.

Againſt certain Anabaptiſts, who invent a phrantic intemperance inſtead of ſpiritual regeneration, namely that the children of God being now reſtored into the ſtate of innocency, ought no more to be careful to bridle the luſt of the fleſh, but only to follow the Spirit for their guide. 3. 3. 13.

The reſt pertaining to this matter, ſee in the title of repentance.

Religion.

Neceſſity enforceth the reprobate to confeſs that there is ſome God. 1. 4. 4.

They are deceived who ſay that religion was deviſed by the ſubtilty of certain men to hold the ſimple people in order. 1. 3. 2.

The very wicked and godleſs men are compelled whether they will or no to feel that there is a God. 1. 3. 2. and in what ſenſe David ſaith, that they think that there is no God. 1, 4. 2.

Remiſſion of ſins.

Againſt them who dream of perfection in this life, which taketh away need of aſking pardon. 3. 20. 45.

Of remiſſion of ſins: and in what ſenſe ſins are called debts, and how we are ſaid to forgive others that have offended againſt us. 3. 20. 45.

Of the diſtinction of fault and pain, where with moſt ſtrong teſtimonies of ſcripture the doting error of the papiſts is confuted, namely, that when the fault is forgiven, yet God retaineth the pain, which remaineth to be redeemed with ſatisfactions. 3. 4. 29, 30. and there alſo is ſhewed that they cannot eſcape away with their diſtinction between everlaſting pain and temporal pains.

Of certain place of ſcripture wherewith they go about to confirm their error where is declared that there are two kinds of the judgment of God: the one of vengeance, the other of chaſtiſement, which are wiſely to be diſtinguiſhed aſunder. 4. 4. 31.

The firſt of theſe, that is to ſay, vengeance, the faithful have alway earneſtly prayed to eſcape: the other, that is to ſay, chaſtiſment, they have received with quiet mind, becauſe it hath a teſtimony of love. And where it is ſaid that God is angry with his ſaints, the ſame is not meant of his purpoſe or affection to puniſh them, but is ſpoken of the vehement feeling of ſorrow wherewith they are ſtricken ſo ſoon as they bear any part of his ſeverity; and this is profitable for them. On the other ſide, the reprobate, when they are ſtricken with the ſcourges of God do already after a certain manner begin to feel the pains of his judgment. All which things are proved by teſtimonies of the ſcripture, and alſo by the expoſitions of Chryſoſtom and Auguſtine. 3. 4. 32, 33.

God when he had forgiven the adultery of David, chaſtiſed him both for common example, and alſo to humble him; and for this reaſon he daily maketh the faithful (to whom he is merciful) ſubject to the common miſeries of this life. 3. 4. 35.

An expoſition of the article of the creed concerning remiſſion of ſins. 4. 1. 20, 21.

The keys were given to the church, to forgive ſins, not only to men at their firſt converſion to Chriſt, but to the faithful all their life long. 4. 1. 22.

This doctrine is proved by teſtimonies of ſcripture againſt the Novatians, and certain of the Anabaptiſts who feign that the people of God are by baptiſm regenerate into an angelic life, and afterward there remaineth no pardon for them that fall. 4. 1. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27.

A confutation of them who make a voluntary tranſgreſſion of the law a ſin unpardonable. 4. 1. 28.

Repentance.

Repentance cometh of faith, and goeth not before it. 3. 3. 1.

A confutation of their reaſons, who think otherwiſe, but hereby is not ſignified any ſpace of time wherein faith breedeth repentance: but only is ſhewed that no man can earneſtly endeavour himſelf to repentance unleſs he know himſelf to be God's. Of the error of certain Anabaptiſts, Jeſuits, and ſuch other, who appoint to their novices certain days for repentance. 3. 3. 2.

Certain learned men long before this time, made two parts of repentance, namely mortification, which they commonly call contrition, vivification which they wrongfully expound to be comfort by the feeling of the mercy of God: whereas it rather ſignifieth a deſire to live well. 3. 3. 3.

They do alſo make two other ſorts of repentance, the one of the law, the other of the goſpel: where alſo are ſhewed examples of either ſort out of the ſcripture

ture. 3. 3. 4.

A true definition of repentance taken out of the ſcripture, and here repentance though it cannot be ſevered, yet ought to be diſtinguiſhed from faith. 3. 3. 5.

A plainer declaration of the definition of repentance: where firſt is ſhewed, that there is required a turning to God, that is to ſay, an alteration, not only in outward works, but alſo in the ſoul it ſelf. 3. 3. 6. then that it proceedeth of an earneſt fear of God: where alſo is treated of the ſorrowfulneſs that is according to God. 3. 3. 7.

Thirdly, that ſaying is declared that repentance conſiſteth of two parts, the mortification of the fleſh, and the quickening of the ſpirit. 3. 3. 8.

Both theſe things do we obtain by partaking of Chriſt, the firſt by communicating of his death, the ſecond of his reſurrection. Therefore repentance is a new forming of the image of God in us, and a reſtoring into the righteouſneſs of God by the benefit of Chriſt: and this reſtoring is not fulfilled in us in one moment. 3. 3. 9.

But there remaineth in all the ſaints, while they live in mortal body, matter of ſtrife with their fleſh, and ſo thought all the eccleſiaſtical writers that have been of ſound judgment: and eſpecially Auguſtine, who calleth this nouriſhment of evil, and diſeaſe of luſting in the elect, weakneſs, and ſometimes ſin: and indeed it is ſin. 3. 3. 10.

This is confirmed by the teſtimony of Paul, and by the ſum of the commandments. Whereas it is ſaid that God cleanſeth his church from all ſin, the ſame is ſpoken rather of the guiltineſs of ſin, then of the matter of ſin it ſelf, which ceaſeth not to dwell in the regenerate (but ceaſeth to reign in them) though it be not imputed. 3. 3. 11.

A declaration of the ſeven cauſes or effects, or parts or affections of repentance, which Paul rehearſeth. Thoſe be ſtudy or carefulneſs, excuſing, diſpleaſure, fear, deſire, zeal, revenge. Whereunto alſo is added out of Paul, and declared by an excellent admonition of Bernard, that in ſuch renewing we muſt keep a meaſure. 3. 3. 15.

The fruits of repentance are devotion toward God, charity toward men, holineſs and pureneſs in all our life; but all theſe ought to begin at the inward affection of the heart, from whence outward teſtimonies may afterward ſpring forth; where alſo is ſpoken of certain outward exerciſes of repentance, which the old writers ſeem to enforce ſomewhat too much. 3. 3. 16.

Turning of the heart to God is the chief point of repentance: ſackcloth and aſhes, weeping and faſting, were uſed of them in the old time before Chriſt, as token of public repentance; of which the two laſt may yet be uſed to appeaſe the wrath of God in the miſerable times of the church. 3. 3. 17.

The name of repentance or penance is unproperly drawn from its natural ſenſe to this outward profeſſion. Public confeſſion is not always neceſſary in ſins: but private confeſſion to God may never be omitted, wherein we ought to confeſs not only theſe things that we have lately committed, but the diſpleaſure of our grievous fall ought alſo to call us back to remembrance of our paſſed offences. Of ſpecial penance which is required of hainous offenders and certain others: and of the ordinances, which the children of God, even the moſt perfect, ought to uſe all their life long. 3. 3. 18.

God doth therefore freely juſtify them that be his, that he may alſo with the ſanctification of his ſpirit reſtore them into true righteouſneſs; therefore John, Chriſt, and the apoſtles preached repentance and remiſſion of ſins. The effect of which ſaying is declared. 3. 3. 19.

Chriſtians ought to exerciſe themſelves in a continual repentance, and he hath moſt profited, that hath learned moſt to miſlike himſelf. 3. 3. 20.

Repentance is a ſingular gift of God, unto which he calleth all men, which he giveth to all them whom he purpoſeth to ſave, and which the apoſtle pronounceth, that it ſhall never be given to wilful apoſtates whoſe wickedneſs is unpardonable, that is to ſay, ſuch as have ſinned againſt the Holy Ghoſt. 3. 3. 8.

Although feigned repentance doth not pleaſe God, yet he ſometimes for a ſeaſon ſpareth hypocrites who make a ſhew of ſome converſion, which he doth not for their ſakes, but for common example, that we may learn more chearfully to give our minds to unfeigned repentance; and this is proved by the examples of Achab, Eſau, and the Iſraelites. 3. 3. 25.

The ſchool ſophiſters do foully err in thoſe definitions which they make of repentance, and no better do they divide it, when they part it into contrition of heart, confeſſion of mouth, and ſatisfaction of works; where is treated of certain queſtions which they move; whereupon is eaſily gathered, that they babble of things which they know not, when they ſpeak of repentance. 3. 4. 1.

When they require thoſe three things in repentance they muſt needs bind thereunto forgiveneſs of ſins: and if it be ſo, then are we moſt miſerable, foraſmuch as we can never have quietneſs of conſcience; which is proved firſt in that contrition of heart ſuch as they require. 3. 4. 2.

There is a great difference between the doctrine of ſuch contrition, and that contrition which the ſcripture requireth of ſinners, that they truly hunger and thirſt for the mercy of God. 3. 4. 3.

In what ſenſe the old writers thought that ſolemn penance, which was then required for hainous offences, might no more be often done then baptiſm. 4. 1. 29.

Reaſon of man.

Man's underſtanding is not ſo to be condemned of perpetual blindneſs, that we leave it no whit of underſtanding in any kind of thing: but it hath ſome knowlege inaſmuch as he is naturally carried with deſire to ſearch our truth: and yet this deſire by and by falleth into vanity, becauſe the mind of man cannot for dulneſs keep the right way to ſearch our truth, and for the moſt

part he diſcerneth not of what things it is behoveful for him to ſeek the true knowlege. 2. 2. 12.

As touching earthly things it is proved by examples that the mind of man hath a ſharp underſtanding, as firſt of houſholds, ſince every man underſtandeth that the fellowſhip of men muſt be holden together by laws, and comprehendeth in mind the principles of thoſe laws. 2. 2. 13.

Alſo in liberal arts and handy crafts for learning whereof, yea for amplifying and garniſhing of the ſame, there is in man a certain aptneſs, although ſome be more apt than others. But the light of reaſon and underſtanding of men, i s ſo a general good quality in all men, that yet it is a free gift of Gods liberality toward every man: which thing God ſheweth when he createth ſome idiots and dull witted; alſo when he maketh one man to excel in ſharp invention, another in judgment, another in quickneſs of mind, again when he poureth into men ſingular motions according to every man's calling, and according to the time and matter that is to be done. 2. 2, 14, 17.

The invention of arts, the orderly teaching of deep and excellent knowlege thereof, which appear to have been in the old lawyers, philoſophers, phyſicians, being prophane men, do declare unto us, that the mind of men how much ſoever it be fallen from his firſt uprightneſs, is yet ſtill garniſhed with excellent gifts of God. 2. 2. 15.

They are the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt which the Lord giveth to whom he will, even to the ungodly for the public benefit of mankind; therefore we ought to uſe them although they be communicate unto us by the miniſtry of the wicked, to whom they are but tranſitory and fleeting, becauſe they are without the ſound foundation of truth 2. 2. 16.

It is ſhewed in the firſt two points that man's reaſon ſeeth nothing that concerneth the kingdom of God and heavenly matters, which are contained in three things, that is to ſay, to know God, his fatherly favour toward us, and the way to frame our life according to the rule of his law. 2. 2. 18. and to that purpoſe are alleged divers teſtimonies of ſcripture. Sect. 19. 20. 21. In the third it ſeemeth that he hath ſome more underſtanding than in the other, foraſmuch as man is inſtructed by the law of nature to a right rule of life. But ſuch knowlege is unperfect in the unbelievers, and availeth to no other end, but to make them unexcuſable: neither do they by that natural light, ſee the truth in every thing. And here is expounded the ſaying of Themiſtius, that underſtanding in the univerſal definition is ſeldom deceived, but the error is when it deſcendeth to particular cauſes, and there is ſhewed that man's univerſal judgment in the difference of good and evil, is not always ſound and upright. For it attaineth not thoſe which are the chief things in the firſt table of the law, namely of confidence in God, &c. In theſecond table, altho' it have ſome more underſtanding, yet it appeareth that it ſometimes erreth; as when it judgeth that it is an abſurdity to ſuffer too imperious government, and not revenge wrongs; alſo it knoweth not the diſeaſe of deſire in the whole obſervation of the law. 2. 2. 22, 23, 24.

It is proved by the ſcripture, that the ſharpneſs of our reaſon in all the parts of our life, is nothing before the Lord, and our minds do reap the grace of enlightning, not only at the beginning, or for one day, bt at every moment. 2. 2. 25.

See under the title of free-will, certain things pertaining to this matter.

Reſurrection of Chriſt.

Without the reſurrection of Chriſt all is unperfect that we believe concerning his croſs, death and burial, thereof we receive three profits; foraſmuch as it hath both purchaſed us righteouſneſs before God, and is to us a pledge of the reſurrection to come, and by his life we are now regenerate into newneſs of life. 2. 16. 13.

A declaration of the hiſtory of the reſurrection of Chriſt. 3. 25. 3.

Laſt reſurrection.

Foraſmuch as the faithful, do chiefly need hope and patience, leſt they ſhould faint in the courſe of their calling; he hath ſoundly profited in the goſpel who is accuſtomed to a continual meditation of the bleſſed reſurrection. 3. 25. 1, 2.

The article concerning the laſt reſurrection, containeth a doctrine of great weight; grave and hard to believe; for the overcoming of which hardneſs by faith, the ſcripture giveth two helps, the example of Chriſt, and the almightineſs of God. 3. 25. 3, 4.

A confutation of the Sadducees, which deny the reſurrection; and of the Millenaries who appoint the kingdom of Chriſt to endure but a thouſand years. 3. 25. 5.

A confutation of their error, who imagine that ſouls at the laſt day ſhall not receive again the bodies wherewith they are now clothed, but ſhall have new and other bodies. 3. 25. 7, 8.

Of the manner of the laſt reſurrection. 3. 25. 8.

By what reaſon, the laſt reſurection, which is a ſingular benefit of Chriſt, is common alſo to the wicked and the accurſed of God. 3. 25. 2.

S.

Sabbath.

AN expoſition of the fourth commandment, the end thereof, and the three cauſes whereupon we muſt note that it conſiſteth. 2. 8. 28.

The firſt cauſe is a ſhadowing of ſpiritual reſt, that is to ſay, of our ſanctification: this is is proved by divers places to have been the chief thing in the ſabbath, 2. 8. 29.

Why the Lord appointeth the ſeventh day. 2. 8. 30, 31.

This

This part, forasmuch as it was ceremonial, is taken away by the death of Christ. 2. 8. 31.

The two latter causes, that is to say, that there there should be certain days appointed for assemblies in the church, and that there should be given to servants, a rest from their labour, do serve for all ages. 2. 8. 32.

Of days of meeting in the church to hear the word of God and common prayers: where is spoken of observing of the sabbath. 2. 8. 32, 33. and of superstition to be avoided in this behalf. 2. 8. 34.

Sacraments.

What is a sacrament. 4. 14. 1.

For what reason the old writers used this word in that sense. 4. 14. 2, 13.

A sacrament is never without a promise going before, which the Lord sealeth by that mean, wherein he provideth help for our ignorance and dulness, and also for our weakness. 4. 14. 3, 5, 6. 12.

A sacrament consisteth of the word and the outward sign: but the sacramental word is to be taken otherwise than the papists think. 4. 14. 4.

Sacraments cease not to be testimonies of the grace of God, although they be given also to the wicked, which do gather to themselves more grievous damnation thereby. 4. 14. 7.

Our faith is so confirmed by sacraments, that yet it dependeth upon the inward effectual working of the spirit. 4. 14. 10, 11. and no virtue is to be put in the creatures. sect. 12.

A confutation of the devilish doctrine of the sophistical schools, that the sacraments of the new law do justify and do give grace, so that we do not stop it with deadly sin. 4. 14. 14.

Augustine's good distinction between a sacrament and thing of the sacrament, whereby it is proved that though God in sacraments do truly offer Christ yet the wicked receive nothing but the sacrament, that is to say, the outward sign. 4. 14. 15, 16.

We must not think that there is joined or fastened to the sacraments any secret virtue, whereby they by themselves do give us the graces of the Holy Ghost. 4. 14. 17.

In the old time God gave unto his people some sacraments in miracles and some in natural things. And there is spoken of the tree of life and of the rainbow. 4. 14. 18.

Sacraments are on the Lord's behalf testimonies of grace and salvation, and on our behalf tokens of our profession. 4. 14. 19.

The sacraments of the old church under the law, tended to the same end that our sacrament do, that is to say, Christ: whom yet our sacraments do more plainly represent wherefore the schoolmens doctrine is to be rejected, who say, that the old sacraments did shew a shadow of the grace of God, and ours do give it presently. 4. 14. 20, 21, 22, 23, &c.

The five falsly named sacraments.

When we deny those five to be sacraments, which are invented by men, we strive not about the name but the thing: because the papists will have them to be visible forms of invisible grace. 4. 19. 1.

Many reasons are brought, why it is not lawful for men to make sacraments. Also there is a difference to be put between sacraments, and other seremonies. 4. 19. 2.

The number of seven sacraments cannot be proved by the authority of the old church. 4. 19. 3.

Although the old church under the law, had more sacraments, yet at this day, the Christian church ought to be content with those two, which Christ hath ordained: and it is not lawful for men to make others, nor to add unto those any thing of their own. 4. 18. 20.

Sacrifices.

A difference between the sacrifices of Moses's law, and the supper of the Lord in the Christian church. 4. 18. 12.

What the name of a sacrifice properly signifieth: and of the divers kinds of sacrifices under the law: which may be devided into two sorts, whereof some may be called of thanksgiving and other some propitiatory or of cleansing. 4. 18. 13.

Our only propitiatory sacrifice, is the death of Christ. Sacrifices of thanksgiving we have many, as all the duties of charity, prayers, praises, giving of thanks, and all that we do to the worshipping of God. 4. 18. 13. 16, 17.

This manner of sacrificing is daily used in the church, and in the Supper of the Lord: and thereupon all christians are sacrificing priests.

Satisfactions papistical.

Of satisfaction, which they make the third thing in penance, of retaining the pain, the fault being forgiven and such like lies, which are all overthrown, by setting against the free forgiveness of sins, by the name of Christ. 3. 4. 25.

A confutation of the blasphemous error of the schoolmen that forgiveness of sins, and reconciliation is once done in baptism we must rise again by satisfactions. 3. 4. 26.

By such error Christ is spoiled of his honour, and the peace of conscience is troubled, forasmuch as they can never certainly determine, that their sins are forgiven them. 3. 4. 27.

In Daniel when Nebuchadnezzar is commanded to redeem his sins with righteousness: that same redeeming is referred to God, rather than to men, and the cause of pardon is not there set forth, but rather the manner of true conversion. The same is to be said of certain other places of scripture. 3. 4. 36.

An exposition of that place in the gospel, 'Many 'sins are forgiven her, because she hath loved much:' meaning that love is not the cause, but the proof of forgiveness. 3. 4. 37.

The old writers of the church did not speak of satisfactions in such sense as the papists do: for they understand that the penitent do make satisfaction to the

the church, and not to God. 3. 4. 38, 39.

Scripture the word of God, and the authority thereof.

Men do not ſufficiently know God the Creator, and diſcern him from feigned gods, by conſideration of his creatures, unleſs they be alſo aſſiſted by the light of the word. And God hath kept this order in teaching them that are his not only ſince that he chooſe the Jews for his peculiar people, but alſo from the beginning, even toward Adam, Noah, and the other fathers. 1. 6. 1.

Either by oracles, or by viſions, or by the miniſtry of others, the fathers had the word which they were certainly perſuaded to be the word of God, whereby they knew the true GOD, the Creator and governor of all things: which word afterward, that he might provide for men in all ages, he cauſed to be written in the law and the prophets, as it were in public regiſters. 1. 6. 2, 3. in which place alſo is proved by teſtimonies of ſcripture, that the doctrine of the word muſt be joined to the conſideration of creatures, leſt we conceive a fickle knowlege of God.

Of them who ſay that the authority of ſcripture dependeth upon the judgment of the church, and in how ill caſe we ſhould be, if it were ſo. 1. 7. 1.

This error is well confuted by the place of Paul in the ſecond chapter to the Epheſians, where he ſaith that the faithful are builded upon the foundation of the apoſtles and prophets. 1. 7. 2.

In what ſenſe Auguſtine ſaith, that he would not have believed the goſpel, unleſs the authority of the church did move him: which place they do cavilloufly wreſt to the confirmation of their error. 1. 7. 3.

Although there be many other arguments, which do prove, yea, do inforce the wicked to confeſs that the ſcripture came from God, yet by no other mean than by the ſecret teſtimony of the Holy Ghoſt, our hearts are truly perſuaded that it is God who ſpeaketh in the law, in the prophets, and in the goſpel. And this is proved by many places of Iſaiah. 1. 7. 4, 5.

The orderly diſpoſition of the wiſdom of God, the doctrine ſavouring nothing of earthlineſs, the goodly agreement of all the parts among themſelves, and eſpecially that baſeneſs of contemptible words, uttering the high myſteries of the heavenly kingdom, are ſecond helps to eſtabliſh the credit of ſcripture. 1. 8. 1, 2. 11.

Alſo the antiquity of the ſcripture, whereas the books of other religions, are latter than the books of Moſes, which yet doth not himſelf invent a new God, but ſetteth forth to the Iſraelites, the God of their fathers. 1. 8. 3, 4.

Whereas Moſes doth not hide the ſhame of Levi his father, nor the murmuring of Aaron his brother, and of Miriam his ſiſter, nor doth advance his own children: the ſame are argument, that in his book is nothing feigned by man. 1. 8. 4.

Alſo the miracles which happened, as well at the publiſhing of the law, as in all the reſt of time. 1. 8. 5.

Which miracles, when the prophane writers could not deny, they cavilled, that Moſes did them by magical arts. Which ſlander is confuted by moſt ſtrong reaſons. 1. 8. 6.

Alſo whereas Moſes ſpeaking in the perſon of Jacob, aſſigneth the government to the tribe of Juda, and where he telleth before of the calling of the Gentiles, whereof the one came to paſs four hundred years after, and the other almoſt two thouſand years; theſe are arguments, that it is God himſelf who ſpeaketh in the books of Moſes. 1. 8. 7.

Whereas Iſaiah telleth before of the captivity of the Jews, and their reſtoring by Cyrus (who was born a hundred years after the death of Iſaiah) and where Jeremiah before that the people was led away appointeth their exile to continue three-ſcore and ten years, whereas Jeremiah and Ezekiel, being far diſtant in places the one from the other, do agree in all their ſayings, where Daniel telleth before of things to come, for ſix hundred years after; theſe are moſt certain proofs, to eſtabliſh the authority of the books of the prophets. 2. 8. 8.

Againſt certain ungodly ſcoffers who aſk how we know that thoſe are the writings of Moſes and the prophets, which are read in their names; and how we know that there was ever any ſuch Moſes. 1. 8. 9.

Alſo of them that aſk, from whence the copies of the books of the ſcripture came to us, foraſmuch as Antiochus commanded them all to be burned. And there is ſpoken of the wonderful providence of God in preſerving them ſo many ages, among ſo many enemies, and ſo cruel perſecutions. 1. 8. 10.

The ſimplicity of ſpeech of the firſt three evangeliſts, containing heavenly myſteries, the phraſe of John thundering from on high with weighty ſentences, the heavenly majeſty ſhinning in the writings of Peter and Paul, the ſudding calling of Matthew from the board, the calling of Peter and John from their fiſher-boats the preaching of the goſpel, the converſion and calling of Paul, being an enemy, to apoſtleſhip, are ſigns of the Holy Ghoſt ſpeaking in them. 1. 8. 11.

The conſent of ſo many ages, of ſo ſundry nations, and of ſo diverſe minds in embracing the ſcripture, and the rare godlineſs of ſome, ought to eſtabliſh the authority thereof among us. 1. 8. 12.

Alſo the blood of ſo many martyrs who for the confeſſion thereof, have ſuffered death with a conſtant and ſober zeal of God. 1. 8. 13.

Againſt certain phrentic men, who forſaking the reading of ſcripture and learning, do boaſt of the ſpirit and do fly to revelations. 1. 9. 1, 2.

A confutation of their objections that it is not meet that the Spirit of God, to whom all things ought to be ſubject, ſhould be ſubject to the ſcriptures. 1. 9. 2.

Alſo where they ſay that we reſt upon the letter which ſlayeth. 1. 9. 3.

The Lord hath joined with a mutual knot the certainty of his doctrine and of his ſpirit. 1. 9. 3.

Such as the beholding of the heaven and earth and and other creatures doth point out God unto us, ſuch doth

doth the ſcripture ſet him forth, that is to ſay, eternal, full of goodneſs, clemency, mercy, righteouſneſs, judgment and truth: and alſo to the ſame end. 1. 10. 1, 2.

What is to be thought of the power of the church in expoſition of ſcripture. 4. 9. 13.

The Romiſh doctors do wrongfully abuſe this colour to the confirmation of their errors and blaſphemies. 4. 9. 14.

Of ſinging in the church.

Voice and ſinging avail nothing in prayer, without affection of the heart. 3. 20. 31, 33.

Of the uſage of ſinging in churches. 3. 20. 32.

ſingle life.

Their ſhameleſneſs who do ſet forth the comelineſs of ſingle life for a thing neceſſary, to the great reproach of the old church. By what degrees this tyranny crept into the church: and how it cannot be defended by the pretence of certain old canons. 4. 12. 26, 27, 28.

Prieſts were forbidden to marry by wicked tyranny, and againſt the word of God, and againſt all equity. 4. 12. 23.

An anſwer to the adverſaries objection, that the prieſt muſt by ſome mark differ from the lay-people. 4. 12. 24.

The blaſphemy of the pope, ſaying that marriage is defiling and uncleanneſs of the fleſh. 4. 12. 24.

It is fond to defend the forbidding of marriage with the examples of the Levitical prieſts, which men they ſhould go into the ſanctuary, ly aſunder from their wives. 4. 12. 25.

Sin.

A confutation of Plato's ſaying, that men ſin not by ignorance: alſo of their opinion who ſay, that in all ſins there is an adviſed malice and frowardneſs. 2. 2. 22, 23, 25.

Againſt the falſe imagination of the ſophiſters concerning venial ſins, which they call deſires without a determined aſſent, which do not long reſt in the heart: it is proved that every ſin, even the lighteſt deſire deſerveth death, and is deadly, except in the ſaints who obtain pardon by the mercy of God. 2. 8. 58, 59.

A confutation of their fond diſtinction between deadly and venial ſins, and of their ſlander when they ſay that we make all ſins equal. 3. 4. 28.

How it is to be expounded, that God viſiteth the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation: and whether ſuch avenging be unſeemly for the righteouſneſs of God. 2. 19. 20.

Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt.

The true definition of ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, and examples thereof out of the ſcripture. 3. 3. 22.

It is not one or another particular falling, but a general forſaking, the deſcription whereof is declared by the Apoſtle. Neither is it any wonder if God will be always unappeaſable to them that have ſo fallen 3. 3. 23. foraſmuch as he promiſeth pardon only to them that repent, which they ſhall never do. And though the ſcripture do ſay that ſome ſuch have groaned and cryed, yet that was not repentance or converſion, but rather a blind torment by deſperation. 3. 3. 24.

Of the ſoul.

That the ſoul or ſpirit of man is not only a breath, but an immortal ſubſtance, although it were created, is proved by conſcience, by the knowlege of God, and by ſo many excellent gifts wherewith the mind of man is endued, yea, and by thoſe things which it conceiveth in ſleep, and alſo by many arguments taken out of the ſcripture. 1. 15. 2. Finally by this that is ſaid, that man was created after the image of God. ſect. 3.

Againſt them that under the colour of nature do deny the providence and government of God uttering itſelf in the marvellous (and in a manner) innumerable powers of the ſoul. 1. 5. 4, 5.

A confutation of the error of the Manichees and of Servetus, that the ſoul is a derivation of the ſubſtance of God: alſo of the error of Oſiander, who acknowlegeth no image of God in man without an eſſential righteouſneſs. 1. 15. 5.

Concerning the immortality of the ſoul, in a manner none of the philoſophers hath certainly ſpoken: but they do bind the powers thereof to this preſent life, whereas the ſcripture doth ſo give to it the chief rule in government of life, that it alſo ſtirreth up man to the worſhipping of God. Alſo of the diverſity of ſouls, and of the diviſion of the powers of the ſoul according to the philoſophers. 4. 15. 6.

Another diviſion more agreeable with Chriſtian doctrine, that is to ſay, that the powers of the ſoul are underſtanding and will: the office and force of either of them in man's firſt eſtate. 1. 15. 7, 8.

That there yet remaineth ſomewhat of the ſeed of religion yet imprinted even in the corruption of the ſoul. 1. 15. 16.

Of their error who thought that the whole man periſheth by death, and that the ſoul at the laſt ſhall riſe again with the bodies. 3. 25. 6.

Of the ſtate of ſouls from death to the laſt day. 3. 25. 6.

A deſcription taken out of Bernard, of the miſeries of a faithful ſoul, being conſidered as it is in itſelf, and of itſelf: and on the other ſide, of the aſſured glorifying of a faithful ſoul in Chriſt, who blotteth out all her unworthineſs. 3. 2. 25.

Superſtition.

The ſimplicity of the ſuperſtitious doth not excuſe them, becauſe their blindneſs is found to be mingled with vanity, pride, and obſtinacy. 1. 4. 1, 3.

When ſuperſtition goeth about to pleaſe God, it mocketh him with lying colours. 1. 4. 3.

The ſuperſtitious do not approach unto God but againſt their will and with ſervile fear. 1. 4. 4

Whoſoever do corrupt the true religion, although they follow the conſent of antiquity or the cuſtom of any city, yet they depart from the one and true God. 1. 5. 12.

It is proved by the etymology of the words, ſuper-

tition, religion, *Eusebia* or godliness, what difference is between religion and superstition. 1. 12. 1.

The craft of superstition, when granting the chief place to the one God it besetteth him with a rout of smaller gods. 1. 12, 1, 3.

Supper of the Lord.

Of the bread and wine the signs in the holy supper: and it is declared by his own words at his supper, why the Lord willed that we should use them. 4. 17. 1.

We gather a great fruit of confidence and sweetness out of this sacrament, which testifieth that we are so grown together into one body with Christ, that whatsoever is his, we may lawfully call it ours. 4. 17. 2.

This is declared by the words of the supper. 4. 17. 3.

The chief office of the sacrament is not to give unto us the body of Christ without any higher consideration, but rather to seal that promise wherein he testifieth that eis flesh is verily meat. 4. 17. 4.

The supper maketh not Christ then first to begin to be the bread of life, but that we should feel the force of that bread. He once gave his flesh for the life of the world, and daily giveth it to them that are his. We must beware that we do not too much abase or advance the signs. The eating of the flesh of Christ is not faith, but rather the effect of faith. 4. 17. 5.

So thought Chrysostom and Augustine and in what sense Augustine saith, that in believing we eat the flesh of Christ. 4. 17. 6.

They do not say enough, who passing over the mention of flesh and blood, do think that we are made partakers only of the spirit of Christ. The mystery of the supper is so great, that neither the tongue can express with speaking, nor the heart comprehend with thinking the greatness thereof. 4. 17. 7.

How far the perfect communicating of Christ extendeth. Where is delared that Christ, who from the beginning was the life giving word of the Father, made the flesh which he took upon him to be also life giving to us. 4. 17. 8, 9.

The faithful do truly eat of the same flesh how great distance of place soever there are between them and it. 4. 17. 10.

The mystery of the supper consisteth of two things, the bodily signs, and the spiritual truth: which spiritual truth containeth three things, signification, matter, and effect. 4. 17. 11.

Of the the transubstantiation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, which the craftsmen of the court of Rome have forged. 4. 17. 12, 13, &c. and 20.

They are without testimony of antiquity. And in what sense the old writers said, that in the consecration is made a secret turning. Also the signification of the supper agreeth not unless the substance of the outward signs remain. 4. 17. 14.

The bread is a sacrament to none but to men to whom the word is directed. And here are confuted certain arguments of the teachers of transubstantiation. 4. 17. 15.

Of some men, who though they do at one word grant that the substance of the signs remaineth, yet placing the body of Christ in bread and under bread, they fall back into the local presence, and feign a being every where. 4. 17. 16, 17, 18, 20.

A confutation of their objections. 4. 17. 21, 22. 23, &c.

It is proved that this doctrine is not maintained, neither by the testimony of Augustine, nor by authority of scripture. 4. 17. 28, 29, 30, 31.

A confutation of certain other of their objections, and chiefly of this that they say, that whatsoever we teach of spiritual eating, is against the true and real eating: where also is declared that the body of Christ is in the supper offered to the infidels, but they receive it not. 4. 17. 33.

Neither can the saying of Augustine be drawn to this purpose, that the sacraments are nothing appaired by the infidelity of men. Which is proved by diverse other testimonies of the same man. 4. 17. 34.

How the body and blood of Christ is given to us in the supper, and what manner of presence of Christ we ought to hold therein. 4. 17. 18, 19, 32.

Of the exposition of the words of Christ in the supper. 4. 17, 20, 21.

The body of Christ is contained in quantity, and comprehended in heaven until the last day, as it is proved by the scriptures. 4. 17, 26, 27.

Of the papists carnal adoration, and concomitance, and consecration of the host (as they call it) and carrying it about in pomp. 4. 17. 35, 36, 37.

The mystery of the supper ought to stir us up to giving of thanks, to exercise us in remembring the death of Christ, to kindle us to holiness of life, and chiefly to charity. 4. 17, 37, 38.

In the papacy the supper (the true ministration whereof is not without the word) is turned into a dumb action. And here is spoken of the laying up of the sacrament to be extraordinarily distributed to sick men. 4. 17. 39.

The doctrine of the papists, when they go about to prepare men to the worthiness of eating the body of Christ, doth in cruel wise torment consciences: and the devil could not by any readier way destroy men. Of the best remedy to avoid this destruction. They err who in the supper do require of the faithful perfection of faith. 4. 17. 41, 42.

As touching the outward usage of the ministration of the supper, there are many things indifferent: and how it ought to be ministred most comely. 4. 17. 43.

Of the small assembly at this day at the partaking of the supper, which is a token of contempt, wherewith the holy fathers in old time were much displeased: and how the custom which commandeth men to communicate once every year, was a most certain invention of the devil 4. 17. 44, 45, 46.

It is proved by authority of the scripture and by the usage of the old church, four hundred years before the death

death of Gregory, and by many other arguments, that the conſtitution which took away from lay-men the cup of the Lord, came out of the devils work-ſhop. 4. 17. 47, 48, 49, 50.

Of the concomitance of the blood in the fleſh of Chriſt, which is a popiſh invention. 4. 17. 47.

The ſupper of the Lord is prophanely abuſed, if it be given to all men without choice. Of the duty of miniſters in rejecting the unworthy. 4, 12. 5.

A brief ſum of thoſe things which we ought to know concerning the two ſacraments. And why the ſupper is oftentimes miniſtred, and baptiſm but once. 4. 18. 19.

Swearing.

An expoſition of the third commandment, in which theſe three things are contained, that we neither think nor ſpeak any thing of God, nor of his word and honourable myſteries, nor yet of any of his works, otherwiſe than reverently. 2. 8. 22.

A definition of ſwearing; where is declared that it is a kind of worſhipping of God. And therefore we muſt beware that our oaths contain not any diſhonour to the name God, which is done in foreſwearing: or any contempt of it, which is done in ſuperfluous oaths, or in which the name of any other than God is uſed. 2. 8. 23, 24, 25.

It is proved by ſcripture againſt the Anabaptiſts: that all oaths are not forbidden us, that Chriſt in the goſpel changed nothing as touching the rule of ſwearing, ſet forth in the law. 2. 8. 26. Which is proved by his own example: and not only public, but alſo private oaths are permitted, keeping the moderation which the law commandeth, 2. 8. 27.

T.

Temples.

OF temples of chriſtian men for aſſemblies of the congregation. 3. 20. 30.

It is proved by the authority of the old church, and the reaſons of Auguſtine, that it is not expedient, that there ſhould be any images in chriſtian temples. 1. 11. 13.

The preaching of the word and the ſacraments, are lively images which only are fit to be in chriſtian temples. 1. 11. 7, 13.

The wickedneſs of the Nicene ſynod which was holden by the commandment of Irene the empreſs, and the filthy follies thereof in allowing images in temples, and the worſhipping of them. 1. 11. 14, 15, 16.

Of the garniſhing of temples and holy things in the old church. 4. 4. 8. and 4. 5. 18.

Temptations.

Of diverſe kinds of temptations: and in what ſenſe it is ſaid that God tempteth us. 3. 20. 46.

Teſtament, Old, and New.

Of the likeneſs of the Old, and New Teſtaments: where is declared, that they are all one in ſubſtance and matter, but only do differ in miniſtration. The likeneſs ſtandeth chiefly in three points. 2. 10. 1, 2. The firſt point is that the Old Teſtament did not hold the fathers in earthly felicity, but had chief regard to the life to come. Which is proved by Paul, who ſaith that the promiſes of the goſpel are contained under it. 2. 10. 3.

The ſame alſo is proved by the law and the prophets: firſt, by conſidering the words of the covenant; I am your God. 2. 10. 7, 8.

Again, I will be the God of your ſeed after you. ſect. 9. Alſo by the life of the fathers, as Adam, Abel, Noah, ſect. 10. Abraham, ſect. 11. Iſaac, Jacob, ſect. 12, 13, 14. And by many teſtimonies of David. ſect. 15, 17, 17, 18. Of Job, ſect. 19. Generally of all the latter prophets, ſect. 20. But namely of Ezekiel. ſect. 21. Of Iſaiah and Daniel, ſect. 22. A concluſion of this point with rehearſing certain teſtimonies out of the New Teſtament. ſect. 23.

The ſecond point is that the Old Teſtament did not ſtand upon the merits of men, but upon the free mercy of God. The third point is that the covenant of the fathers with God, did then ſtand upon like knowlege of Chriſt the mediator. 2. 10. 4.

Alſo in ſignification of ſacraments the Iſraelites under the law were equal with the chriſtian people. 2. 10. 5. 6.

There are four differences of the old Teſtament from the new, whereunto we may add a fifth. The firſt is, that although in the old time alſo the Lord's will was to direct the ſouls of his people to the heavenly inheritance: yet to the end that they might be the better nouriſhed in the hope thereof, he gave it them to be holden, and after a certain manner taſted under earthly benefits. But now the grace of the life to come, being more clearly revealed by the goſpel, he directeth our minds the ſtraight way to the meditation thereof, leaving the inferior manner of exerciſing which he uſed among the Iſraelites. 2. 11. 1.

Therefore the old church is compared to an heir under age, which is governed by guardians. 2. 11. 2.

For this reaſon, the Fathers ſo much eſteemed this life, and the bleſſings thereof. 2. 11. 3.

The ſecond difference is in figures wherewith the Old Teſtament did ſhew forth the image and ſhadow of ſpiritual good things. The New Teſtament giveth the preſent truth and perfect body. There is alſo a reaſon ſhewed why the Lord kept this order: and a definition of the Old Teſtament. 2. 11. 4.

In this ſenſe it is ſaid, that the Jews were by the introduction or ſchooling of the law led unto Chriſt: before that he was delivered in the fleſh. 2. 11. 5. which appeared in the moſt excellent prophets that were endued with ſingular grace of the ſpirit. ſect. 6.

The third difference is taken out of the one and thirty chapter of Jeremiah, and the third chapter of the ſecond epiſtle to the Corinthians, that the Old Teſtament is literal, and the New Teſtament is ſpiritual: the Old bringeth death, the New is the inſtrument of

2. 11. 7, 8.

The fourth difference is, that the ſcripture calleth the Old Teſtament, the Teſtament of bondage becauſe it engendereth fear in mens minds: but the New is called the Teſtament of liberty, becauſe it raiſeth them up to confidence and ſurety. The three latter differences are compariſons of the law and the goſpel. The firſt containeth alſo the promiſes made before the law. The fathers lived ſo under the law and the Old Teſtament, that they ſtayed not there, but always aſpired to the New, yea and embraced a certain communicating thereof. 2. 11. 9, 10.

The fifth difference is, that before the coming of Chriſt, the Lord had ſevered one nation, in which he would keep the covenant of his grace, in the mean time neglecting all other nations. So the calling of the Gentiles is a certain ſign, wherewith the excellency of the New Teſtament is ſet forth above the old: a thing ſo incredible, that it ſeemed yet new to the apoſtles themſelves, being exerciſed in reading of the prophets, and endued with the Holy Ghoſt. 2. 11. 11, 12.

A concluſion of this matter, and an anſwer to diverſe objections of ſome men, who ſay that this variety in the church, this diverſe manner of teaching, ſo great change of uſages and ceremonies, is a great abſurdity. Where is declared that the conſtancy of God appeareth in this changing, and he hath done nothing but wiſely, righteouſly, and in mercy, when he governeth his church, after one ſort in childhood and after another ſort in riper age, and alſo when he did keep cloſe in one people the ſhewing forth of his grace before the coming of Chriſt, which afterward he poured forth upon all nations. 2. 11. 13, 14.

Theft.

An expoſition of the eight commandment: where is treated of divers kinds of theft, and ſome which although men judge otherwiſe yet are accounted thefts before God. And ſo he that doth not perform that which by the office of his calling he oweth to others, is a thief. 2. 8. 43.

What we ought to do, that we may obey this commandment, is ſhewed by divers examples according to the diverſity of perſons and offices. 2. 8. 46,

Traditions.

Foraſmuch as the Lord, willing to teach a rule of true righteouſneſs, hath drawn all the parts thereof to his own will, thereby it appeareth, that all the good works which men deviſe of their own wits, are nothing worth before him: but the true worſhipping ſtandeth upon obedience only, which is the beginning, mother and preſerver of all virtues. 2. 8. 5.

Of traditions of men, that is to ſay, ordinances proceeding from men, concerning the worſhipping of God; and of the ungodlineſs and uſeleſneſs of them. 4. 10. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8.

A diviſion of popiſh conſtitutions, which they call traditions of the church, into ſuch as contain ceremonies and other who are ſaid to pertain to diſcipline. The wickedneſs of both ſorts, becauſe they place the worſhip of God in them, and conſciences are bound with preciſe neceſſity of them. 4. 10. 9.

For them the commandment of God is made void. 4. 10, 10.

A true mark of mens tradition, which ought to be rejected of the church, and of all godly men. 4. 10. 16.

A confutation of the pretence which ſome men uſe that defend popiſh traditions to be of God, becauſe the church cannot err, and is governed by the Holy Ghoſt. 4. 10. 17.

It is a mere mockery to ſay, that the apoſtles were authors of the traditions, wherewith the church hath heretofore been oppreſſed. 4. 10. 18, 19, 20.

The example of the apoſtles, when they commanded the Gentiles to abſtain from things offered unto idols, from ſtrangled, and from blood, is falſely alleged to excuſe the tyranny of the Pope's laws. 4. 10. 21, 22.

The Lord's kingdom is taken from him, when he is worſhipped with the laws of mens traditions: which is proved by examples and teſtimonies of ſcripture to have always been a moſt hainous offence in the ſight of God. 4. 10. 23, 24.

The inventions of men connot be defended by the example of Manoah, who being a private man offered ſacrifice, nor of Samuel who ſacrificed in Ramath. 4. 10. 25. nor of Chriſt who willed men to bear the burdens that the ſcribes and Phariſees did bind together. 4. 10. 26.

Of holy and profitable ordinances of the church, and the end that they tend unto. 4. 10. 1.

Of ſuch ordinances of the church as ought to be accounted holy, namely thoſe which ſerve for comelineſs, or do preſerve order and peace in the church. 4. 10. 27, 28, 29. We muſt wiſely conſider, which be of that ſort. 4. 10. 30.

It is the duty of chriſtian people, to obſerve ſuch ordinances: and what errors herein are to be taken heed of; and how in the mean time, the liberty of conſciences may ſtill be preſerved ſafe, 4. 10. 31, 32.

Tributes.

Of tributes, taxes, impoſitions, and finances, which are paid to princes; and how princes may uſe them with a good conſcience. 4. 20. 13.

Trinity.

In one ſimple eſſence of God, we muſt diſtinctly conſider three perſons, or (as the Greeks call them) *Hypoſtaſes*. 1. 13. 2.

A confutation of them who in this matter do condemn the name of perſon, and reject it for newneſs. 1. 13. 3, 4, 5.

The holy doctors have been compelled to invent certain new words, to defend the truth of God againſt certain ſubtle men, who mocked it out with ſhifting; as againſt Arius they invented this word *Homouſion* conſubſtantial, and againſt Sabellicus the name of three properties

ſies or perſons. 1. 13. 4, 16.
The divers ſentences of Jerom, Hillary, and Auguſtine, in the uſe of theſe words. 1. 13. 5.
What we call a perſon, when we treat of the Trinity. 1. 13. 6.
Of the error of Servetus, in the taking of this word Perſon. 1. 13. 22.
As God hath more clearly opened himſelf by the coming of Chriſt, ſo he is ſince that time more familiarly made known in the three Perſons. 1. 13. 16.
Teſtimonies of ſcripture, whereby is ſhewed the diſtinction of the Father from the word, and of the word from the Spirit. 1. 13. 17.
Alſo in the ſcripture there is a diſtinction made of the Father, from the Word, and the Spirit, and of the Spirit from them both, as well by obſervation of order, as by prophecies aſcribed to them. 1. 13. 18.
This diſtinction of perſons maketh not againſt the moſt ſimple unity of God. 1. 13. 19.
In what ſenſe the fathers ſay, that the Father is the beginning of the Son, and yet that the Son hath his eſſence of himſelf. 1. 13. 19.
A brief ſum of thoſe things which we ought to believe concerning the one eſſence of God and the three perſons. 1. 13. 2.
And herein we muſt diſpute ſoberly, and with great moderation, that neither our thought nor our tongue, do paſs beyond the bounds of the word of God. 1. 13. 21.
A confutation of the doting errors of Servetus in this point of doctrine. 1. 13. 22.
A confutation of the error of certain lewd men, who ſay, that the Father is truly and properly the one only God, who in making the Son and the Holy Ghoſt, did pour his Godhead into them. 1. 13. 23.
It is falſe which they ſay, that when mention is made of God in the ſcripture, only the Father is meant thereby. 1. 13. 24.
Alſo it is falſe which they dream of undivided ſubſtances, of which every one hath a part of the eſſence 1. 13. 25.
An anſwer to their objection, that Chriſt, if he be properly God, is wrongfully, called the Son of God. 1. 13. 26.
An anſwer to many places which they bring out of Irenæus for proof of their opinion, where he affirmeth the Father of Chriſt to be the one only and eternal God of Iſrael. 1, 13. 27.
Alſo to the places of Tertullian. ſect. 28.
It is proved that Juſtine, Hilary, and Auguſtine, do make of our ſide. 1. 13. 19.
The Son is of the ſame ſubſtance with the Father. 4. 8. 16.

U.

Laſt unction as they call it.

WHat manner of adminiſtration is of the popiſh laſt unction, and in what form of words: and how it cannot be defended by the authority of James, or by the example of the apoſtles. 4. 19. 18.
Foraſmuch as the grace of healing which was in the old time given to the apoſtles, hath long ago ceaſed in the church ſect. 19. 20. And though it ſtill remained, yet this their wicked obſervation is far from that holy ceremony of the apoſtles. A declaration of the blaſphemies thereof when they conjure the oil, and aſcribe unto it that which is proper to the Holy Ghoſt. 4. 19. 21.

V.

Vocation.

SEE calling.

Vows.

Of vows which are made againſt the expreſs word of God: whether they may well be vowed of chriſtian men, and how they are to be eſteemed. 4. 13. 1, 6.
Three things are to be conſidered in vows: who it is to whom we vow, namely God who delighteth in obedience 4. 13. 2. Who we be that do vow, that we meaſure our own ſtrength and look upon our calling, that we neglect not the benefit of liberty which God hath given to us. ſect. 3. And with what mind we vow. ſect. 4.
Of the prieſts, monks and nuns vows of ſingle life, 4. 13. 3, 17, 18, 19.
There be four ends of vows, two have reſpect to the time paſt, and two to the time to come. 4. 13. 4, 5.
There is one common vow of all the faithful which they make in baptiſm. 4. 13. 6.
Of the raſhneſs and ſuperſtition of the world in making of vows, 4. 13. 17.

W.

Of wars.

WArs are lawful, when magiſtrates are driven of neceſſity to take weapon in hand, to execute public revenge upon thoſe that trouble the peace of their dominion, whether they be civil or foreign enemies. 4. 20. 11.
It maketh not to the contrary hereof, which many allege, that there is not in the New Teſtament any teſtimony or example which proveth that war is a thing lawful for chriſtians. But magiſtrates ought to take great heed, that in taking of weapon in hand, they nothing at all follow their own luſts. As war, ſo garriſons alſo, leagues and civil fortifications are things lawful for chriſtians to uſe. 4. 20. 12.

Will of God.

Of the ſecret will of God. Alſo of another will, whereunto anſwereth willing obedience. 3. 20. 43. and 3. 24. 1, 7.

Will of man.

Whether the will of man be in every part throughly defiled and corrupted, ſo that it bringeth forth nothing but evil: or whether it yet retain ſome liberty of choice. Where is declared the common ſaying taken out

of the philoſophers, that all things by natural diſpoſition covet that which is good. And there is ſhewed that the liberty of will cannot be proved thereby 2. 2. 26.

The ſoul hath not only a weak power but no power at all of it ſelf to aſpire to goodneſs. And ſince the whole man is ſubject to the dominion of ſin, it is proved by teſtimonies of ſcripture and of Auguſtine, that the will of man is bound, with moſt ſtraight bonds. 2. 2. 27.

Man by his fall loſt not his will, but the ſoundneſs of his will, ſo that he cannot move, much leſs apply himſelf to goodneſs, but is neceſſarily drawn or led unto evil, howbeit not by compulſion but voluntarily. Which is proved by Auguſtine and Bernard, a large declaration of the difference between compulſion and neceſſity. 2. 3. 5.

Since the Lord both beginneth and perfiteth good in our hearts, ſince he worketh in us to will that is to ſay the good will, ſince he createth a new heart, taketh away the ſtony heart and giveth a fleſhy heart, it followeth, that the will of man is utterly corrupted and hath no goodneſs at all. 2.3.6.

It is clearly proved by reaſons and divers teſtimonies of ſcripture, that God worketh good will in them that are his, not only in preparing or turning them from the beginning ſo as it may afterward do ſome good of it ſelf. But becauſe it is his only work that will conceiveth a love of goodneſs, that it is enclined to the ſtudy thereof, that it is ſtirred and moved to an endeavour to follow it, and again that the choice ſtudy, and endeavour do not faint, but proceed to effect, finally that man goeth conſtantly forward in them and continueth to the end. 2. 3. 7, 8, 9.

Therefore it is proved by the authority of ſcripture and of Auguſtine that this which hath been taught theſe many ages, that God ſo moveth our will, that it is afterward in our own choice to obey or diſobey his motion and other like ſayings are utterly falſe. 2. 3. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.

Alſo in doings, which of themſelves are neither righteous nor unrighteous, and belong rather to the bodily than the ſpiritual life, the will of man is not free, but by the ſpecial motion of God is enclined to clemency, mercy, wrath, fear, and other diverſe affections, when it pleaſeth him to make way for his providence. Which is proved by ſcripture, by daily experience, and by the authority of Auguſtine. 2. 4. 6, 7.

Works.

A compariſon of the pureneſs of God with all the righteouſneſs of men. 3. 12. 4, 5.

All the offspring of Adam being divided into four kinds of men, it is proved that they have no holineſs, or righteouſneſs: firſt in them who are endued with no knowlege of God, in whom although there do ſometimes appear excellent qualities (which are the gifts of God) yet there is in them nothing pure. 3. 14. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

The ſame is ſhewed in them who being profeſſed by ſacraments, are chriſtians only in name, denying God in their deeds; alſo in hypocrites who with vain falſe colours do hide the wickedneſs of their heart. 3. 14. 7, 8.

Finally, it is proved that even the children of God truly regenerated by his Spirit, cannot ſtand by any righteouſneſs of their own works before the judgement of God becauſe they can bring forth no good work that is not ſprinkled with ſome uncleanneſs of the fleſh, and therefore damnable. Moreover although they could bring forth any ſuch work, yet one ſin is enough to blot out the remembrance of all former righteouſneſs. 3. 14. 9, 10, 11.

A confutation of the papiſts ſhifts concerning the righteouſneſs of works: and eſpecially of the ſame horrible monſter of works of ſupererogation. 3. 14. 12, 13. 14, 15.

When we treat of works we muſt thruſt two peſtilences out of our minds: that we put no truſt in the righteouſneſs of our own works, and that we aſcribe no glory unto them. 3. 14. 16.

The ſcripture ſetteth out and declareth four kinds of cauſes in eſtabliſhing our ſalvation; and it is proved that in them all there is no regard of works. 3. 14. 17.

Where ſometimes the ſaints do bolden themſelves with remembrance of their own innocency and uprightneſs: how the ſame is to be taken: and how it doth in no wiſe abate any thing from the free righteouſneſs in Chriſt. 3. 14. 18, 19, 20.

Where the ſcripture ſaith that the good works of the works of the faithful do move God to do them good, the order is therein rather expreſſed than the cauſe. 3. 14. 21.

Why the Lord in the ſcripture calleth good works ours, and promiſeth reward to them. 3. 15. 3,

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Walter Wiltans weaver there
Angus Walker weaver Paiſley
Robert Wiſhet weaver there
Neil Whyte weaver in Greenock
William Warden farmer
Thomas Watſon weaver in Gorballs
Gavin Wotherſpoon in Glaſgow
William Wilſon of Hunter's Hill
William Williamſon ſhoemaker in Rutherglen
William Williamſon coalier there
Robert Wotherſpoon hammerman in Glaſgow
Thomas Whytehill hatmaker there

Y.

Deacon Robert Young Couper in Glaſgow
William Dyer there
Thomas Young change-keeper there
William Young weaver in Paiſley
Thomas Young ditto there
Robert Young taylor in Gorballs

Z.

James Zuill ſtocking-maker in Greenock